BRITANNIA:

OR, A

B.J. l. 31.

Chorographical DESCRIPTION

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN

AND

IRELAND,

Together with the Adjacent ISLANDS.

Written in LATIN

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BIBLIOTHECA·BODLEIANA·

B R I T A I N.

Of the First Inhabitants.

BRITAIN, alſo named *Albion*, and by the *Greeks*, *Bretania*, *Bretannike*, *Pretanis*, *Albion*, and *Alonion*, the moſt famous iſland in the world, is ſeparated by the ſea from the *European* continent, and lies over-againſt *Germany* and *France*, in a triangular form, having three necks of land, ſetting out three different ways, *viz.* *Belerium*, or the land's end to the weſt; *Cantium* or the foreland of *Kent* to the eaſt, and *Tarviſium*, or *Orcas*, or *Cathneſs* to the north: The *Vergivian* or *Iriſh* ſea pours into the weſt, between this point and *Ireland*; and the vaſt and broad northen ſea waſhes it on the north: The eaſt, where it lies oppoſite to *Germany*, is bounded by the *German* ſea; and the ſouth where againſt *France*, by the *Britiſh* Channel. Thus, by a regular diſtance ſeparated from the nations its neighbours on all ſides, and made uſeful for the merchandize of the whole world by its open harbours, it ſeems to have ſpread itſelf into the ſea for the univerſal advantage of mankind. For between *Kent* and *Calais* in *France*, it runs ſo far into the ſea, and the channel is ſo contracted, that (as according to the notions of ſome, a breach was made there to receive the ſea, which, till then, had been ſhut out; and to corroborate this point, *Virgil*'s authority is produced in this verſe.

And *Britain* quite from all the world disjoyn'd.

And the reaſon, as *Servius Horonatus* ſays, *Becauſe* Britain *antiently was join'd to the continent.* Beſide, they bring a verſe of *Claudian*, in imitation of *Virgil*, to ſtrengthen this matter;

The *Britiſh* iſle divided from our world.

Nor is it any way improbable, that the univerſal Deluge, and other cauſes, may have altered the face and figure of the earth; that ſome mountains may have been raiſed and made lofty; while many other aſpiring hills may have been ſunk into vales and plains; lakes and meers may have been dried up, and dried places converted into lakes and meers; and ſome iſlands may have been torn off and ſeparated from the continent. But whether this be fact, and whether before the flood, any iſlands exiſted, I ſhall not take upon me to determine, nor form any raſh judgement on God's works. For it is generally receiv'd, that things, tho' very different, are, by the Divine Providence, diſpoſed to one and the ſame end; and in all ages it has been an opinion univerſally granted, as well by divines as philoſophers, that iſles, ſcattered up and down in the ſea, contribute as much to the beauty of the world, as lakes diſperſed throughout the continent, or mountains raiſed above plains.

The form of this iſland is ſaid by *Livy* and *Fabius Ruſticus* to reſemble an oblong platter or two edged ax, which, to the ſouth, as is obſerved by *Tacitus*, is certainly true, but is ill applied to the whole iſland. For to the north, the large tract of land ſhooting forward to the utmoſt ſhore, groweth ſharp and narrow like a wedge. It was thought ſo great, and of ſo large a circumference by the antients, that *Cæſar*, the firſt of the *Romans* who diſcovered it, wrote, *that he had found out* another world, *thinking it to be ſo great, that it rather encompaſſed the ocean, than that the ſea ſurrounded it.* And *Julius Solinus Polihyſtor* aſſerts, that for extenſiveneſs it almoſt deſerved to be called another world. But our age, hath, by the many ſurveys made by ſeveral perſons, very near found out the exact dimenſions of the whole iſle; for from *Cathneſs* to the land's end, accounting the windings and turnings of the ſhores, along the weſt ſide, are computed to be about eight hundred and twelve miles; and thence to the *Kentiſh* fore-land along the ſouthern coaſt, three hundred and twenty miles. Hence, coaſting the *German* ſea, with crooked bays and inlets for ſeven hundred and four miles, it reaches *Cathneſs*, ſo that, according to this calculation, the whole circumference of the iſland is eighteen hundred and thirty ſix miles; which computation, as it is much ſhort of *Pliny*'s, is alſo ſomething leſs than *Cæſar*'s. *Schymnus Chius* deſerves no notice, who in *Apollonius de Mirabilibus* (having told us ſurpriſing tales of fruit growing in *Britain* without kernels, and grapes without ſtones,) makes its circuit four hundred furlongs and no more; but a better account of the *Britiſh* iſlands, that is, of *Britain* and *Ireland*, is tranſmitted us by *Dionyſius*, *Afer* in his deſcription of the world,

> Vaſt is the compaſs of the *Britiſh* coaſt
> A like extent no rival iſland boaſts.

and

and with him *Ariſtides* and other *Greek* writers agree, who, for diſtinctions ſake, have truly called *Britain Megalen Neeſon* the great iſland.

They who have accurately compared the ſpace of the heavens with the tracts of the earth, have put *Britain* under the eighth climate, and within the eighteenth and twenty ſixth parallels; reckoning the longeſt day at eighteen equinoctial hours, and an half. They place, according to the globular figure of the earth, the land's end at ſixteen degrees and fifty ſcruples, and the *Kentiſh* fore-land twenty one degrees in longitude. The ſouthern parts they place, in fifty degrees ten ſcruples of latitude, and *Cathneſs* fifty nine degrees forty ſcruples. So that *Britain*, thus ſituated, muſt neceſſarily be bleſt with a fertile ſoil and a moſt temperate air. The ſummers here are not ſcorching, by reaſon of the conſtant breazes which fan the air, and moderate the heats; theſe, as they invigorate every thing that grows, give, at the ſame time health and nouriſhment to man and beaſt. Beſide, the winters are mild and gentle, this is owing, not only to the thickneſs and cloſeneſs of the air, but to thoſe frequent ſober ſhowers, which mollify and break the cold with us. Add to this, ſuch a gentle warmth proceeds from the ſeas that ſurround it, that the cold is leſs rigorous, than in ſome parts of *France* and *Italy*, and theſe bleſſings made *Minutius Fœlix*, in his proving that the Divine Providence conſulted, not only the benefit of the world in general, but alſo of each part, bringing our iſland as an inſtance. " Notwithſtanding *Britain*, (ſays he,) is not ſo much bleſt with " the aſpect and influence of the ſun, yet, in the room thereof, the ſea that " encompaſſes it, refreſhes and comforts it, by its warmth." And we need not conclude this obſervation ſtrange, which he makes upon the warmth of the ſea, ſince *Cicero* does the ſame, " the ſeas, ſaith he, agitated with the winds, " become ſo warm, that it may certainly be concluded from thence, that there " is a latent heat in that vaſt fluid body." And *Ceſenius Getulicus*, a poet of great antiquity, ſeems to allude to the temperate ſtate of this iſland in theſe verſes,

> Not there the ſpring the *Ram*'s unkindneſs mourns
> Nor *Taurus* ſees the *Twins* before his horns,
> His northern wain where dry *Bootes* turns.

Cæſar alſo obſerves, " that *Gaul* is leſs temperate than ſome parts of the " country; and its cold leſs penetrating." And *Cornelius Tacitus* takes notice, " that there is no extremity of cold in this iſland." And adds farther, " that " ſetting aſide the olive and vine, and ſome other fruits proper to the hotter " climates, it produceth all things elſe in large abundance, and that the fruits of

" of the earth, in coming up, are forward in *Britain*, but ſlow in ripening, " the cauſe of both being one and the ſame, the exceſſive moiſture of the " earth and air; for our air (as *Strabo* obſerves) is more ſubject to rain than " ſnow. Be this as it will, *Britain* is ſo happy in an abundant production of all manner of grain, that *Orpheus* has ſtiled it the very ſeat of *Ceres*: For 'tis to our iſland we are to apply the following words,

——————See here the ſtately court
Of royal *Ceres*,——————

And in antient days this iſland was, as it were the ſtorehouſe and magazine of the weſtern empire; for, from this country, the *Romans* uſually every year, tranſported, in eight hundred veſſels larger than barks, prodigious quantities of corn for the ſupport of the armies they maintained on the *German* frontiers. But, in all probability, I may be imputed to be too copious in the commendation I beſtow upon my country; and therefore I will produce an encomium of it as delivered by an antient Orator. " O Happy *Britain*! beyond all other " lands moſt bleſt, in that you firſt beheld our emperor *Conſtantine*! You, has " nature deſervedly endowed with the choiceſt felicities of heaven and earth. You " neither feel exceſs of cold in winter, or of heat in the ſummer. Your harveſt " ſo bountifully rewards your labour, as to ſpread your tables, and to fill your " cellars. Your woods are without wild beaſts, and your meadows without " poiſonous ſerpents. On the contrary, innumerable are your herds of cattle, " and the ſheep of your paſtures, which feed you with their milk, and cloath " you with their fleeces. And what for the enjoyment of life we account moſt " precious, your days are of a great length; and obſcurity does not totally " prevail over your nights. For while thoſe fartheſt plains that border upon the " ſea, are ſo level and even as to caſt no ſhadows, which may help to benight " you; and you have ſuch a command of the ſtarry heavens, above the ſphere " of darkneſs, the ſun itſelf which ſeems to ſet with us, appears with you " to paſs only a little aſide." You may hear another alſo, if you pleaſe, ſpeaking to *Conſtantius*, the father of *Conſtantine*, after this manner. " Truly it was no " ſmall detriment to our common-wealth to loſe not only the title of *Britain*, " but alſo the territory itſelf; ſo fruitful in corn; ſo flouriſhing in paſture; ſo " rich in mines; ſo profitable in revenues; ſo commodious in harbours; and " and withal ſo ſpacious in its dimenſions." And further yet is nature celebrated for a motherly indulgence to this our iſland, by a *Poet* of ſome antiquity, whoſe addreſs to *Britain* in this lively *Epigram* has been thought well worthy of publication.

Nor colds nor heats extream, thy people fear,
But gentle ſeaſons turn the peaceful year.
When teeming *Nature's* bounteous hand beſtow'd
Her various favours on her num'rous brood,
For thee th' *indulgent mother* kept the beſt,
Smil'd in thy face, and thus her daughter bleſs'd,
In thee my darling Iſle *ſhall never ceaſe*
The conſtant joys of happineſs and peace:
Whate'er can furniſh Luxury *or* Uſe,
Thy Sea *ſhall* bring *thee, or thy* Land produce.

This fertility and delightfulneſs of *Britain*, have perſuaded ſome to believe that theſe were the *Fortunate Iſlands* where the *Poets* tell us all things flouriſh with a perpetual ſpring. For ſo does *Iſaac Tzetzes*, a *Greek* Author of Credit, affirm; and the ſame alſo ſeems to have been the ſerious belief of our own anceſtors; for when pope *Clement* the ſixth, as *Robert* of *Avesbury* relates, had elected *Lewis* of *Spain* to be king of the *Fortunate Iſlands*, and to eſtabliſh him there had levied troops in *France* and *Italy*; our countrymen verily thought he was coming to be king of *Britain*, as one of thoſe *Fortunate Iſlands*, ſays my author; nay, our grave ambaſſadors themſelves, then reſident at *Rome*, were ſo poſſeſs'd and alarm'd with the ſame opinion, that they made what haſt they could home to *England*, in order to apprize their countrymen of the deſign'd invaſion. Nor would any one, even now, judge leſs favourably of it, who is ſenſible of the fortunate ſtate and condition of this iſland. 'Tis a piece of workmanſhip wherein nature ſeems to have taken a peculiar delight; and which as a leſſer world ſhe has choicely ſet apart from the greater, or as ſome maſterly landſcape preſerr'd to a more diſtinct point of view, for the pleaſure and ornament of the univerſe. With ſuch gay proſpects and glittering varieties are the ſpectators eyes regal'd, which way ſoe'er they glance. To ſay nothing of the inhabitants themſelves bleſs'd with ſuch excellent conſtitution of body; a people of ſuch humanity, good humour, and invincible bravery, ſo often approved both at home and abroad, as to render them renowned to the remoteſt parts of the globe.

But who the firſt inhabitants of this iſle were, and whence it firſt derived the name of *Britain*, various conjectures have ſprung up, and a great many have been moſt poſitive who were moſt ignorant of the matter, not that we ſhould hope to compaſs a certainty therein greater than other nations have attain'd of their own original. All which, except thoſe whoſe antiquity is atteſted in *Holy Writ*, no leſs than our own, remain as to this point, in error and darkneſs. And how ſhould it be otherwiſe conſidering how deep truth under ſuch a tide of time muſt be

be ſunk and buried. Beſides, the firſt planters and poſſeſſors of countries have other works to buſy their brains about, than the tranſmiſſion of their beginning to poſterity. But allowing they had ever ſo much inclination to it, it had poſſibly been to little purpoſe, ſeeing their life ſo uncivil, ſo rude and full of hoſtilities, could not admit of literature, which aſſociating with a civiliz'd courſe, requires an unmoleſted leiſure and tranquility, for the recording whatever is obſervable, and preſerving the ſame to ſucceeding ages. Moreover the *Druids*, who antiently were the prieſts of the *Britains* and *Gauls*, and who were thought ſufficient to take cognizance of their traditions and occurrences, with their *Bards*, who uſed in verſe to chaunt out their noble and marſhal exploits, both held it unlawful to commit any thing to writing. But grant it had been their cuſtom to make any ſuch commemorations, doubtleſs after ſo vaſt a diſtance, ſo many revolutions and overthrows of ſtate, they muſt have been long ſince utterly deſtroyed, ſeeing that the very ſtones, pyramids, obelisks and other memorable monuments, eſteemed more durable than braſs itſelf, have in the ſame manner fell a prey to the injuries of time. Nevertheleſs ſucceeding ages produced a ſort of men who officiouſly beſet themſelves to ſupply the deficiency of ſuch records and memorials out of their own invention, for where they were at a loſs for the truth they fail'd not of being diverting to themſelves at leaſt, and feigned divers ſtories, every one according to his own conceit or capacity, about the original of nations, and their names. In theſe conceits many reſted without further enquiry; and ſo pleaſing were theſe fables to the generality of the people, that they went glibly down without any heſitation.

To ſay nothing of other writers, one of our own country *Jeffery* ap *Arthur* of *Monmouth*, (whom I would not traduce upon this occaſion) publiſhed a hiſtory of *Britain* in the reign of *Henry* the ſecond, which he pretends to have been a tranſlation out of the *Britiſh* tongue. Herein he tells us, that one *Brutus* a *Trojan* by deſcent the ſon of *Silvius*, grandſon of *Æſcanius*, and great grandſon of the renowned *Æneas*, whoſe mother was *Venus*, and he therefore by conſequence deſcended from *Jove*. That the mother of this perſon died upon being delivered of him; that he having caſually killed his father in hunting, according to the prediction of the magicians flew into *Greece*, and there reſtored to their freedom, the lineage of *Helenus* ſon of *Priam*; vanquiſhed king *Pandraſus* married his daughter; put to ſea with the few remaining *Trojans*, and touching upon the iſle of *Leogetia*, was there, by the oracle of *Diana* admoniſhed to bend his voyage to this weſtern iſland. And accordingly that he ſteer'd through the ſtreights of *Gibralter*, where he eſcaped the temptation of the *Syrens* and afterwards ſailing through the *Tyrrenian* ſea, landed in *Aquitain*; and overcame *Goffarius Pictus*, the king of that country in a pitch'd battle; with twelve princes of *Gaul* who were his auxiliaries. After he had over-run this place,

and

and founded the city of *Tours*, as he ſays we are informed by *Homer*, he made his way over into *Britain*, then in the poſſeſſion of giants; and having alſo ſubdued them, together with *Gogmagog*, who was of the moſt enormous ſtature among them, he called this iſland *Britain*, after his own name, in the year of the world two thouſand eight hundred fifty and five; before the firſt *Olympiad*, three hundred thirty four years; and eleven hundred eight years before the birth of *Chriſt*. Thus far *Jeffery*, but there are ſeveral other derivations for the name of this iſland, propoſed by other authors: Sir *Thomas Eliot*, a gentleman of great learning, draws it from the *Greek Prutaneia* uſed to expreſs their public revenues among the *Athenians*. *Humphry Lloyd*, who is reputed one of the moſt accompliſhed *Antiquaries* in the nation, very poſitively deduces its original from *Pridcain*, ſignifying a white colour in the *Britiſh* tongue. And we are informed by *Pomponeus Lætus* that the name was given it by the *Britains* of *Armorica* in *France*. But the *Danes* who planted themſelves in theſe parts, are ſaid by *Goropius Becanus* to have named it *Bridania* or *Free-Dania*. Others would needs have it derived from *Prutenia*, or *Pruſſia*, a part of *Germany*: *Bodin* fancies it to be drawn from the *Spaniſh* word *Bretta*, ſignifying earth; and *Forcatulus* from *Brithin*, which among the *Grecians* was a ſort of drink as *Athenæus* has obſerved. Others again fetch its original from the *Brutij* in *Italy*, whom the *Greeks* called *Brettioj*. But thoſe pedantical writers, who, from the brutiſh behaviour of the people, would draw the foundation of naming them *Britains*, are by no means to be born with.

Theſe are the ſeveral conjectures I have met with, concerning the name of our iſland. But as we think the inventions of foreigners highly worthy of deriſion in this matter, ſo neither do the opinions of many among our own writers give us much better ſatisfaction. And indeed here, as well as in other caſes, of ſuch antiquity, 'tis much eaſier to diſcover a fabulous derivation, than recover a true one. For, beſides the abſurdity of hunting after the original of this name, in the language of foreign countries, *Lætus* has been confuted by the concurrent authorities of more noted hiſtorians, who all acquaint us that it was from hence thoſe *Britains* of *France*, departed and tranſported the name along with them. Nay, by this name *Britain* was renowned many hundred years before *Dania* and *Prutenia* were ſo much as heard of: And as for the *Spaniſh Bretta*, which yet I doubt, if it be *Spaniſh*, what can our *Britain* have to do with that? Or why ſhould it give denomination to this iſland rather than to any other territory? Then for the drink *Brithin*, I believe it will ſcarcely be proved to have ever been in uſe among our anceſtors; and it is altogether rediculous to derive the name of our land from a liquor in uſe among the *Grecians*. Indeed as *Strabo* remarks, the *Italian Brutij* were by the *Lucani* called *Brettioj*, which imports as much as wanderers; but it will not be made appear that they ever wandred to

Britain.

Britain. Therefore to descend to the opinions of our own countrymen, Sir *T. Eliot's Prutaneia* seems to carry no probability with it, since that was a word confined to *Athens*. And this island besides, was wont to be called *Bretannian*, and not *Prutaneian*, by the *Grecians*. But so forced, and far-fetch'd a derivation is that of *Pridcain* from whence *Lloyd* deduced *Britain*, that I need only observe it is from the word *Candidus*, this of *Cain* derives its original, having crept into the national language of the *Britains*, out of the *Roman* tongue itself.

But we should no further need to enquire after an etymology, could we be certain that this history of *Brutus* is genuine; the controversy then would soon be at an end, and our antiquaries freed of a very troublesome disquisition. I must own I have been so far from any forwardness to discredit this history, that I have often set my invention upon the rack to maintain it. For totally to give it up would be to enter the lists against time, and the received opinion of our countrymen. For shall a sentence be pronounced, in a matter of this importance, by one of my slender judgment? No. I shall absolutely refer the debate to the college of antiquaries, leave every man to the guidance of his own capacity, and discover but little concern at the result thereof.

Nevertheless I find myself necessitated here to observe, and not without hopes of pardon, since it is in the search of truth, that there are scholars both of learning and judgment, who strive by many arguments to weaken the credit of this tradition, and are wont, when I attempt its support, to oppose me with objections drawn from the age wherein this expedition is said to have been undertaken by that *Brutus*; and decisively assert, all to be mere fiction, except the sacred writings, which is delivered for history that came to pass before the first *Olimpiad*, or the year seven hundred and seventy before Chirst, and these stories that are told of *Brutus*, were antecedent to that peroid above three hundred years. It is upon the distinction which *Varro* the most learned of the *Roman* authors, makes of this period that this exception is founded, in whom the first period from the creation to the deluge is called the obscure from the transactions being in those remote ages so dark and doubtful: The next from the deluge to the first *Olimpiad*, he calls the fabulous period, because most of the histories of that age are romantic, even where learning most flourish'd, among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; but much more among the barbarous and illiterate, such as then peope'd these *Northern* countries. Again, they next object that there is no authentic writer who vouches the truth of this relation, which is the point most to be regarded in all histories whatever: Now those are distinguish'd by the character of authentic writers, who have the advantage both of antiquity and learning, and proportionable to these, they are more or less to be credited: But they stedfastly affirm, even the name of *Brutus* was never known to any of this character, no, nor to the ancient *Britains* themselves.

ſelves. They further alledge that affirmation of *Cæſar's* above ſixteen hundred years ago, " That he could not diſcover the inland parts of *Britain*, after the " moſt diligent ſearch, to have had any of the true native inhabitants therein, " but that foreigners who came over from the *Low Countries*, had planted them- " ſelves upon the ſea coaſts." And *Tacitus*, who wrote above fourteen hundred years ago, and had made ſtrict enquiry into theſe matters, ſays, that what kind of people did originally inhabit *Britain*, whether born and bred there, or they removed thither out of foreign countries, is not to be diſcover'd now, in ſuch an unciviliz'd nation. Nor does *Gildas* the *Wiſe*, himſelf a *Britain*, who liv'd a thouſand years paſt, mention one word of this *Brutus*: nay, profeſſes himſelf unacquainted whether the *Antient Britains* had any records, whereby they might communicate to poſterity a knowledge of their original, or their proceedings. And to this purpoſe, acknowledges that he was beholden to foreign writers for his remarks upon his countrymen, and not to any writings left by them. For if any ſuch there ever had been, they were all in his time quite loſt, having been either deſtroy'd by domeſtick enemies, or tranſported by exiles into foreign countries. Moreover *Nennius*, a diſciple of *Elvodugus*, complains, in the preface of his *Chronicle*, written eight hundred years ſince; " That even the " greateſt ſcholars among the *Britains*, were men of but little learning, and had " left no memoirs of their tranſactions behind them", withal confeſſing " that the " annals and chronicles of the fathers had ſupply'd him with what he had written " about thoſe our anceſtors." They alſo urge that not mention of this *Brutus* is made even by *Bede*, *William* of *Malmsbury*, or any of the other hiſtorians, who wrote before the year 1160. Such a general ſilence there is among them in this particular.

And hereupon they further remark, that till an ignorant age gave one *Hunibald*, a meer ſcribbler, encouragement to ſet forth his *Francio*, a *Trojan*, ſon of king *Priam*, as the founder of the *French* nation; the very name of this *Brutus* was a ſtranger to ours. But when our countrymen heard their neighbours had been thus derived, from ſuch antient and renowned progenitors, they were aſhamed that thoſe whom they rivall'd in martial deeds, ſhould ſurpaſs them in an honurable deſcent. Hereupon our *Jeffrey ap Arthur of Monmouth*, firſt of all, about four hundred years ago, to pleaſe the *Britains* in the ſame manner, made this *Brutus* their founder, and not only of the *Trojan* alſo, but of divine extract. Before which time, as they affirm, this *Brutus* was never, by any author, once mention'd.

About the ſame time, as they alſo add, *Scota*, daughter of *Pharaoh* king of *Ægypt*, was, by the *Scots* writers, obtruded on the world as the foundreſs of their nation. Then alſo others, abuſing their talents and their time, as groundleſly forged for the *Iriſh*, their *Hiberus*; for the *Danes*, their *Danus*; for the

Brabanders, their *Brabo*; for the *Goths*, their *Gothus*; and for the *Saxons*, their *Saxo*; as the founders alſo of their reſpective countries. But all theſe impoſitions have, in this more illuminated age of ours, been detected and expoſed: So that ſince the *French* have thrown off their *Francio* for a counterfeit, who *though they inſiſt much on their* Trojan *original*, ſays *Turnebus*, a man of ſound learning, *yet they do it but in emulation of the* Romans; *for theſe valuing themſelves upon that pedegree, they alſo have ſhewed a fondneſs after the like reputation.* And ſince alſo the wiſer ſort of *Scots* have renounced their *Scota*. And *Hiberus*, *Danus*, and *Brabo* have been baniſhed by truth herſelf, with the reſt of thoſe heroes of the ſame allay, it has been much wondered why the *Britains* ſhould ſtill ſtick upon their *Trojan* extraction, and the denomination of this iſland by that *Brutus*; as if there had been no *Britains* in this part of the world, before the deſtruction of *Troy*, which was about a thouſand years after *Noah*'s flood, and there had lived no brave men before *Agamemnon*.

They further object that many of the moſt learned authors, as *Poccace*, *Vives*, *Adrian Junius*, *Polydore Virgil*, *Buchanan*, *Viginer*, *Genebrand*, *Molinæus*, *Bodine*, and others of profound judgment, agree unanimouſly in denying that ever ſuch a man as this *Brutus* exiſted in the world. Nay further, that the whole ſtory has been given up, as a plain fable, by many accompliſhed ſcholars of our own nation; among whom, in the front, they inſtance, *John* of *Weathamſtead*, *Abbot* of St. *Albans*, a man of excellent judgment, who might ſerve for all the reſt, and who writes upon this ſubject in his *Granarium* or ſtore-houſe to this effect. "According to other hiſtories, and thoſe of good credit with "the learned, this whole account of *Brutus* is rather poetical than hiſtorical, "and looked upon as a fiction rather than reality, for ſeveral reaſons. Firſt, "becauſe all *Roman* hiſtory is ſilent, either concerning ſuch a violent death of "the father, or birth and baniſhment of the ſon. Secondly, becauſe according "to many writers, *Aſcanius* begot no ſuch ſon whoſe proper name was *Sylvius*; "for he had but one ſon, as they write, and he was named *Julius*, from whom "ſprung afterwards the houſe of the *Julii*, *&c.* And thirdly, *Sylvius Poſthumus*, whom perhaps *Jeffery* after all means, was the ſon of *Æneas*, by his "wife *Lavinia*, and he in the thirty eighth year of his reign begetting his ſon "*Æneas*, died a natural death. The kingdom we now call *England* therefore, "was not, as many have conceived, heretofore named *Britain* of *Brutus*, the "ſon of *Sylvius*; and many look upon it as a wretched piece of vanity to chal-"lenge ſuch nobility of deſcent, when we have ſuch ſlender pretenſions to it. "Beſides, there is nothing but a people's own proper virtues that will enoble "them, nothing but the accompliſhments of the mind which will entitle them "to honour and gentility: To this purpoſe *Seneca* tells us in his epiſtles out of "*Plato*, that there is no king who is not ſprung from ſlaves; and no ſlave

who

" might not boaſt his genealogy from kings. Wherefore let this ſatisfy the " *Britons*, as to their being deſcended of noble blood, that they are valiant and " undaunted in battle; that they overcome their enemies on every ſide; and " that they manifeſt the utmoſt abhorrence of any thing but that looks like " the yoak of ſervitude.

In the ſecond place they produce *William* of *Newborough*, an hiſtorian of great note, who ſomewhat ſharply charged *Jeffery*, author of the *Britiſh* hiſtory, upon its firſt appearance, with his falſhoods, in theſe words. " There has riſen " up in our times, ſays he, a certain writer who has invented a pack of " fooliſh tales of the *Britains*, and, in a vain humour, extoll'd them above both " the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*. He is named *Jeffery*, and ſurnamed *Arthur*, " for that the fables of king *Arthur*, gather'd out of the old fictions of the " *Britains*, augmented with his own inventions, and dreſs'd up in a new *Latin* " ſtile, he has ſet forth with the ſpecious title of a hiſtory: And, more auda- " ciouſly yet has publiſhed the idle conjectures of one *Merlin*, with additions of " his own, while he was tranſlating them alſo into *Latin*, grounded he pretends " on undoubted evidence; and both under the title of authentic prophecies". And a little further, " beſides, how impertinently and ſhamefully he makes it " his buſineſs to be lying throughout that book of his, entitled the hiſtory of the " *Britains*, is manifeſt to all who have any acquaintance with antient hiſtories, " and do but read it: For they indeed who have not learned the truth of things, " admit without diſcernment the vanity of fables. As for the great atchieve- " ments of the antient *Britains* before the arrival and government of *Julius* " *Cæſar*, either invented by himſelf, or handed down as authentic from the " invention of others, I forbear in this place to mention them". To the ſame purpoſe *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, who lived and wrote at the ſame time, made no ſcruple to term it, the fabulous ſtory of *Jeffery*. Others there are, who in this relation of *Brutus*, laugh at the ridiculous topography ſet down by *Jeffery*; as alſo to read how falſely he has brought in *Homer* for an evidence: And further, undertake to convince us that the whole ſtory is a heap of incongruous abſurdities. They obſerve beſides, that his hiſtorical writings, together with his *Merlin*'s propheſies, are (among others) expoſed in the catalogues of books prohibited by the church of *Rome*. Some again remark that thoſe who are moſt fond of this ſtory of *Brutus* are moſt doubtful, and even varying from themſelves in explaining it. Thus that he who bears the name of *Gildas*, and added certain brief notes to *Ninius*, firſt repreſents this *Brutus* as a *Roman* conſul; then, ſays he was the ſon of *Sylvius*, and laſtly, of one *Heſſicio*. And, as I have been informed, there is a certain *Count-Palatine*, who would needs have our *Brutus* to be called *Brotus*, becauſe his birth proved the loſs of his mothers life, that word ſignifying *Mortal* in the *Greek* tongue: Yet, as others opine,

the original of *Britain* would have been as probable if they had fathered it on *Brito* the centaur, mentioned in *Hyginus*; or that *Bretanus*, by whoſe daughter *Celtice*, (as *Parthenius Niceus*, an author of great antiquity affirms) *Hercules* had a ſon named *Celtus*, the father of *Celtæ*; and from whom *Heſychius* deduces the name of *Britain*.

But as theſe are the obſervations and opinions of other authors, let no one bring his action of ſcandal againſt me (an innocent and ingenuous ſearcher only after truth) for reciting them, though the credit of this narration about *Brutus* ſhould be impaired thereby; ſince every man is free in matters of this nature to declare either what himſelf thinks, or others have thought before him. I am content that *Brutus* ſhould be ſtill held as the father and founder of our nation. Let the *Britains* reſolve ſtill to claim their original from the *Trojans*, (into which ſtock, as I ſhall hereafter prove, they may truly ingraft themſelves,) and I ſhall never controul them; for I know that nations antiently had recourſe to *Hercules*, as in later ages, to the *Trojans*, for their original; and let them allow antiquity herein ſome indulgences, if, by interweaving truth with a little fiction and heigthning the colours of human hiſtory, by thoſe that are divine, it ennobles the beginning of nations and cities, and renders them more majeſtic and venerable; ſeeing that, as *Pliny* writes, *even falſely to claim a kindred with worthy perſonages, implies, in ſome ſort, a value for virtue.* And I readily concur with *Varro*, the moſt learned of the *Romans*, that ſuch extractions as theſe from the Gods, how fictitious ſoever, may be thus far profitable, *That men preſuming upon ſuch cæleſtial deſcent, may be more ſtrongly incited to render their actions more ſuitable to their alliance; for by purſuing them with greater reſolution, they may perform them with greater ſucceſs:* However from this expreſſion, by the way, St. *Auſtin* might be of opinion that the learned *Varro* privately believed ſuch derivations groundleſs.

Since other writers therefore do not all accord, touching the name and firſt inhabitants of *Britain*, and 'tis doubtful whether any body will be able to recover truth out of the labirinth, in which ſo many ages have involved her. I hope the reader will be ſo reaſonable and humane as to allow me alſo a ſhare of conjecture, void of all contention, and with reſpect only to truth which has ſo abſolutely engaged me, that I had rather, in this argument, ask pardon for a fault, that not run the hazard of committing one. To the end therefore that the reaſon of this name may more convincingly appear, I will attempt firſt to find out our moſt antient inhabitants, though they lie hidden in ſuch a dark receſs, or pathleſs wilderneſs of antiquity, that there is little hopes my diligence ſhould recover to poſterity, what oblivion has ſo long removed from the ſight of our anceſtors.

To advance our enquiries therefore to the remoteſt point we can (omitting *Cæſar*, *Diadorus*, and other authors, who would have the *Britains* to be home-ſprung, of no foreign plantation, but to have ſhot up like *Muſhroons* out of our original beds, we are taught by *Moſes* in the ſacred hiſtory, that after the deluge the ſons of *Noah*, *Shem*, *Cham*, and *Japhet*, having multiplied their ſpecies in great abundance, ſeparated themſelves at the mountains of *Armenia*, where the ark had reſted, travell'd into divers quarters of the earth, and ſo peopled the world. That ſome of their poſterity fell upon this iſland after the tribes and families were gradually diſperſed about, both reaſon and the authority of *Theophilus Antiochenus* do jointly prove. " In old times, ſays he, *Arabia*, and " *Chaldea* were but thinly populated; but they encreaſed much after the diviſion " of tongues: Then ſome took their way eaſtward; ſome to the wide continent; " others ſought to ſeat themſelves northward; nor ceaſed they diſperſing and " ſettling in this manner, till they extended themſelves as far as *Britain*, ſituate " in the northern climate." And even *Moſes* himſelf directly in a manner deſcribes as much; when he informs us, that the iſlands of the *Gentiles* were divided in the ſeveral countries by the poſterity of *Japhet*. Now the iſlands of the *Gentiles* is expounded by divines to be thoſe which lay at the greateſt diſtance. And *Wolphgangus Muſculus* a very eminent divine is of opinion that the nations and families which deſcended from *Japhet*, were the firſt inhabitants of the *European* iſlands, ſuch as *England*, *Sicily*, &c. ſays he. Now that *Europe* did fall to the poſſeſſion of *Japhet*, is not only by divines, but alſo by *Joſephus* and others atteſted: For out of an antient writer we have the following teſtimony recited by *Iſodore*, " The nations deſcended of *Japhet*, are in poſſeſſion from " the mountain *Taurus* northward, one half of *Aſia*, and all *Europe* as far as " the *Britiſh* ocean; leaving names both to the places and the people. Of " which many were afterwards varied, the reſt continued as they were." And we have beheld that bleſſing of *Noah* fulfilled in the people of *Europe*. *God ſhall enlarge* Japhet *and let him dwell in the tents of* Shem, *and* Canaan *ſhall be his ſervant*. For *Europe*, which as *Pliny* obſerves, bred up a people who conquered all nations, has more than once triumph'd over thoſe parts of the world which fell to the portion of *Shem* and *Cham*; and in this part has the offſpring of *Japhet* diſperſed far and wide: For of his ſons, *Magog* begat the *Maſſagetes*; *Javan* the *Ionians*; *Thubal* the *Spaniards*; and *Meſech* the *Muſcovites*. But his eldeſt ſon *Gomer*, in theſe remoteſt borders of *Europe*, gave both beginning and name to the *Gomerians*, who were called afterwards *Cimbrians*, and *Cimmerians*; for by theſe two names moſt of the people in this part of the world were known; and not only in *Gaul* but in *Germany* alſo. But they who are called *Gauls*, were called *Gomer*, *Gomari*, *Gomerei*, and *Gomeritæ*, as *Joſephus* and *Zonaras* have noted. Now it is from theſe *Gomarians*, or *Gomareans* of *Gaul*, that I

have

have always believed our *Britains* drew both their original and their name. The very proper and peculiar name alſo of the *Britains*, or *Welſhmen*, has much ſtrengthened me in that opinion. For even they ordinarily call themſelves *Kumero*, *Cymro*, and *Kumeri*; thus a *Welſhwoman*, *Kumeraes*; and the tongue itſelf *Kumeraec*. Neither do they acknowledge any other names: Although ſome ſmatterers in the laſt age, have from hence coined the words, *Cambri* and *Cambria*: And the Grammarian, whom *Virgil* laſhes in his *Catalects*, calling him the *Britiſh Thucidides*, is ſtiled by *Quitilian*, a *Cimbrian*; and whence can we account for the derivation of theſe names, but from that *Gomer*, and the adjacent *Gomarians* in *Gaul*, the ſeat of the old *Gemarij*. The learned do verily believe that the *Germans* are derived from *Aſchenaz*: and the *Turks*, from *Togorma*, ſons of *Gomer*; becauſe the latter are called by the *Jews* to this day *Togormah*, and the former, *Aſchenas*; that the *Thracians*, *Ionians*, *Riphæans*, and *Moſchi*, &c. are the poſterity of *Thirax*, *Javan*, *Riphat*, and *Moſchus*, is without diſpute, the names being ſo conſonant. So the *Æthiopians* were the progeny of *Chus*, and the *Ægyptians* of *Miſraim*; becauſe 'tis granted they bear the ſame names in their own languages, Why may not we therefore for the ſame reaſon allow, that our *Britains* or *Cumeri*, are the poſterity of *Gomer*, and from him received our appellation? For there is reſemblance enough in the name, and 'tis acknowledged that they planted themſelves in the utmoſt part of *Europe*, and as much is imply'd in the very name of *Gomer*, as if by divine deſignation: For *Gomer* ſignifies the utmoſt bound or bordering in the *Hebrew* tongue. And here let no man reproachfully object to our *Cumeri* or *Cimbri*, what they may find in *Sextus Pompeius*, that in the old *Gallic* language they called *Thieves* by the name of *Cimbri*; for though the *Cimbri*, of whom our *Cumeri* were probably a part, did in that warlike age of the world, when martial proweſs was the faſhion, ſometimes rove out of *Europe* as far as the lake *Mæotis*, and plundered in their marches, as *Poſſidonius* relates; nevertheleſs the word *Cimber*, no more ſignifies a thief, than *Ægyptian* does a biggot; *Chaldæan* an aſtrologer; or *Sybarite* an effeminate perſon: Only becauſe the people of thoſe nations were notorious for thoſe characters, they who were addicted alſo to the like courſes, though in other countries, were diſtinguiſhed by the names of theſe. And herein agrees with me that great luminary of learning, *Joſeph Scaliger*. But as for *Beroſus*, let it not be wonder'd at, that I ſeek not his ſuffrage, to whom writers now a days repair for ſuch rarities; for to ſpeak my mind freely at once, the authority of that writer, who paſſes under this name, is of ſo dull an edge with me, as to make no way into my credit or adherence for I am of the ſame opinion with ſome of the moſt learned men of our age, namely *Volaterran*, *Vives*, *Antonius Auguſtinus*, *Melchior Canus*, and eſpecially *Gaſper Varrerius*, who all believe him an obſcure impoſtor, and his work a farcel

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of ridiculous absurdities. But that said *Varrerius* in his *Censure of Berosus*, printed at *Rome*, has said enough to cure any body of the errors they may have contracted from this writer.

Thus you have my opinion, or rather conjecture about the original of the *Britains*; for in matters of so great antiquity, 'tis more agreeable to proceed by conjecture, than offer, on one side or other, at a peremptory determination. And truly this their beginning from *Gomer*, and out of *Gaul*, seems more rational, antient and true, than that from *Brutus* and *Troy*. Nay, that it is truth, and that our *Britains* are the very offspring of those *Gaulois*, I think I shall be able to prove, by the name, situation, religion, manners, and language of both nations; in all which, the *Gauls* and *Antient Britains* bore so great a correspondency, as if they were but one people. But that I may prove this affinity and derivation, I must beg leave to fetch a compass a while, suitable to the extension of my subject.

As to the *Name*, since I have spoken of it before, I will only repeat thus much of it; That as the antient *Gauls* were called *Gomereans*, *Gomerites*, *Gomeri*, and for shortness *Cimbri*: So also are our *Britains* called *Cumeri* and *Kimbri*. Now *Josephus* and *Zonaras*, as it has been observed, do both testify that the *Gauls* were called *Gomeri*. And both out of *Cicero* and *Appian* we may gather, that they were called also *Cimbri*, the former of whom plainly terms those *Barbarians Gauls*, defeated by *Marius*; *who repulsed the forces of the* Gauls, (says that author) *entring by multitudes into* Italy. All historians agree that these were the *Cimbri*. And the very corslet of their king *Belus*, which was dug up at *Aix* in *Province*, where they were routed by *Marius*, confirms the same; for upon it was inscribed, in an outlandish character, BELEOS CIMBROS: Likewise all authors unanimously consent that they were *Gauls*, who under the command of *Brennus* plunder'd *Delphos* in *Greece*. And yet we learn from *Appian* in his *Illyrics*, that these were named *Cimbri*. The *Celtæ*, or *Gauls*, says he, who are called *Cimbrians*. And now I think it unnecessary to cite the authority of *Lucan*, who stiles the ruffian that was hir'd to murder *Marius*, a *Cimbrian*; which very man is called by *Livy* and others a *Gaul*; nor insist on the authority of *Plutarch*, by whom the *Cimbrians* are named *Gallosçythians*; nor appeal to *Reinerius Reineccius*, an excellent historian, who positively affirms out of *Plutarch's* life of *Sertorius*, that the *Gauls* and *Cimbrians* used the same language. Nor lastly, will I strain to my purpose that only word of the *Cimbrians*, which is now extant among authors, and produced by *Pliny* out of *Philemon*, which signifies the dead sea, and it is called *Morimarusa*, altho' it be purely *British*: For *Mor*, with the *Welsh* signifies *Sea*, and *Marw*, dead.

Since these nations agreed in their most antient name, from whence should it come into this island? Why from *Gaul*, by the first planters, who were di-

vided

vided only by a narrow channel. For the world was not all over peopled at once, but we muſt grant that the countries neareſt the mountains of *Armenia*, (where the ark reſted, and whence mankind was encreaſed) were earlieſt inhabited: As for example, the leſſer *Aſia* and *Greece*, before *Italy*; *Italy*, before *Gaul*; and ſo *Gaul*, before *Britain*. And herein we may delightfully contemplate the frame of the world, and how commodiouſly the great Creator has connected the regions, and interſperſed the iſlands in it, that no one is ſo remote, but it may be commanded even with the eye, from another: With deſign in all probability, that when one nation ſhould grow too populous, they might not be at a loſs to tranſplant themſelves, but ſee where they might moſt conveniently remove; till the whole univerſe ſhould be imparted to the uſe of mankind, and the glory of its Creator. We may preſume therefore, that the antient *Gomerians* of *Gaul*, were either driven forth by thoſe who obtruded upon them, or ſent out for the eaſe, of a country over-ſtock'd, or inflamed by a curioſity, natural in men, to travel and ſee foreign places; ſo croſſed over to this iſland, which they might view from their own continent. And it ſtands to reaſon that every country ſhould receive its firſt inhabitants from places adjacent, rather than thoſe at a diſtance: For who would not think that *Cyprus* was firſt peopled out of *Aſia*, next to it; *Candia* and *Sicily* out of neighbouring *Greece*; and *Corſica*, out of its neighbour *Italy*; or to come homeward, *Zealand* out of *Germany*, neareſt to it; and *Iſeland* out of *Norway*; rather than from the remote tracts of *Tartary* and *Barbary*? And why ſhould not we think that *Britain* was in like manner firſt inhabited by the *Gauls* their neighbours, rather than run up to the *Trojans* or *Italians*, the *Albans* and *Brutans*, ſo widely removed from us. Nor indeed do antient authors draw our original from any other place than the neighbouring *Gauls*: *The inner parts of* Britain *are inhabited by thoſe* (ſays *Cæſar*) *who as they report themſelves, were born in the iſland; the ſea-coaſt by thoſe who, to make new conqueſts, paſſed thither out of* Belgium *in* Gaul; *who all in a manner, bear the names of the cities from whence they came, being ſettled in their new plantations.* For there were in *Britain* as in *Gaul*, people named *Belgæ*, *Atrebatij*, *Pariſij*, *Cenomanni*, &c. To the ſame purpoſe ſays *Tacitus*: *Conſidering all things, 'tis moſt likely that the* Gauls *being neighbours, for the generality peopled the land of* Britain. *Bede* alſo, among all our writers a conſtant friend to truth, ſays, that at firſt this iſland was only inhabited by thoſe *Britains* (from whom alſo it took its name) who are ſaid to have croſſed over from *Armonica* to *Britain* to have taken poſſeſſion of the ſouthern parts thereof Now he calls that tract of *Armnoica* the ſea coaſt of *Gaul*, oppoſite to our iſland. It makes alſo to our purpoſe that *Cæſar* reports how *Divitiacus*, the *Gaul*, even within his memory, held a good part of *Gaul* and alſo of *Britain*,

Britain under his government, and what is of greater moment, *Pliny* reckons the *Britains* among the maritime people of *Gaul*, and places them over againſt our iſland of *Britain* near the county of *Bullen*: As alſo does *Dionyſius Afer*, a more antient writer than he, in the following verſes,

At that remoteſt angle of the land,
Where *Hercules* his lofty columns ſtand;
The bold *Iberian*, all the country ſways,
Along the continent; where northern ſeas
Roul the ſtrong tide, and ſwell the chilly wave,
To where the *Britains* dwell, and *Germans* fair and brave.

For theſe words, *where the Britains*, ſeem to have reſpect unto thoſe others, *along the continent*. And *Euſtathius*, who wrote a comment upon him, thinks the *Britains* in *Gaul* to be here meant, whoſe words are, *And from theſe* Britains *the iſles of* Britain *over againſt them took their denomination*. But *Avienus* and *Stephanus* in his book of *Cities*, are of a contrary opinion.

Moreover, there was one and the ſame religion profeſſed by both theſe people; For, among the *Britains*, ſays *Tacitus*, " there is to be ſeen in their " ceremonies and ſuperſtitions, an apparent conformity with the *Gauls*." And *Solinus* ſays, the *Gauls*, after a moſt deteſtable manner, to the infamy rather than the honour of religion, offer'd up human ſacrifices. That the *Britains* did the very ſame, is reported among others by *Dion Caſſius* in his *Nero*. That both nations had their *Druids* is ſufficiently witneſſed by *Cæſar* and *Tacitus*, and the entire account of them from the former of thoſe authors, will not, I hope, be here thought tedious. " The *Druids*, ſays *Cæſar*, are pre- " ſent at all divine ſervice: They ſuperintend all publick and private ſacri- " fices; are the interpreters alſo of their religious rights and ceremonies. To " theſe, young men gather in congregations to be inſtructed, and thoſe do " they highly eſteem and honour. They arbitrate and determine all contro- " verſies, as well private as public; and in facts of a heinous nature, in caſes " of murder, and violence; variance about eſtates, or bounds of land, they " give judgment or award; and at their diſcretion, diſpence rewards or pu- " niſhments. If any ſingle perſon, or corporation, abides not by their decree, " they excommunitate him the ſacrifices, and this among them is beheld as " the moſt grievous of puniſhments. They who are thus interdicted, are ac- " counted the moſt abandoned and profligate of their people. All men ſhun " either to conſort, and converſe with, or approach them, as thoſe from whom " they ſhould fear infection. The benefit of the law is deny'd them, though " they ſeek it; and they are render'd incapable of any office, though they

" ſhould ſue for it. Over all theſe *Druids*, they have one preſident, who is " inveſted with the ſupream authority; and when he dies, his ſucceſſor is " choſen from the moſt worthy among them. But if there be many candidates " of equal merit, then one is elected by the majority of voices among the " *Druids*; and ſometimes theſe elections are not decided without violence and " bloodſhed. Theſe *Druids* have a formal anniverſary aſſembly about *Carnutes* " (or *Charters*,) held to be the middle of *France*, in a certain place conſecra- " ted for that purpoſe. Hither reſort all thoſe who have any ſuits or contro- " verſies depending, and they ſubmit to the judgments there pronounced in their " ſeveral cauſes. This ſort of religious profeſſion, is thought to have firſt " ſprung up in *Britain*; and from thence to have been tranſlated into *France*; " and even now, thoſe who deſire to be moſt perfectly vers'd in their myſte- " ries, go over into that iſland for their inſtruction. They are wont to be " exempted from all ſervice in the wars, and offices in the magiſtracy, " nor, like the reſt, do they pay any tribute. By theſe immunities, many are " encouraged to become their diſciples, through their own accord, or the diſ- " poſition of their parents, In their ſchools they are ſaid to learn by heart " a great number of verſes, and continue in that condition of pupillage for " ſome years, nor is it held lawful for them to commit what they ſo learn, " to writing: Whereas in other (ſecular) matters, either public or private, they " make uſe of the (1) *Greek* characters; and this order they have, I ſuppoſe, " conſtituted, for two reaſons; becauſe they would n t have their doctrines " become vulgar, nor their ſcholars neglect their own memories, by truſting " to written books; as it often happens among men of letters, to the detri- " ment of their induſtry and their parts. One of the fundamental points " of their doctrine is to perſuade their ſcholars of the immortality of the " ſoul, and its tranſmigration, out of one man, after death, into another. " And this doctrine, removing the fears of death, they thought would beſt " excite men to noble and valiant enterprizes. They alſo diſputed, and in- " ſtructed their pupils in matters of aſtronomy and metaphyſicks; the motion " of the heavenly bodies, the magnitude of the ſpheres, the nature of things,

(1) Some learned Men, and Mr. *Selden* among the reſt, have thought that this word *Greek*, has corruptly crept into the Copies of *Cæſar's* Commentaries; and that the *Druids* did not underſtand the *Greek* Tongue; becauſe the ſame *Cæſar*, writing to *Quintus Cicero* (beſieged among the *Nervians*) penned his Letter in *Greek*, leſt it ſhould be intercepted, and give Intelligence to the Enemies; which had been but a pitiful Project, if the *Druids*, their Miniſters of State, had been Maſters of that Language. But *Milton* in his Hiſt. *Britain*, takes it in the uſual Acceptation; and wonders how any body out of *Cæſar* can affirm that the *Druids* committed nothing to writing (as our Author *Camden* himſelf does a few Pages before) whereas they uſed to commit every thing to Writing, and that in *Greek*, but the Doctrines and Myſteries of their Religion.

" with

" with the power and majeſty of the immortal Gods." Wherefore *Lucan*, deſcribes them in this manner.

The *Druids* now while arms are heard no more,
Old myſteries, and barb'rous rites reſtore:
A tribe who ſingular religion love,
And haunt the lonely coverts of the grove.
To theſe, and theſe of all mankind alone,
The Gods are ſure reveal'd, or ſure unknown.
If dying mortals doom's they ſing aright,
No ghoſt deſcends to dwell in dreadful night:
No parting ſouls to griſly *Pluto* go,
Nor ſeek the dreary ſilent ſhades below:
But forth they fly immortal in their kind,
And other bodies in new worlds they find.
Thus life for ever runs its endleſs race,
And like a line, death but divides the ſpace;
A ſtop which can but for a moment laſt,
A point between the future and the paſt.
Thrice happy they, beneath their *northern* skies,
Who that worſt fear, the fear of death, deſpiſe:
Hence they no cares for this frail Being feel,
But ruſh undaunted on the pointed ſteel;
Provoke approaching fate, and bravely ſcorn,
To ſpare that life which muſt ſo ſoon return.

Rowe's Tranſlat.

By whatever name they were known to their *Celtæ* and the *Britains*, this name of *Druid* is derived it ſeems from a *Greek* word, ſignifying an *Oak*, both becauſe their uſual reſort was in groves of *Oak*, and they eſteemed nothing more ſacred than the *Miſſelto* which grows upon that tree. Whence *Ovid* writes in this manner.

And they were wont to ſing, ye *Druids* go,
Go *Druids* to your ſacred *Miſſelto.*

Nay, they celebrated no ſacrifice or divine ſervice without ſome branches and leaves of the *Oak*. But *Pliny* has more amply deſcribed the particulars of their ceremonies as to this reſpect, in the following words. " The *Druids*, " for ſo the *Gauls* call their divines, account nothing in the world more ſacred

" than

" than *Miſſelto*, and the tree whereon it grows, provided it is an *Oak*: There-
" fore by the way, thoſe prieſts were wont to chuſe ſuch unmixed groves as
" ran all upon this kind of tree; nor did they ſolemnize any ſacrifices or cere-
" monies without ſome branches, and even leaves of this tree, ſo that from
" thence they may well ſeem to have been named *Dryidæ* by the *Greeks*,
" and indeed whatever they find growing to, or upon that tree, beſides acorns
" they eſteemed as a token from heaven, and a ſure ſign that their God has
" made a preference of that peculiar tree: And no wonder, for the *Miſſelto*
" is a great ſcarcity, and rare to be met with upon the *Oak* (1); and when it
" is found they gather it with great ſolemnity. Firſt, they carefully obſerve
" that the moon is juſt ſix days old, with which they begin the computation
" of their months, years, and alſo their ages, which have their revolution
" every thirty years; becauſe ſhe is then thought to have waxed to a ſufficient
" or critical influence, being not yet arrived at half full, or the end of her firſt
" quarter. Moreover they call this plant in their language *Allheal*, for the
" ſovereign virtues they conceive in it. Now having prepared their ſacrifices
" and feſtival entertainment, under the *Oak*, out of which it ſprouts, they
" bring thither two white bullocks, whoſe horns are then, and not before, bound
" up; then the prieſt habited in a white veſtment, climbs the tree, and with a
" golden hook or bill, cuts of the branch, and thoſe attending underneath re-
" ceive it carefully in a white caſſock. Then they proceed to kill the beaſts
" for ſacrifice, with offering of many prayers to God, that he would beſtow
" his bleſſing upon this his gift, to their good who receiv'd it. They have a
" conceit that a decoction of this *Miſſelto*, given to any barren creature, will
" certainly make it fruitful; alſo, that it is a ſovereign antidote againſt all
" ſorts of poiſon: So ſuperſtitious are people often in ſuch triſles." And here-
unto agrees *Diodorus Siculus*, who in the ſame ſenſe has termed theſe prieſts of the *Gauls*, *Saronidæ*, which word, as all know who have any skill in the

(1) And how great a Rarity the *Miſſelto* of the Oak is at this Day, at leaſt in *England*, we may learn from Sir *John Colbatch*, who tells us, he had been thirty five years a diligent Searcher after it, but could never ſee one Sprig, nor ever met with above two Perſons who had ſeen any of it. Wherefore he thinks the *Druids* knew the ſecret of raiſing it artificially, as ſome do to make their leaf-ſhedding Trees look Green all the Winter, by ſlitting the Bark of ſuch Trees as were for their purpoſe, and letting in the Seeds which are taken out of its white Berries; for ſo, he ſays, every *Oak* in *England* may be made to bear *Miſſelto*. Alſo, he agrees with Sir *John Floyer*, who ſays, the Vertues of the Tree and the *Miſſelto* ſo much differ, that it cannot be better on one Tree than another: And that he could find no excellency in that of the *Oak* above others. See Sir *John Colbatch*'s *Diſſert.* on *Miſſelto*, a wonderful Specific in Convulſive Diſtempers, 8o, 1723, p. 25, 26, *&c.* and Sir *John Floyer*'s Touch-ſtone for Medicines.

Greek

Greek tongue, ſignifies *Oaks*. And *Maximus Tyrius* writes, " that the *Celtæ* " or *Gauls* worſhip *Jupiter*, of whom, they make the higheſt *Oak* the " ſymbol or repreſentative." Further it may ſeem to proceed from theſe *Druids* that our *Saxons*, as we read in *Alfric*, called a magician *Dry* in their language: conerning whom, if you are diſpoſed to be further informed, I refer you to *Mela*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius De Preparatione Evangelica*, and the Comedy *Anlularia*, of *Pſeudo-Plautus*.

The *Gauls* (or *Frenchmen*) had alſo *Bards* among their religious perſons, whoſe office it was to ſing to the harp, the carrols they had compoſed upon the exploits of famous men; from whence it is that *Lucan*, before cited, ſpeaks thus to them,

> Ye antient Poets, Bards, whoſe only care
> Is to reſound who fought and fell in war:
> Your martial muſe has ſoar'd with tuneful tongue,
> And in ſoft peace more unmoleſted ſung.

And theſe are called after the ſame name at this day by our preſent *Britons*, for they now call ſuch men bards, who beſides this their poetical function, have alſo applyed themſelves particularly to the ſtudy of genealogies. But whether the *Britains* believed as the *Gauls* did, that they were deſcended from *Pluto*, we have no record to inform us. But hence it was the *Gauls* reckon'd their time by nights, and ſet them before the days; in which cuſtom our *Britains* agreed with them. For that which the *Latins* call *Septamana*, and two *Septimanæ*, the *Welſh*, term *With-nos*; that is *eight nights*: and *Pimthec-nos*, that is, *fifteen nights*. (1)

Both nations alſo ſeem to have framed to themſelves one conſtitution of government for neither of them were in ſubjection to one ſole monarch, but as *Gaul*, ſo *Britain* had many kings. And as the *Gauls*, in matters of extraordinary importance, called a national council, and elected a ruler in chief, ſo did the *Britains*; as may be gathered out of theſe words of *Ceſar*. " The " ſovereign command and management of the war, was a common-council " granted to *Caſſibeline*."

(1) So the *Saxons* number'd their years by *Winters*. And we ſtill retain that old way of reckoning by Nights, when we uſe the word *Sen'night* and *Fortnight*. And Sir *H. Spelman* concludes, from *Strabo*'s obſerving the *Britains* paid moſt worſhip to the infernal Deities *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*; that this gave occaſion of reckoning by *Nights* and *Winters*. *Iceni*.

Nor

Nor was each nation unlike the other, in manners, cuſtoms and ways of liſe. They were both a ſtout brave people, inclined to war and ſlaughter; and whether in military engagements, or any other perils, they were as forward to expoſe themſelves the one as the other; according to *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, *Herodian*, and others. " In their cuſtoms and conditions, ſays *Strabo*, " the *Britains* are partly like the *Gauls*." And further adds, " In battle " they are generally fierce and cruel, like ſome of the *Gauls*." *Tacitus* agreeing with him, tells us, " The *Britains*, who were not ſubdu'd by the *Romans*, remain ſuch as the antient *Gauls* were." And in another place, " Next " neighbours to the *Gauls* are the *Britains*, and much reſemble them." And *Mela* informs us, " That the *Britains* when they fought, were armed and " accoutred after the ſame faſhion with the *Gauls*." The manner, both of one and the other, in time of war, was to draw up and divide their ſquadrons, according to the provinces from whence they were muſter'd, that it might be the better diſtinguiſh'd how they ſignaliz'd their valour. That this kind of diſcipline was practiſed by the *Gauls*, is atteſted by *Cæſar* in theſe words. " The " *Gauls*, ſays he, drawn up in diſtinct battalions, according to their ſeveral " ſtates and cities, ſecur'd the fords and paſſes." And *Tacitus* affirms the ſame of the *Britains*, in the battle of *Caractacus*, " The troops of the ſeveral " countries ſtood before the fortifications."

The *Gauls*, ſays *Strabo*, are of a quick docible wit, and readily take any kind of learning: So were the *Britains*, whoſe genius was preferr'd by *Agricola* in *Tacitus*, before the ſtudents in *Gaul*; inſomuch as they who lately rejected the *Roman* language, were now curious to attain it's eloquence." The *Gauls* were men of an ingenious and honeſt principle, as *Strabo* further obſerves; and *Tacitus* notes as much in the *Britains*, ſaying, " They are willing to endure " levies of men and money, and other burdens which the empire lays upon " them, provided no unjuſt impoſitions are offer'd them."

Cæſar reports the *Gauls* were much inclin'd to alterations of government, thro' the fickleneſs and levity of their temper. And the *Britains* in like manner, ſays *Tacitus*, were variable and divided into parties and factions. Thro' this inconſtancy of the *Gauls*, which *Cæſar* more genteely ſtiles an infirmity, they at laſt became ſo credulous, that the credulity of the *Gauls* grew into a proverb, and gave occaſion to that of the poet,

> And ſwelling with the dear conceit will I
> Become a *Gaul* in fond credulity.

Nor have our *Britains* as yet degenerated from them in this particular, who moſt

moſt attentively liſten to every old woman's tale, and thro' a ſuperſtitious hope or fear, are ever ready to credit the moſt fooliſh prophecies.

We read in *Strabo*, that the *Gauls* would be highly grieved at any abuſe that was offer'd to their kindred. That the ſame ſympathy predominates in the temper of our *Britains* above all other nations, is known to all, and better known than can be expreſſed.

The *Gauls*, as *Cæſar* reports, had, proportionable to their diſtinction from each other in birth and fortune, ſo many more ſervants and dependants in their retinue: Theſe they called *Ambacti*: and this was the only ſtate or pomp among them. Nor do our nobility or gentry of *Wales*, account any thing ſo creditable, or affect a ſplendor in any other ſort of grandeur, at this day: From whom it is thought the *Engliſh* have learned to lead after them ſuch a train of attendants, and in which kind of magnificence we have not long ſince ſurpaſſed all other nations in *Europe*.

We are informed both by *Cæſar* and *Strabo*, that the *Britiſh* buildings were in every reſpect agreeable to thoſe of the *Gauls*, and that they were ſeated in the midſt of woods.

Strabo obſerves that the *Gauls* were wont to wear gold chains about their necks; and *Banduica*, the *Britiſh* queen, is recorded by *Xiphiline* to have worn a golden chain, with a garment of many colours. Nor is that kind of ornament any where more in uſe at this day than in this iſland among our People.

That both the *Britains* and *Gauls* were accuſtomed to adorn their middle finger with a ring, we receive the intelligence from *Pliny*.

The aforeſaid *Strabo* remarks of the *Gauls*, that they were uſed to indulge the hair upon their heads; and *Cæſar* teſtifies of the *Britains*, that they appeared with their locks flowing down their ſhoulders.

Many authors declare that the *Gauls* wore certain garments, which they called *Brachæ* in their native tongue; that theſe were alſo common to our *Britains* appears by this verſe in *Martial*.

> Then the old *Brachæ*, by poor *Britains* worn.

I paſs over, without any reflection, upon what *Silius Italicus* writes of the *Gauls*.

> The *Gauls*, too hot at firſt, ſoon cold we find;
> Vain is their words, inconſtant is their mind.

Becauſe the qualities are common to moſt nations. And here I might add ſeveral

ſeveral other particulars wherein the *Gauls* and *Britains* have run in a parallel, but I forbear, leſt I ſhould give any occaſion of aſperſion to ill natur'd people. Beſides, I always thought that an exemplary rule, which advices *moderation in all things.* And laſtly, perhaps this argument, drawn from a community of manners, may not be look'd upon as one of the greateſt weight.

But now we are come to the *Language,* in which lies the main ſtrength of this controverſy, it being what will give the cleareſt evidence of a peoples original. For I ſuppoſe it will be freely granted, that thoſe nations who converſe in the ſame language, are derived from one and the ſame founders. And if all the hiſtories that ever were written, had been deſtroyed; or no writer had left it upon record, that the *Engliſhmen* are deſcended from the *Germans*; the natural *Scots* from the *Iriſh*; the *Britains* of *Armorica*, or *Britagne* in *France*, from our *Britains* of this iſland; ſuch derivations would eaſily be confirmed, by the apparent conformity which we find in their tongues; nay, and more manifeſtly prove it, than the authority of the beſt hiſtorians. If therefore I can make it evident that our *Britains* uſed the ſame language with the antient *Gauls* (1) it muſt be undeniably confeſſed they had alſo the ſame original. Nor need I overlook the place where *Cæſar* writes, that the *Gauls* had divers languages among them; ſince *Strabo* diſtinguiſhes that they only differ in dialect: "They did not all, ſays he, every where ſpeak a language exactly the ſame, "but varied ſomewhat, though little from one another". But that the antient *Britains* ſpoke the ſame language with the *Gauls*, allowing ſome variation of dialects, may from *Cæſar*'s own words be reaſonably deduced; who ſays, "it "was cuſtomary with thoſe *Gauls*, who were deſirous of becoming proficients in "the doctrines and diſcipline of the *Druids*, to paſs over to the *Britiſh* "*Druids*, for their inſtruction." And ſince they had no books, it muſt ſtand to reaſon, that both people ſpoke one tongue. And ſo *Cornelius Tacitus* more expreſly declares, "for, ſays he, the *Britiſh* ſpeech, and that of *Gaul*, have "but little difference between them". Whence it is that *Beatus Rhenanus*, *Geſner*, *Hottoman*, *Peter Daniel*, *Picardus*, and all others, who have honoured venerable antiquity with their pens, agree with me, except ſome inconſiderable number who would inſinuate that the *Gauls* were wont to ſpeak in the *German* language. But leſt any man herein ſhould think of blinding our eyes with the clouds of ſophiſtical argument, it may in this place be expedient to collect and compare as many words as we can find of the old *Gauls* (2),

(1) See the opinion of *Iſaac Pontanus* hereupon in *Camden*'s Epiſtles, p. 90.

(2) Our Author informs us that theſe *Britiſh* Words, he gather'd out of *William Salisbury's Britiſh* Dictionary, and another Manuſcript.

like

like so many planks and remnants of a shipwreck, seeing the body of the language itself, is now sunk and drowned in the waves of oblivion; and it will soon appear that many of them, without any straining or scarcely alteration, will perfectly agree with our *British* words, both in sound and sense.

And first *Ausonius*, speaking of a fountain at *Bordeaux* in this verse,

Divonia, fountain of the gods in *Gaul*.

Witnesses that *Divonia*, in their tongue, signified *God's Fountain*; now God is called by our *Britains*, *Dyw*, and a fountain *Vonan*, whereof *Divonan* is compounded, and by the *Latin Idiom*, for sake of the verse, *Divona*.

According to several authors, we find that *Jupiter*, whom the *Greeks*, from the word *thunder*, called *Brontaios*, and the *Latins Tonans*, that is, the *Thunderer*, was worshipped under the name of *Taranis* by the *Gauls*. Now in the *British* tongue, *Taran* is understood for *thunder*; and, agreeable hereto, the *Germans* seem to have called *Jupiter*, *Thonder*: For *Jupiter's* day, or *Thursday*, they call *Thonderdach*; as much as to say, the *Thunderer's Day*.

The *Gauls* had another god who is called *Hesus* by *Lucan*, and *Heus*, by *Lactantius*, and he is styled the *barking Anubis*, by the author of the *Querolus*, because he was figured in the shape of a *Dog*. Now among our Modern *Britains*, *Huad* signifies a *Dog*.

The *Gauls* did certainly worship *Mercury* under the name of *Teutates*, as the inventor of arts and guide of their journeys: And *Diew Taith*, in our *British* tongue, is as much as the *God* of *Travelling*; and I know that *Plato* in his *Phædrus* and *Philebus*; is called *Theut*: However there are some who take *Teutates* for the same whom the *Germans* call *Tuisco* in *Tacitus*, and to be all one with *Mars*; and that we, the descendants of the *Germans*, therefore name *Mars's* day *Tuesday*. Concerning these three gods of the *Gauls*, take these lines of *Lucan*.

They, who the sacrifice of human gore,
On *Hesus*, and *Teutates* altars pour;
And whom, to worship, *Tanaris* incites;
Like curs'd *Diana*, with dire *Scythian* rites.

St. *Augustine* and *Isidore* inform us, that those foul spirits call'd *Incubi*, were termed by the *Gauls Dusij*, from the constant or continual repetition of their uncleanness: Now whatsoever is *daily* and *continual*, the *Britains* to this day express by the word *Dyth*.

Pomponius Mela writes, that an order of religious women, who attended on one of the deities of the *Gauls*, and had taken the vow of virginity, were called by them *Senæ*, but *Lenæ* as I would read it, if I might take the liberty; For thoſe conſecrated virgins we now call *Nuns*, were called *Leanes* by the *Britains*, as we find in an old dictionary. Whence that very ancient nunnery, *Lean-Minſter*, now called *Lemſter*, drew its name.

Polybius tells us, that the *Gauls* called their mercenary ſoldiers, in their own language, *Geſſatæ*; and at this day, the *Welſh* call their hired ſervants, *Gueſſin*.

Surius informs us, that the valiant men were called by the *Gauls*, *Geſſi*; and *Guaſſdewr* imports the ſame among the *Britains*.

And to this place might be referr'd that word *Geſſum*, which was a weapon proper to the *Gauls*, as *Pilum* to the *Romans*, and *Framea* to the *Germans*; but of this hereafter.

Vegetius will inſtruct us, that, as the *Macedonian* legion was called *Phalanx*, ſo that of the *Gauls* was named *Caterva*: Which word is not yet worn out of uſe with the *Britains*, who uſed to call a troop *Caturſa*; and war, by the word *Kad*; and the warlike ſtrength of a legion *Kaderne*, and alſo *Caterna*, as it is found in ſome copies of this author.

To this *Kad*, may be naturally referred the *Cateia*, which was a ſort of warlike weapon among the *Gauls*, as we learn out of *Iſidore*.

That weapon of the *Gauls* call'd *Geſſa*, is interpreted by *Servius* to be a man's ſpear; and the *Britiſh Cethilou*, ſeems to have ſome affinity with it, which is explained by *Ninnius* to ſignify, *Stakes burnt at the end*, and alſo, *a Warlike generation* (1).

The *Gauls* whom *Brennus* led into *Greece*, called in their own tongue, ſays *Pauſanias*, that form or order in the engagement of their cavalry, which conſiſts of three horſes in a rank, by the name of *Trimarcia*; for a horſe they call *Marca*, ſo that the whole is to this day pure *Welſh*: For *Tri* ſignifies three, and *March* a *Horſe*.

In the ſame book *Pauſanias* records, that the *Gauls* call the ſhields of their own country *Thireos*; which alſo the *Britains* at this day name *Tarian*.

We are told by *Servius* that *Cæſar*, in the journal which he wrote, giving an account, how that being ſnatch'd up, armed as he was, by a *Gaul*, and born away upon his horſe, they met another of the *Gauls*, who knowing him,

(1) Concerning this *Geſſa* and ſome of the ſucceeding Words produced by our Author to maintain his *Hypotheſis*, ſee more in *Voſſius*, *de Vitiis Serm.* lib. 1. cap. 2, &c.

cried

cried out, insultingly to him *Cetos Cæsar*, in their tongue, as much as to say, *Let go Cæsar.* Now among the *Britains Geduch* expresses as much.

The old *Gaulish* word *Rheda*, says *Quintilian*, signifies the same as *Carruca* or chariot, among the *Latins*; which word, though it is not now to be met with in the *British* tongue, yet that it has been in use among the *Britains*, is plainly demonstrated by the *Rhediad*, which denotes a course; *Rheder* to run, and *Rhedecsa* a race; which, that they sprung from the same original, need not be questioned. And wherein would be the absurdity of deriving from the same word, that *Eporedia*, a city of the *Salassians*, which *Pliny* intimates, to have taken its name from *Horse-breakers?*

There was another sort of chariot, common to both nations, which they distinguished by one name, *Covinus*; and the driver, by *Covinarius*; and though we have lost the word as well as the chariot, yet its principles, as I may call them, remain still among the *Britains*, in whose language the word *Kowain* signifies to *carry or ride in a Wagon.*

Essedum was also a *Gaulish* wagon or chariot proper for the wars, which is attributed to the *Britains*, not only by *Cæsar*, but also by *Propertius*, in this verse,

Stop here your *British* carrs, with harness grav'd.

Circius is the noted name of a wind, to which *Augustus Cæsar* not only vowed, but built a temple in *Gaul.* That the word is *Gaulish*, *Phavorinus* a *Gaulois* born alledges in *Agellius.* "Our *Gauls*, says he, call the wind "blowing out of their land, and which is the most boisterous in those parts, "by the name of *Circius*; I suppose from the whistling and blustering that it makes." For of all winds it is known to be most violent. Now *Cyrch* in the *Welsh* litany betokens force and violence.

The *Pennine Alps*, which are called by *Cæsar* the highest *Alps*, had not this name given them, according to *Livy*, from *Hannibal Pœnus* of *Carthage*; but from that hill, which, with the uppermost point upon the *Alps*, the mountaineers of *Gaul* consecrated and called *Penninus.* Now the tops of hills are signified to this day among the *Britains*, by the word *Pen*; whence those which are our highest mountains, as *Pen-mon-maur*, *Pendle*, *Pen*, *Pencoh-cloud*, and *Pennigent*, all derive their names; and even the *Appennine* mountains in *Italy* do no less.

Cæsar tells us, those cities of the *Gauls* which bordered upon the Sea, were called by them, *Aremoricæ*; with whom the *Britains* do perfectly agree, for with them, *Ar-more*, is as much as to say *by the Sea.* And to the same sense are they named in *Greek*, *Apoceanidas* by *Strabo.*

There was an inſurrection in the reign of the Emperor *Dioclesian*, among the peaſants in *Gaul*, and this faction was there called *Bauchadæ*: Thus the herdſmen and ruſticks among the *Britains*, are called *Beichiad.*

Sidonius records that the *Gauls*, called the thieves born among them, *Vargæ*: And I have found in the dictionary belonging to the cathedral of *Llandaff*, that thieves in the *Britiſh* tongue were antiently known by the name of *Veriad.*

The antient and excellent ſcholiaſt upon *Juvenal*, teaches us that the *Allobrogæ* were ſo named becauſe *Brogæ* among the *Gauls*, ſignified a country, and *Alla*, another; as tho' *removed* from another place: Thus *Bro* in *Britiſh* is a *region* or *territory*, and *Allan*, *without* or *external.* So that they agree as to their extraction in both tongues.

Pliny remarks that there is a certain herb like *Plantain*, called in *Gaul*, *Glaſtum*, wherewith the antient *Britains*, diſcoloured or painted their bodies: This is the herb known to us by the name of *Woad*, and it dyes of a blue colour; which colour is at this day called by the *Britains*, *Glas.* The ſame herb was called in *Greek*, *Iſatis* according to *Pliny*; and the *Dyers* call it *Vitrum*, as we learn from *Oribaſius.* And hence may we correct an error in *Pomponius Mela*, by reading *Vitro* inſtead of *Ultro*; where he ſays, *Britanni incertum ob decorem, an ob quid aliud*, Ultro *corpora infecti*; meaning, *'Tis doubtful whether it was for the ſake of making a gallant figure, or any other end, that the* Britains *ſtained their bodies with* Vitrum *or* Woad.

The *Gallathæ*, who ſpoke the ſame language with the *Gauls*, according to St. *Jerom*, had a little ſhrub among them, which they called *Coccus*, wherewith they made a deep red or ſcarlet dye: The ſame colour is at this day called by the *Britains*, *Coch.*

That the *Brachæ* were a clothing common both to the *Gauls* and *Britains*, we have before related; they are deſcribed to be a ſhaggy party-colour'd garment by *Diodorus Siculus*: And even now, the *Britains* call any ragged unſightly clothes, *Brati.*

If *Laina* was an old *Gauliſh* word, as *Strabo* ſeems to inſinuate, " when he " ſays that the *Gauls* weave themſelves thick coats of coarſe wool, which they " call *Laina*"; the *Britains* have not much varied from them, who now call wool by the name of *Glawn.*

Bardus in the language of the *Gauls* ſignifies a *Singer*, according to *Feſtus Pompeius*: And that is a pure *Britiſh* word (1).

(1) Of theſe antient *Bards* and their Poetry, ſee more in Dr. *Powels* Hiſt. of *Wales*: *Spenſer's* View of *Ireland*, and *Selden's* Notes in *Mich. Drayton's* Poetical deſcription of *Eng.* called *Polyolbion.* fol. 67 and 97.

Bardocucullus

Bardocucullus was the cloak or mantle worn by the bards of *Gaul*, as we find in *Martial* and others: Now as the first part, so the rest of the word, remains entire among the *Britains*, who call such a cloak, *Cucul*.

" There was a kind of corn growing in *Gaul*, which they call *Brance*, and " we *Sandalum*, says *Pliny*, a very fine sort of grain". And the *Britains* had a sort of grain yeilding a fine flour; it was called *Guineth Vranc* and among us in *Norfolk*, *Branke*.

The herb which the *Greeks*, from its consisting of five leaves, call *Pentaphyllon*, was named by the *Gauls*, *Pempedulla*; as it is described by *Apuleius*. Now *Pymp* in *British* signifies five, and *Deilen* a leaf.

As by that word *Pymp* the *Gauls* expressed the number five, so by *Petor*, the number four, as we learn out of *Festus*; who makes it appear that a chariot or wagon of the *Gauls* was named *Petoritum* from its four wheels: Now among the *Britains*, the word *Pedwar* signifies four.

Among wooden instruments, the *Canterium* of the *Latins*, which we in *English* call a *Leaver*, was called, says *Isidore*, by the *Gauls*, *Guvia*; and now the same in the *British* language is called *Gwif*.

That which the *Latins* call *Betula*, and we the *Birch*, is said by *Pliny* to have been a *Gaulish* tree: If he was now living, he would call it the *British* tree, for it grows abundantly in *Britain*; and in the *British* language it is called *Bedw*.

We read in *Athenæus*, that Wine diluted with Water, was called by the *Gauls*, *Dercoma*; and among the *Britains*, *Dwr* signifies water.

And so, not to instance every particular, we find in *Dioscorides*, that the herb *Fern*, call'd *Filix* in *Latin*; by the old *Gauls*, *Ratis*; is termed in the *British*, *Redin*. That the *Elder* tree, in *Latin Sambucus*, was called *Scovies* by the *Gauls*, and now by the *Britains Iscaw*. The herb named *Seratula* in *Italy*; in old *Gaul*, *Vetonica*; the *Britains* and we call *Betany*. What the *Latins* call *Terra Adeps*, in *Pliny*, or *fat of the earth*, and the *Gauls*, *Merga*; the *Britains* call *Marle*. The white or bright *Marle*, named by the *Latins*, *candida Merga*; by the *Gauls*, *Gliscomarga*, might probably be call'd *Gluysmarl* by the *Britains*, for *Gluys*, in *Welsh*, is *shining* or *glistning*. A three footed stool called by the *Latins*, *Sellula Tripes*; by the *Gauls*, according to *Sulpitius Severus*, *Tripetia*, is named by the *Britains*, *Tribet*. That which the *Latins* mean by *centum pedes*, or a hundred feet, the *Gauls* in *Columella*, explain by *Candetum*, and the *Britains* by *Cantroed*. And a birds bill, called *Avis Rostrum* in *Latin*, the *Gauls*, says *Suetonius*, called *Becco*, and the *Britains*, by the name of *Pic*.

Nor should I yet be so fanciful in my conjectures as *Goropius* is, if I were to reduce *Suetonius* his *Galba*, which signifies *exceeding fat*, to the *British* word

word *Galvus*, denoting one of *great bulk*; or *Bulga*, in *Valerius Flaccus*, for a leathern *Budget*, to the *Britiſh Butſiet*; (1) or the *Soldurij* in *Cæſar*, (men devoted to live and die with one another,) to the *Britiſh Sowdiwr*; or *Pliny's Planaret* for a plough, to the word *Arat*, which in the *Britiſh* tongue ſignifies a plough; or *Iſidore's Taxea* for *Lard*, to the *Britiſh Tew*; or *Diodorus Siculus* his drink called *Zithum*, to their Sider; or *Cerviſia* to their *Keirch*, that is *Oats*, of which the *Welſh* in many places make their *Beer*, or rather *Cwrwf*, which we in *Engliſh* call *Ale*.

That theſe words were of the proper language among the antient *Gauls*, is evident from the atteſtations of the authors we have cited: And you obſerve how nearly for the generality they agree with our *Britiſh* words, both in ſound and ſenſe.

Thus much however may be further added, That ſeeing the antient names of places with both people, have the ſame terminations as *Dunum*, *Briva*, *Ritum*, *Duram*, *Magus*, &c. it may be inferr'd that the *Gauls* and *Britains* were not different nations. In like manner we may rationally conclude, that we *Engliſh* are ſprung from the *Germans*, ſince the modern names of our towns terminate in *Burrow*, *Berry*, *Ham*, *Steed*, *Ford*, *Thorp*, and *Wich*; all correſponding with the *Dutch* terminations, *Burg*, *Berg*, *Heim*, *Stadt*, *Furdt*, *Dorp*, and *Wic*.

Nay further, there may be ſuch convincing explanations given of ſome *Gauliſh* words, out of the *Britiſh* language, ſo agreeable to the nature and property of the things meant by them, that we muſt neceſſarily acknowledge, Thoſe names were either given by the *Britains*, or that theſe underſtood the *French* tongue: But an example or two upon this head may ſuffice.

Thoſe people inhabit the third part of Gaul, ſays Cæſar, *who in their own language are named* Celtæ, *in ours* Galli, and by the *Greeks Gallathæ*. But the moſt learned among the *French* could never inform us whence themſelves were called *Celtæ* and *Gallathæ*. Now I would recommend it to their conſideration whether it may not be derived from the *Britiſh* word *Gault*, which to this day ſignifies the *Hair of the Head*, as *Gualtoc* does *Comata*, that is *long-hair'd*; from whence the words *Celtica*, *Galathæ*, and *Galli*, ſeem to have been ſoftned by variety of pronunciation. Now that the long hair which the *Celtæ*, ſtudiouſly cheriſhed, gave the occaſion of their being cal'ed *Comati*, all the learned concur; and as for the letters *c*, and *k*. *q*, and *g*. conſidering them either in *power* or *ſound*, there is but little difference between them.

(1) *Vide Cooper's* Dict. in proper Names.

It

It is very well known that the famous river *Garonne* in *France*, ruſhes on with a kind of raging and impetuous courſe; whence the poets have called it the *ſtrong*, the *Sea-like*, the *rapid Garonne*; all which is imply'd by the *Britiſh* word *Garrw*.

The River *Arar* or *Seine*, glides ſo gently along, and looks ſo ſtill, that it is almoſt indiſcernable which way the ſtream moves; whence the poets deſcribed it by *Latin* epithets ſignifying the ſlow and ſtill *Arar*. Now *Ara* ſignifies *ſtill* and *ſlow* among the *Britains*.

The *Rhodanus* or *Rhoſne*, into which the *Arar* falls, runs with a ſwift, and violent current, and is therefore termed the *ſwift*, *preſſing* and *precipitous*. Now there is ſome reſemblance between this *Rhodanus*, and the *Britiſh* *Rhedec*, which denotes a *ſpeedineſs* in running.

Strabo and other writers obſerve, that the mountains *Gebennæ* (or the *Cevennes*) ſtretch out far in *Gaul*, like a long continued ridge; that *Keven* betokens as much among our *Britains*, appears by the *Britiſh* dictionary. And I have beheld in *Yorkſhire*, a long chain of hills, which the inhabitants there, about *Otley*, call the *Kevin*.

Conſidering that ſtones were antiently erected on the roads in *Gaul*, at fifteen hundred paces diſtance from each other, and that, as *Iornandes* certifies, the *French Leuca*, or league, contains the ſame number; I would therefore requeſt the learned among the *French* to conſider, whether their *Leuca* may not be deduced from the word *Leach*, by which the *Britains* expreſs a *Stone*.

That part of *France*, near the ſea, formerly called *Narbonenſis*, where *Hercules* and *Albion* are fabled to have fought, is overſpread with ſuch quantities of ſtones, as if they had deſcended in ſhowers upon the place: Wherefore it is called by authors the *Stony Plain*, and *Stony Strand*; And by the *French* at this day, *le Craux*, though unable to give any account for their ſo calling it: But ſtones in the *Britiſh* tongue are called *Craigs*.

The old inhabitants of the *Gauliſh* coaſt neareſt *Britain*, were called *Morini* in their own dialect: Now the ſea is underſtood in the *Britiſh* tongue by the word *Mor*, whence that appellation ſeems to have been deriv'd; for the *Britains* call ſuch as dwell upon the ſea coaſt *Morinwyr*; as *Aremorica* was antiently among the *Gauls*, and is at preſent among the *Britains*, taken for the ſea-ſide.

Thus a famous city of *Gaul* named *Arelate* (or *Arles*) ſeated in a moiſt watry ſoil, ſeems to have been ſo called from that very ſituation: For *Ar* in *Britiſh* ſignifies *upon*, and *Laith*, *Moiſture*.

Cæſar deſcribes *Uxellodunum* to ſignify a town on a hill, of difficult acceſs every way. Now by *Uckel* is meant *lofty* in the *Britiſh* tongue, and by *Dunum* a

high

high-ground or *hill*, as *Plutarch* in his little book of *Rivers* informs us our of *Clitiphon*; and the ſame word, by the antient *Britains* was alſo uſed to the ſame ſignification.

The promontory, which was called *Cythariſtes*, is placed by *Pliny*; in *Gaul*, near *Marſeilles*, where now ſtands the town of *Toulon*, and if any of our modern *Britains* are asked what name they have for *Cythera*, that is a harp, they will tell you *Telen*.

Again, to prove this affinity beyond all diſpute, it is plain, that though the modern *French* is much compounded of the *Latin* and *German*, yet does it retain many words of the old *Gauliſh* language: And I have been told, by thoſe who are skilful in both tongues, that many of thoſe *French* words which can be reduced neither to *Latin* nor *German* extraction, and therefore may be preſumed the reliques of the *Gallick* tongue, do approach as near as poſſible to that of the *Britains*. For example, the *French* uſe the word *Guerir* for our's *to heal*, and the *Britains* is *Gueriſ*: The *French* ſay *Guaine* for a *ſheath*, the *Britains Gwain*; The *French Derechef* for *again*, the *Britains Derchefu*; the *French Camur* for *crooked*, the *Britains Cam*: The *French Bateau* for a *Boat*, the *Britains Bad*: The *French Gourmand* for an *over-great-eater*; the *Britains Gormod*, for *over-much*: The *French Baſton* for a *ſtaff*; the *Britains Paſtwn*: The *French Accabler* to *oppreſs*; the *Britains Cablu*: The *French Havre* for a *Haven*; the *Britains*, *Aber*: And *Combe* is ſtill uſed for a *Valley*, by both nations. Many more words of this kind might be produced, which would perhaps but burden my reader, though they would ſerve to confirm my argument.

And though *Tacitus* writes that the *Æſtians*, a people of *Germany*, *approached the* Suevians *in faſhion, but the* Britains *in language*: This no way oppoſes my aſſertion. For languages, the moſt remote in place, may agree in ſome points; and *Augerius Busbequius*, ambaſſador from the Emperor to the Grand Signior, has lately obſerved many *Dutch* and *Engliſh* words, in *Crim-Tartary*.

Hence we may conclude, that the antient *Gauls* who poſſeſſed *France*, and the *Britains* of this iſle, ſpoke the ſame language; and from thence draw this further conſequence, that the *Britains* derive alſo their original from the *Gauls*; for we muſt acknowledge, as I before obſerved, that *France* was inhabited before *Britain*, being nearer to *Armenia*. Beſides, according to *Strabo*, as that country abounded with *Corn*, ſo did it much more in *Men*; and as the *Gauls* ſent colonies into *Italy*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Thrace*, and *Aſia*, tis at leaſt no leſs probable they did the like in *Britain*, ſo much nearer, and of no leſs inviting fertility than the reſt; nor is it leſs conducive to the glory of the

the *British* nation to be descended from those antient *Gauls*, who so surpassed others in martial Atchievements, and with whom the *Romans* waged war so many years, not for the honour of conquest, or extention of their dominions, but purely for self-defence; and who, to use the poet's words rather than my own,

O'er *Europe*'s tracts, like a fierce-driven shower
Of clattering hail, in boist'rous squadrons pour.
The *Roman* state, till now, their wrath deplores;
Nor could *Tarpeian* cliffs protect her tow'rs:
But victory as far their cause maintains
As *Delphic* rocks, and *Macedonian* plains.

And a little further,

O'er-running *Asia's* bounds, their conquering power
Fix'd a new kingdom near the *Pontic* shore:
'Tween *Cappadocia* and *Bythinian* lands,
Far as *Pamphilian* cliffs, and *Garamantic* strands.

Nor must we omit the reasons which have been laid down by other authors to prove the original of the *Britains* from the *Gauls*. *George Buck*, a person considerable both for his descent and his learning, has observed out of *Mekercus* that the *Germans* call a *Frenchman*, *Wallon*: And that, when the *German Saxons* first came hither, and heard the *Britains* speak the *Gaulish* tongue, they called them *Walli*, that is *Galli*, or as much as to say *Gauls*. It is moreover observed by *Buchanan*, that *Walch* among the *Germans*, does not barely signify a *Stranger*, but rather in the better sense, a *Gaul* (1): He further notes, that the *French* at this day name that country *Galles*, which we call *Wales*; and that the antient *Scots* distinguish'd all the *British* nations into *Gaol* and *Galle*, that is, (according to his construction) into the *Gallacij* and *Galli*.

But if our *Britains* will still insist upon their *Trojan* extraction, no contradiction shall they meet with from me (2): Yet I think they would best ground their

(1) However true this may be, his opinion that *Wales* took its name from *Gaul*, will appear false in the description of *Cornwal*: Besides, why may not the *Welsh* and *Gauls*, both receive their names from the same occasion; the latter, as being *strangers* to the *Germans*, the former, to the *Saxons*? *Not.* in *Bp. Gibson's Camd.*

(2) With howmuch learning and candour soever Mr. *Camden* has in this chapter offer'd us the preference of a *Gaulish* extraction, there was not wanting a certain *Reformer* of the

their relation to the *Trojans* upon their deſcent from the *Gauls*. *For ſome report*, ſays *Ammianus*, *that after the deſtruction of* Troy, *ſome fugitives poſſeſſed themſelves of* Gaul, *at that time empty and unpeopled* (3).

And here while we conſider theſe languages, we cannot but admire and extoll the Divine Goodneſs towards our *Britains*, the poſterity of *Gomer*; who notwithſtanding that they were conquer'd and triumph'd over by *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Normans*, have ſtill preſerved their antient name and language, tho' the *Normans* ſought to aboliſh the ſame expreſly by laws. To this purpoſe, an old *Britiſh* nobleman being asked by K. *Henry* II. what he thought of the *Welſhmen*'s power, and his majeſty's warlike preparations againſt them? anſwer'd, "This nation, great Sir, may ſuffer much, and be much ruined, "at leaſt weakened, by your aſſaults, and thoſe of other princes, as it as "heretofore often been: But be the wrath of man what it will, unleſs that "of God concurs, the country will never be utterly waſted and conſumed; "nor do I believe that any other nation or language will anſwer at the laſt "day, for that corner of *Britain*, whatever may happen in other parts "of it (4).

Britiſh Hiſtory, one *John Lewis*, who, writing a whole chapter in defence of *Jeffery of Monmouth*, and ſtraining to make that Author's book authentic, often complains againſt, and accuſes the learned and impartial *Camden* (ſays my author) for blowing away ſixty of the *Britiſh* kings with one blaſt; yet when that *Reformer* himſelf compares the generations with the time, he is forced to obſerve ſuch incoherences in the chronological part, that he further diſproves the hiſtory of *Brutus* in the very work he is endeavouring to maintain it. See *Speed's* Hiſt. *Brit.* fol. 17.

(3) Our author, where he diſcourſes of the continuance of the *Romans* in *Britain*, is of opinion, that the *Britains* may beſt claim a relation to the *Trojans*, by their intercourſe ſo many hundred years with the *Romans*, who were certainly deſcended from them. But he was not inſenſible of this variation from himſelf, at leaſt when he wrote his preface, for therein he ſays, *Though in ſo great a compaſs, I may here and there have indulged my fancy, and made* two conjectures *upon one and the ſame thing: Yet I do not forget in the mean time that* Unity *is the ſacred band of* Truth.

(4) *Giraldus* his Topography of *Wales*.

The

The *Name* of *Britain.*

BUT if *Cumero* is the primitive name of the inhabitants, you will ask whence comes *Albion?* and whence comes *Britain?* Which latter name has ſo prevailed, that the others are ſcarce remembred. But liſten, I pray you, to what I am moſt firmly perſuaded of, becauſe it is moſt certain truth. The ſame things which may be conſider'd under various circumſtances, may alſo be expreſſed by various appella tions; as *Plato* teaches us in his *Cratylus.* And if you trace over particular inſtances, ancient and modern, you will obſerve that every nation had names given it by others, different from thoſe after which its own inhabitants call'd it. Thus they who were called *Iſraelites* in their native tongue, were called *Hebrews* and *Jews* by the *Greeks*; and by the *Ægyptians*, *Hueſi*, as *Manethon* teſtifies; becauſe they had *Herdſmen* for their rulers. The *Greeks* alſo named thoſe *Syrians* who called themſelves *Aramæans*, according to *Joſephus:* So thoſe who named themſelves *Chuſians*, the *Greeks* call'd *Æthiopians* from their black skins; and thoſe who called themſelves *Celtæ*, the *Greeks* termed *Galatæ*, for their milk-white skins, or their long locks, as we before noted. They who in their own tongue were called *Teutſch*, *Numidians*, and *Hellenes*, were by the *Romans* named *Germans*, *Moors* and *Græcians.* So in theſe days, (not to multiply examples) they who in their own phraſe are called *Muſſelmans*, *Magier*, *Czechi* and *Beſermans*, are by all *European* nations named *Turks*, *Hungarians*, *Bohemians*, and *Tartars*; and even we ourſelves in *England*, call'd in our proper ſpeech *Engliſhmen*, are named by the *Welſh*, *Iriſh*, and highland *Scots*, *Saſſon*, that is to ſay *Saxons.* In like manner we may conclude our anceſtors who called themſelves *Cumero*, were for ſome other cauſe, either by themſelves or others, called alſo *Britains*; whence the *Greeks* drew their *Bretania*, and handed down the ſame to the *Romans.* Upon this ground-work we proceed to enquire, into the ſeveral names of this iſland.

As for the name of *Albion*, I am not much troubled about it, conſidering the *Greeks* ſo called this iſle for diſtinction-ſake, becauſe all thoſe, bordering around it, were called *Britannick* and *Britanies*. Thus ſays *Pliny*, "the "iſland of *Britain*, renowned both in the *Greek* writings and Ours, lies be- "tween north and weſt, but at a great diſtance, over againſt *Germany*, "*France*, and *Spain*, which make up the greateſt parts by far of all *Europe*: "And it was called *Albion* when all the adjacent iſlands were called *Britanies*. Accordingly *Catullus*, concerning *Cæſar*, has this expreſſion.

Him *Gaul*, and him, the *Britiſh* iſlands fear.

Alſo in the ſame epigram he calls this, *the fartheſt iſland of the weſt* (1). And it ſhould ſeem this name of *Albion* ſprung from the vain and fabulous humour or levity of the *Greeks*, which themſelves call'd *aſaton eureſilogian*: For ſeeing they have as fancifully named *Italy*, *Heſperia*, from *Heſperus* the ſon of *Atlas*; *France*, *Gallatia*, from a certain ſon of *Polyphemus*, &c. I cannot but think, that in the ſame vein, they invented for this iſland the name of *Albion*, from *Albion* the ſon of *Neptune*; as *Perot* and *Lilius Giraldus* have already obſerved; unleſs it were to be derived rather from *Alphen*, which ſignifies *White* in *Greek*, according to *Feſtus*, and whence the *Alps* alſo have received their names: For it is ſurrounded with white rocks which *Cicero* calls *Wonderful Piles*; and hence it is, that upon the coins ſtamp'd with the effigies of *Antoninus Pius* and *Severus*, *Britain* is figured in a woman's attire, ſitting upon rocks; and the *Britiſh* poets ſtiled it *Inis Wen*, that is, the *White Iſland*. Not to inſiſt on that of *Orpheus*, who in his *Argonautics*, if they are his, called the iſland next to *Ireland*, which muſt be ours, the *White Land*; and which ſome verſes before ſeems to have been named alſo, to the ſame ſenſe, but with ſome literal miſtake: Nor the obſervation of *Fracaſtorius* (2), who aſcribing that peſtilent fever which raged in *England*, called the *Sweating Sickneſs*, to the nature of the ſoil, which runs much upon a *chalk* or *Lime*; would alſo hence account for the iſland's being named *Albion*. But as for the fancy of *Albion*'s being ſo called from *Albina* (3), one of the thirty daughters of *Dioclefian* king of *Syria*, who at the conſummation of

(1) *Vid. Joſ. Scalig.* in *Catull.*

(2) *De Morbis Contagioſis* lib. 1.

(3) This is taken out of the Chronicles of St. *Albans*, but the author ſeems to have confounded two fables in one, making this *Albina* both daughter of *Dioclefian* and of K. *Danaus*; for 'tis the *Danaidæ* who are ſaid to have killed their husbands, and come over into this iſland.

their

their nuptials, all ſlew their husbands, and being wafted hither in a veſſel without oars, were the firſt poſſeſſors of this iſland, where being impregnated by a kind of *Incubi* or carnal ſpirits, they brought forth a race of giants; 'tis an abſurdity of ſome idle impoſtor too groſs to be liſtned to with patience.

Nor need I be anxious in ſearching, why *Britain* in that antient ſong, againſt *Ventidius Baſſus*, is named the blue, or *Cerulean Iſland*; conſidering it is environed with the ſea, which the poets call *Cærulus* and *Cærulum*. Wherefore *Claudian* writes thus of *Britain*.

Whoſe feet are by the azure ſurges ſwept.

I paſs alſo over *Ariſtides* his calling it *the great* and *the fartheſt Iſland*. But that it was called *Romania*, is in ſome meaſure intimated by *Gildas*; who writes, *that it was ſo abſolutely vanquiſhed by the* Romans, *that the name of* Roman *ſlavery ſtuck to the very ſoil*; and a little further, *ſo as it might not be counted* BRITANIA *ſo much as* ROMANIA; and a page or two beyond this, *an Iſland*, ſays he, *retaining indeed the* Roman *name, but neither their laws nor cuſtoms.* And *Proſper Aquitanus* expreſly call'd it the *Roman Iſland*. Hitherto may alſo be referr'd that prediction of the ſoothſayers, that when the ſtatues of *Tacitus* and *Florianus* the emperors, were demoliſhed by lightning (1), there ſhould ſpring out of their family an emperor, who among other things *was to ſet preſidents over* Taprobane, *and to ſend a proconſul to the* Roman Iſland: Which by the learned, was explained of our *Britain*; though it was a province, *Preſidial*, and not *Proconſular*, as we ſhall hereafter declare. But that it was alſo once named *Samothea*, from *Samothes* the ſixth ſon of *Japhet*, let who will believe it for me, who well know upon what anvil this ſtory was forged, even that of *Annius Viturbienſis*; who under a ſpecious title, as bad wares are wont to be ſet off, by crafty retailers, has, in the name of *Beroſus*, obtruded upon the credulous world, his own vain and fictitious imaginations.

But as to the name and original of *Britain*, the truth, by reaſon of the diverſity of men's wits, is much involved in doubt: Wherefore, to attain the freer permiſſion for the offering of my conjecture, I would beſpeak ſuch a favourable diſpoſition in our *Britains*, that as they are deſirous of compaſſing this truth, they would bear with the enquiries which are made after it; and not think the ſame liberty diſallowable here, which has been taken by *Eliot*, *Leland*, *Lhuid*, and the reſt before me. For if it was juſtifiable, nay even commendable, in *Humphrey Lhuid*, a learned *Britain*, to give us a new de-

(1) Vopiſcus in *Florian.*

rivation

rivation of *Britain* without prejudice to *Brutus*, let it not be held offenſive in me, who am not willing to oppoſe his ſtory, if I alſo briefly endeavour at another original, and that from no other fountain than the *Britiſh* tongue. This, as it is leaſt ſophiſticated with other languages, and withal of greateſt antiquity, ſo ſeems it, in this enquiry, moſt to favour our purpoſe; for antient languages are reputed highly neceſſary in tracing the original of things; and *Plato* in his *Cratylus* informs us, " That primitive names, being through " their antiquity, worn out of date, are yet preſerv'd in barbarous tongues, " as being more antient than others". And though matters by ſuch remoteneſs are ſo vail'd in obſcurity, that the truth is rather to be wiſh'd than hop'd for, yet will I ſeek it with the utmoſt diligence, and declare my opinion with the greateſt brevity, without prejudice to the ſentiments of others, but ready to entertain what they ſhall offer of greater probability; for I have an affection for truth of any other perſons diſcovery no leſs than my own, and wherever it occurs, with equal gladneſs embrace it.

Firſt then, by my readers leave, I will take it for granted and proved, that all antient tribes, in the beginning, had ſeverally their proper names, out of which, the *Greeks* and *Latins* did afterwards impoſe names on every country, according to the variation of their own dialects: Or, to be clearer, that the *people* were diſtinguiſhed by names, before the *places* they inhabited, and that the places were denominated from the people. Thus who can deny that the names of the *Jews*, *Medes*, *Perſians*, *Scythians*, *Almains*, *Gauls*, *Getulians*, *Saxons*, *Engliſh*, *Scots*, *&c.* were in being before thoſe of *Judæa*, *Media*, *Perſia*, *Scythia*, *Almain*, *Gaul*, *Getulia*, *Saxony*, *England*, *Scotland*, *&c?* And who ſees not that theſe words ſprung out of thoſe? We read that from the *Samnites*, *Inſubres*, and *Belgæ*, the countries themſelves were firſt called *Samnitium*, *Inſubrium*, and *Belgium*, by *Livy*, and *Cæſar*: That from the *Franks*, in the time of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, as appears by his coins, the country where they were ſeated, took firſt the name of *Francia* or *France*: And *Sidonius Apollinaris* firſt framed *Burgundy* from the *Burgundians*: For the ſame reaſon we muſt neceſſarily think that this iſland, either from its original planters, or the *Gauls* their neighbours, firſt derived alſo its denomination. That theſe firſt inhabitants were called *Brit* or *Brith*, I have ſome reaſons to believe, and eſpecially from that verſe which paſſes under the name of *Sibyl*,

'Twixt *Brits*, and wealthy *Gauls*, the roaring ſea,
With horrid tides of blood, ſhall mingled be.

Beſides

Beſides what might be produced out of *Martial*, *Juvenal* and *Auſonius*; or from the authority of *Procopius*, by whom the iſland is called *Britia*; and even the old inſcriptions ſet up by the *Britains*, themſelves, in which we read BRITO, BRITONES, BRITTUS COH. BRITTON. ORDINES BRITTON; alſo in the church of St. *Maria Rotunda* at *Rome*, NATIONE BRITTO; with that to be ſeen at *Amerbach* in *Germany*, which I ſhall here tranſcribe, becauſe it mentions *Triputium*, ſome place not now known to us.

NYMPHISO
NO BRITTON
TRIPUTIENO
SUB CURA
MO VLPI
MALCHI
* 7. LEG. XXII.
PO PO FO.

The *Saxons* alſo themſelves called the *Britains* in their language *Brits*, and *Witichindus* the *Saxon* every where uſes the word *Britas* in his writings for the *Britains*; ſo that doubtleſs the word BRIT, is the primitive from whence *Brito* is derived; and from whence the firſt glimpſe of light to the word *Britain* ariſes.

Now as all nations aſſumed names from ſomething wherein they excelled others, or were diſtinguiſhed from them; whether reſpecting the honour of their *Founders*, as the *Jonians*, from *Javan*; the *Iſraelites*, from *Iſrael*; and the *Chananites* from *Chanan* the ſon of *Cham*: Or whether in reſpect to their nature, manners, and applications; as the *Iberi*, after the *Hebrew etymology*, becauſe they were *Miners*; the *Heneti*, becauſe they were *Vagrants*; the *Nomades*, becauſe they were *Graziers*; the *Germans* becauſe of their *Stoutneſs*; the *Franks*, from their *Freedom*; the *Pannonians* from their *Cloath-Sleev'd Coats* according to *Dion*; the *Æthiopians* from their *Blackneſs*; and the *Albans* becauſe they were born with *White-hair*: Whereupon, obſerve this of *Solinus*, *The colour of the hair did give name unto a nation.* And ſeeing our nation, who paſſed under the general name of *Cimbri* and *Cumeri* with the *Gauls*, had no other mark of diſtinction from the reſt, ſo conſpicuous as that peculiar faſhion of *painting* their bodies, which we have ſufficient authorities from *Cæſar*, *Mela* and *Pliny*, they were accuſtomed to do, with

* *Centuriones.*

the

the herb *Woad*, called in *Latin Glaſtum*, (and by *Glaſs* the *Britains* at this day expreſs *Blew*) what if I ſhould conjecture they were called *Britains* from ſuch their diſcolouration? For the word *Brith*, in the antient language of this iſland, ſignifies any thing that is painted or colour'd over. Nor ſhould there any thing in reaſon, ſeem harſh or abſurd in this etymology, ſince it is ſupplied with the characteriſtics that are chiefly requiſite in one; ſince the very words are alike in ſound, and the name alſo, as it were in a picture, expreſſes the thing itſelf: For *Brith* and *Brit* are words very conſonant with each other; and that *Brith* among the *Britains*, fully expreſſes what thoſe *Britains* ſo notedly were; that is, *painted*, *depainted*, *died* and *colour'd*, according to the ſeveral epithets of the *Latin* poets; or, as *Oppian* in his poem on *hunting* deſcribes them, with *party-colour'd or variegated backs*.

And here it will not be impertinent to note, however trivial the obſervation may ſeem, that in the names of almoſt all the antient *Britains*, there is implied ſome ſignification of a colour; which undoubtedly aroſe from this cuſtom of their painting. Thus *red*, is by the *Britains* called *Coch* and *Goch*, which in my mind is couch'd in thoſe names *Cogidunus*, *Argentocoxus*, and *Segonax*; thus *Black* is called *Du*, of which there is ſome appearance in *Manaubratius*, *Cartimandua*, *Togedumnus*, *Bunduica* and *Cogidunus*. The *white* colour is called *Gwyn*, the plain impreſſions of which, methinks I ſee in *Venutius* and *Immanuentius*. What the *Latins* call the *Water* colour, and which the *Britains* called *Gwellw*, diſcovers itſelf manifeſtly in *Vellocatus*, *Caruillius* and *Suella*. The *Blue*, they underſtood by the word *Glaſs*, which is perfectly comprehended in the name of king *Cuniglaſus*, interpreted by *Gildas* to be the ſame with *Fulvus*, a *Tawney*, or as in ſome copies *Furvus Lanio*, a dark coloured *Butcher*. A *Gold colour*, they expreſſed by the word *Aure*, and this is diſcernible in *Cungetorix* and *Arviragus*. A gay and *lively colour*, they call *Teg*, whereof we have a glimpſe in *Praſutagus* and *Caracatacus*. And if we allow the *Britains* borrowed the names of mix'd, as well as of ſimple colours from the *Romans*, (as they certainly did their *Werith*, for *Green*, from *Viridis*; and *Melin*, for *Straw-colour*, from *Melinus*;) then I may tollerably ſuppoſe that ſomething of the *Praſinus* or *Graſs-Green* colour is to be found in the name of *Praſutagus*; and of the colour call'd *Minium*, or *Vermilion*, in that of *Adimincies*, ſon to king *Cu obeline*. Thus that learned *Britiſh* lady, *Rufina*, took her name from the *Latin Rufus*, the *red* or *flame colour*: As *Alban*, the firſt martyr in *Britain*, from *Albus*, which ſignifies *white*. And if any perſon, skilled in the old *Britiſh* tongue would examine the reſt of the names in it, which are not above four or five more, we may be apprehenſive he would find, in them alſo, few as they

they are, some signification of a colour; nor must we here neglect to observe, that the most common names at this day, among the *Britains*, as *Gwin*, *Du*, *Goch*, *Lhuid*, were taken from the *White*, *Black*, *Red*, and *Russet-colour*. So that it can be no wonder, the whole *nation* should draw one general *name* from *painting*, seeing the *practise* was so general among the people thereof (1); and where it was of old, as it is at present, the *custom* for them to take their names from colours. But now to the purpose, if this be thought beside it.

Certain it is that in the *Welsh* histories, a *Britain* is called in that tongue *Brithon*. The note of aspiration is not to be heeded, since the *Britains*, who had a *hissing* or *lisping pronunciation*, according to St. *Chrysostome*, delight in aspirations, which the *Latins* as carefully avoided. Now as *Brito* proceeded from *Brith*, so did *Britannia* also in my opinion. *Britannia*, says *Isidore*, *took that name from a word of that nation*. And when the most antient *Greeks* (who first gave this island that name) were wont to make long voyages, either as merchants, or pirates; and keep coasting along the shores (as *Eratosthenes* observes) they might learn either of the natives themselves, or of the *Gauls*, that these islanders were called *Brith* and *Brithon*; so tacking one of these words to their own termination *Tania*; which according to the

(1) Some readers cannot agree with the author of the note in Dr. *Gibson's Camden* upon this place, which says, *That there is some colour of reason in Mr.* Somner's *dislike of this original, and that it does not fully appear, the old* Britains *did*, (strictly speaking) paint *their Bodies*. For, waving the notion that all *Painting* must necessarily suppose some kind of configuration, which would admit of dispute; and granting the men intended to look more *fierce* than *fine*, by means of their *Woad*, when they went to the wars, as our author's criticks would gather out of *Cæsar*; and that the women dyed themselves all over with it, so as to approach the complexion of blackamoors, when they went to some sacrifices, according to *Pliny*; and supposing further, they should prove, as they cannot, that those brave *Blewskins* of old, were not perfect *Limners* and *Picture-Drawers* upon one another's hides; yet if they did but *stain*, *smear*, *bedaub*, *begrime* themselves, (or whatever you please to call it) with that plant, and so much cannot be denyed, it may be sufficient to answer *Camden's* derivation of them from the word *Brith*. And even agreeable to the aforesaid notion of those criticks themselves, these *Britains* being described by the words *Picti* and *Depicti*, in the *Latin* poets, as our author had observed; and by Ἀιολόνωτοι in *Oppian* a *Greek* one, they should imply something more than simple or bare colouring. 'Tis plain, I think, that *Milton* took those our ancestors for better *Masters* of the *Pencil*, than meerly to *Sweep* over their limbs with it, like a wainscot or a sign-post: And believed they figur'd their bodies over, or adorned them with the resemblances of visible objects; where he wittily observes, (in his *History*) that 'tis a piece of gallantry which remains to this day among us, *removed only a little, from the* Skin *to the* Skirt. But *Herodian* and *Solinus*, in the next chapter, will put this matter beyond dispute. And as for the *lesser Islands*, in our ocean, because they were also called *Insulæ Britannicæ*, 'tis probable they did likewise fall into this fashion with our *great* one: And if they did not, I can't see how foreigners could more properly distinguish those islands in *general*, than after the name of *that* which was most considerable among them.

Greek lexicons, ſignifies a *Region* or *Country*, the compound was *Britania* or the *Britons-land*; for which it has been ſince, corruptly writte n*Bretania*; but more properly *Britannia*, by *Lucretius* and *Cæſar*, the firſt *Latin* authors who mention it.

That this is the caſe, I believe the more ſtedfaſtly, becauſe we find not over all the earth above three countries of any conſiderable largeneſs, beſides our *Britain*, whoſe names have that termination *Tania*, and thoſe lying in the weſt part of the world, are named *Mauritania*, *Luſitania* and *Aquitania*. And I doubt not but the *Greeks*, who firſt diſcovered and ſurvey'd thoſe countries, framed theſe names for them, and tranſmitted them to the *Romans*: For of *Mauri* they made *Mauritania*, *the country of the* Mauri; which according to *Strabo* was called *Numidia* by the natives: And from *Luſus* the ſon of *Bacchus*, they named *Luſitania*, that is, the country of *Luſus*: And *Aquitain*, perhaps, from *Aquis*, waters, as *Ivo Carnotenſis* ſuppoſes, being a country upon a watry ſituation, in which ſenſe according to *Pliny*, it was alſo heretofore named *Armorica*, as *coaſting upon the Sea*. As for *Turditania* and *Baſtitania*, the names of ſmaller countries in *Spain*, and conſequently lying alſo in theſe weſtern parts, they may properly fall under the ſame head; ſeeming to ſignify no more than *the countries of the* Turdi *and the* Baſti. Nor is it ſtrange that a name ſhould be compounded of a foreign word and a *Greek* one: "For words are compounded, ſays *Quintilian*, either of our own "*(Latin)* and a foreign word, as *Biclinium*; or, on the contrary, of a fo- "reign word, and a *Latin* one joyn'd to it, as *Epitogium* and *Anticato*; or "of two foreign words, as *Epirrhedium*." And this is the moſt uſual kind of compoſition in the names of countries. Is not the name of *Ireland*, evidently compounded of the *Iriſh* word *Erin*, and the *Engliſh* word *Land*? Is not *Angleterre*, for *England*, a conjunction of a *French* and an *Engliſh* word? And *Franclond*, as our *Saxons* call *France*, a compound of a *French* and a *Saxon* word? Did not *Poland* likewiſe proceed from a *Poliſh* word which among them ſignifies a *Plain*, united with one of *Germany*? And laſtly, was not *Denmarch* compounded from a *Daniſh* word and the *Dutch March*, which ſignifies a *Bound* or *Limit*? But in a matter ſo obvious, I need not be further particular. Nor is it at all to be wondered that this addition of *Tania*, ſhould be derived from the *Greeks*; ſince it is proved out of moſt antient authors by St. *Jerom*, in his queſtions upon *Geneſis*, that all along the ſea coaſts of *Europe*, even as far as *Britain*, the *Grecians* extended their colonies. "Let us, ſays he, look into *Varro*'s book of *Antiquities* "thoſe of *Siſinius Capito*, *Phlegon* the *Greek* writer, and the reſt of the "learned men; and we ſhall find all the iſlands, with almoſt all the ſea-

"coaſts

" coasts in the world, as also the lands near the sea, to have been peopled " with *Greeks*; who, as I before observed, inhabited all the tracts along the " sea side, from the mountains *Amanus*, and *Taurus*, even to the *British* " ocean."

And truly that the *Greeks* did enter our island, survey and observe the situation and nature thereof, will not be questioned, if we heed what *Athenæus* says of *Phileas Taurominites*, (of whom more hereafter) who was in *Britain* in the hundred and sixtieth year before the expedition of *Cæsar*: If we call to mind the altar inscribed to *Ulisses* in *Greek* characters; and lastly, if we remark what is written by *Pytheas* before the *Roman* times, concerning the distance of *Thule* from *Britain*: For if the *Greeks* had not sailed into the *British* and *German* ocean, and related their descriptions of *Britain*, *Thule*, and the *Low-countries*, to their geographers, who could have made the discoveries thereof to them? And how could *Pytheas* have arrived at the knowledge of six days sailing beyond *Britain*, unless some of the *Greeks* had made it known? Who ever informed them of *Scandia*, *Bergos*, and *Nerigon*; the passage by sea into *Thule?* And these names seem to have been better known to the most antient *Greeks*, than either to *Pliny*, or any of the *Romans*. Whereupon *Mela* witnesses, *That* Thule *was much celebrated by the* Greek *writers*: And *Pliny* says, that Britain *was an island famous in both the* Grecian *records and their own.* By this means therefore, have so many *Greek* words crept into the *British*, *French* and *Low-Dutch* languages. And therefore have *Lazarus Bayfius* and *Budæus*, so much exalted their *Frenchmen* for having been antiently such lovers of the *Greeks*; grounding this character upon a few words occurring in their tongue, which retain the *Greek* Idiom. And if *Adrian Junius* exults no less, because in the *Belgic* words, some *Greek* etymologies are couch'd; then may the *Britains* as well glory in their language, since so many words therein, apparently flow from the same fountain. However the learned Sir *Thomas Smith*, secretary of state to queen *Elizabeth*, ascribes the introduction rather to this accident, that when all the rest of *Europe* was embroil'd in wars, many of the *Greeks* fled hither for refuge, as to a sanctuary.

Thus have you my conjectures, and perhaps my errors, concerning the original and name of *Britain*; wherein if I have deviated from truth, I hope by truth to be rectifyed. In this intricate and obscure maze of antiquities, he may deserve a little praise, who errs a *little*: And it should be withal considered that, what may seem at first sight false, shall often appear true, upon more deliberate examination. If I were standing before the tribunal of Truth herself, I could make no better answer: And as for our countrymen the

Britains, I entreat the moſt learned among them, to employ their utmoſt diligence and abilities in this enquiry; till by the appearance of the full and unclouded truth, all the vapours of conjecture may vaniſh, like miſts before the ſun.

The Manners and Cuſtoms of the Britains.

CONCERNING the affairs of the moſt antient *Britains*, what form of government they had, and habit of life; my ſingular good friend, the moſt worthy and learned Mr. *Daniel Rogers* (1) promiſed in a treatiſe to inform us; but his untimely death having deprived us of that performance, I ſhall here offer the few following notes, collected out of ancient authors, upon this part of our antiquities.

Cæſar. "The *Britains*, inſtead of money, make uſe of braſs, or iron "rings (2) according to a ſettled weight; they make no food of hares, hens, "and geeſe, however they breed them for pleaſure. Thoſe who are by far "the moſt civilized people among them, dwell in *Kent*, a country that bor- "ders upon the ſea-coaſt, where they differ in their cuſtoms but little from "the *Gauls*. The inlanders do not ſow corn, but live upon milk and fleſh "and clothe themſelves with skins. But the *Britains* in general, dye their "bodies with *Woad*, which giving a *Blue* tincture, renders them of more

(1) This accompliſhed gentleman was of a *Warwickſhire* family, and, while a youth, in the dangerous times of queen *Mary*, among the exiles at *Frankfort*: But ſome years after his return, one of the clerks of the council to queen *Elizabeth*, and employed by her in ſeveral foreign embaſſies; of which the particulars are to be ſeen in *Camden's* annals of her reign, Anno 1575, &c. and in *Thuanus* lib. 89. There are ſome good *Latin* poems of his writing extant, though ſeparately, and in other authors; but before he could finiſh this moſt deſirable diſcourſe on the antient *Britains*, he died, Anno 1590. and was buried at *Sunbury*.

(2) *Annulis* is the word uſed in the text, but ſome have thought it ſhould rather be *laminis*, *thin plates*, or *flat pieces*, which ſeems moſt probable, for the readineſs of *making* and *counting*, or receiving the diſtinction of *impreſſions*.

"terrible

" terrible aſpect in battle. They ſhave all parts of the body, except the " upper lip, and their heads, on which they ſuffer the hair to grow long. " Ten or a dozen of them together, have their wives promiſcuouſly among " one another, brothers partaking with brothers, and parents with their " children; but thoſe are reputed the fathers of the children, to whom the " mothers were firſt married. In battle, their carrs are of main ſervice, " wherein they ſcour through every quarter, throw their darts about, and " with the dread of their horſes, and the din of their chariot wheels, fre- " quently diſarray the enemy. When they have thus made way into the " throng of their horſe, they ſpring down, and fight on foot. In the mean " time their charioteers take ſuch convenient ſtands, out of the tumult, that " their maſters may readily remount, if they find themſelves overpower'd. " Thus are they accommodated with the ſpeed of the horſe, and the ſteadi- " neſs of the foot; and by daily practiſe, are ſo expert in their diſcipline, that " upon the ſide of a ſteep hill, they ſtop in full carrier, can check and turn " at pleaſure; run upon the pole, reſt upon the yoke, and be in their ſeat " again with the utmoſt agility. They often make feigned and ſtratagemical " flights, till having trained ſome of our ſoldiers in purſuit of them, from their " own legions, they will diſmount, turn upon them, and take us at this diſad- " vantage. It was equally dangerous to purſue their cavalry, and be purſued " by them. Moreover they never fought in cloſe and regular bodies, but in " thin companies, ſcattered and divided about; having recruits ſo poſted, " that one party might ſuccour another, and the weary be relieved by " the freſh.

Strabo. " The *Britains* are of a ſtature exceeding that of the *Gauls*; " their hair is not ſo yellow, nor their bodies ſo well ſet; as a proof of their " tallneſs, I ſaw myſelf at *Rome*, meer ſtriplings, higher by half a foot than " the talleſt men, and yet they had but bad ſupporters; nor were they well " made and handſome in their other parts and features. In their diſpoſition, " they partly reſemble the *Gauls*, but are in ſome things more ſimple and " barbarous; inſomuch as ſome have not the art of making of cheeſe, though " they abound in milk, and others, are ignorant in gardening, and even o- " ther points of husbandry. They have many potentates among them: And " in their wars they uſe many chariots like ſome of the *Gauls*. Woods with " them, are inſtead of cities, for having felled the trees, and fenced a ſpacious " plot of ground about with them, they build huts and cottages in the midſt " thereof for themſelves, with ſtalls and folds for their cattle: But truly very " ſlight buildings, and of no durable workmanſhip.

Cæſar

Cæſar alſo; (to this purpoſe,) " The *Britains* call ſome thick wood, fenc'd " round with a trench and rampier, for retreat and refuge from incurſions, " by the name of a town.

Diodorus Siculus. " The *Britains* live after the antient manner, they fight " in chariots as is reported of the old *Greeks* in the *Trojan* wars. Their " Houſes are chiefly built of reeds and wood; they inn their corn in the ear, " and threſh no more at a time than they uſe in a day. They are upright " and void of craft in their dealings, and far from the ſubtilty of our " countrymen; their diet is ſimple and plain, they are ſtrangers to the deli- " cacies of the rich, and their iſland abounds with inhabitants.

Pomponius Mela. " *Britain* has its nations and kings reigning over them, " but they are all barbarous in their manners; and as they lie far remote from " the continent, they are leſs acquainted with the riches of other countries; " theirs, conſiſting wholly in the numbers of their cattle, and extent of their " land. They colour over their bodies; whether for ornament and finery, or " any other end, is doubtful. They are frequently quarelling, and making " incurſions upon one another, on very ſlight occaſions, but chiefly through " an ambitious and encroaching inclination to a ſovereignty over their neigh- " bours, and the enlargement of their own territories. They fight not only " with horſe and foot, but alſo armed after the *Gauliſh* manner, in wains " and chariots, which they call *Covinos*, and whoſe axle-trees are fang'd with " hooks and ſcythes."

Cornelius Tacitus. " The *Britains* neareſt to *Gaul*, do likewiſe reſemble " them; either becauſe they ſtill retain ſomewhat of the race from which they " ſprung, or that in countries lying as it were face to face, the ſame aſpect of " the heavens, produces the ſame complexion of bodies. But all things con- " ſidered, it is probable, the *Gauls* did firſt people this their neighbouring " country. The ſame religious and ſuperſtitious rites are common to both, " and they differ not much in language; are alike daring at the approach of " dangers, alike daunted when actually engag'd in them; only the *Britains* " manifeſt more courage of the two, as not being yet effeminated by long " peace: For we read, the *Gauls* alſo, were once a brave and warlike people, " till cowardice creeping in with eaſe and idleneſs, their manhood and liberty " ſunk together. So it befell thoſe *Britains* who were conquer'd of old, " whereas the reſt continue ſuch as the *Gauls* were. The ſtrength of their " forces conſiſts in their infantry, and ſome of their nations fight in chariots. " The greateſt perſons among them are the drivers, and their ſervants defend " them. Heretofore they were governed by kings, but now they are divided " under petty princes into parties and factions; and this is the greateſt ad- " vantage we have, againſt thoſe powerful nations, who ſo little regard one

" common

" common intereſt, that it ſeldom happens two or three ſtates *unite* to repulſe " the common danger: ſo every one fighting ſeparately, all are ſubdu'd."

In another Place. " It was uſual with the *Britains* to conſult the will of " their Gods, by inſpecting the entrails of beaſts: and to make war under " the conduct of women, never heeding which ſex bore rule over them." Wherefore learned men think *Ariſtotle* had an eye to the *Britains*, where he ſays, That certain warlike nations beyond the *Celtes* were ſubject to female regency.

Dio Nicæus, from *Xiphilin*'s epitomy, touching the northern *Britains*. " They till no ground, but live upon prey, hunting and fruits. Of *Fiſh*, tho' " they have great plenty, they will not taſte. They dwell in tents without " clothes or ſhoes. They uſe their wives in common, and all the children " they foſter among them. They are in great meaſure a commonwealth, are " much addicted to robbing and plunder, and go to war in chariots. Their " horſes are ſmall, but fleet; and they themſelves on foot are very nimble. " When they are engag'd they ſtand ſtoutly to it. Their weapons are a ſhield " and a ſhort ſpear, the lower end whereof is pois'd with a ball of braſs like " an apple, which they will rattle to ſcare their enemy. They have daggers " alſo: And they will endure hunger, cold, and all kinds of hardſhip with " wonderful patience. For in their bogs they will continue many days without " any ſuſtenance, up to their very heads, and in their woods ſubſiſt upon barks " of trees and roots. They have a certain kind of food ready upon all occa- " ſions, whereof if they take but the quantity of a bean, they are never im- " portun'd either by hunger or thirſt."

Herodian. " They know no uſe of apparel, but their necks and their bellies " they hoop with iron; eſteeming it as much a mark of ornament and riches, " as other barbarians do gold. And the reaſon of their wearing no other " covering is, that they may ſhew their painted bodies, on which are deli- " neated, in various colours, the pictures of all kinds of animals. The people " are warlike and bloody, armed only with a narrow ſhield, a ſpear, and a " ſword hanging by their naked bodies. They are ſtrangers to the helmet and " coat of mail; imagining they would prove but an incumbrance in their " paſſage over the bogs and moſſes; from whence ſuch vapours and miſts " exhale, that the air in thoſe parts, is always thick and gloomy."

The remaining deſcriptions are ſhort, which I have pick'd up here and there. *Pliny*, writing upon *Magick*, ſays, " But wherefore ſhould I relate " theſe things of an art which has ſail'd over the ocean, and extended to " the utmoſt bounds of the globe? In *Britain* they are ſo abſolutely devoted " to it, and exerciſe it with ſuch pomp and ceremony, that one would appre- " hend the *Perſians* themſelves had been under their tuition.

The

The ſame Author. " There grows in *Gaul*, an herb like *Plantain*, named " *Glaſtum*, that is *Woad*; with the juice whereof the *Britiſh* females, as well " married women as maidens, colour their bodies all over; and ſo, not much " unlike *Negroes*, uſe to go naked, at certain feaſts and ſacrifices." *Again*, " There is not a more dainty diſh known in *Britain*, than that kind of fowl " ſomewhat leſs than wild geeſe, called *Chenerotes* (1)." *Alſo*, " The *Bri-* " *tains* wear rings on their middle finger." *And*, " they manure their land " with marle, inſtead of dung.

That they branded or enamelled their bodies over with certain figures, which *Tertullian* calls *Britannorum Stigmata*, is declared by *Solinus*; who ſays, " The country is partly peopled with *Barbarians*; who by artificial " inciſions of various forms, have the ſhapes of divers animals, incorporated " as it were, upon them, from their infancy: And as their bodies grow " larger ſo do theſe pictures which are imprinted therein: Nor is there any " thing reckon'd a greater proof of patience among theſe ſavage people, than " thus to ſcarify their limbs, ſo as they may yield the ſtrongeſt impreſſions, " by receiving the deepeſt dye (2)".

Dion. " The *Britains* worſhipp'd *Andates*, by which were underſtood " their goddeſſes *Victoria* and *Andraſtes*".

(1) *Brents*, or *Soland* geeſe.

(2) 'Tis plain from hence, that ſome of the antient *Britains* inlaid their limbs, as from *Herodian*, in the laſt chapter, that others, figur'd them over with colours. And I can't think but it was after the manner, that is to this day, almoſt univerſally practis'd and ſeen; I mean, in that kind of *Needle-work* upon human bodies, which by pricking out ſome deſign, with deſolved gunpowder, upon the skin, will ſecure the figures indelibly under it: As we ſee in the *Jeruſalem*-marks, or *Crucifixes*, *Emblems*, *Cyphers* and *Names*, which are by that means, finely wrought and pointed into the hands and arms of ſome people, who affect a ſingularity of ornament; for this is the common motive, in our parts of the world; but among the *Americans*, it is a point of honourable diſtinction; and uſed in the ſenſe, which our antient *Britains* ſeem to have done; as we ſaw by thoſe *Indian* kings, who were over here, both in Queen *Anne's* reign, and his preſent majeſty's; for the moſt conſiderable of thoſe ſtrange mortals, had their faces, necks and arms, moſt *lac'd*, *pink'd*, or *ſeam'd*, over in this manner. Not that I thought it appeared upon their dingy complexions, ſuch frightful finery, as it would have done upon ſome of ours. If the MAN *of* TASTE ſhould take a hint from this obſervation, he may perhaps in reviving the faſhion, improve the operation; for the *Woad* of our anceſtors, will infuſe as good a *colour*, as the gunpowder of the moderns; and probably with leſs *ſmart*.

Ceſar

Cæſar and *Lucan*. " They had ſhips of which the keels and ribs were " made of light wood: The reſt of the hull was of oſiers, interwoven like " hurdle or wicker-work, and covered over with leather (3).

Solinus. " The ſailors never touched any victuals 'till they got to the end of their voyage."

" Their drink was made of barley, (as it is to this day) according to " *Dioſcorides*, but he erroniouſly calls it *Curmi*, inſtead of *Kwrw*: For ſo " do the *Welſh* term what we call *Ale*."

" One wife ſerv'd many of them," according to *Euſebius Evangel. Prepar. 6.*

Plutarch obſerves, " That ſome of them would live to a hundred and " twenty years of age; the natural heat of the body being preſerved from " too liberal a perſpiration, by the coldneſs of the country."

But I know not well what to make of, " Thoſe antient days of inhuman " tyrants," which *Gildas* mentions, unleſs he means thoſe who aſſumed the government here in oppoſition to the *Romans*; and were called at that time *Tyrants*: For immediately after, he adds out of St. *Jerom*, " That *Porphyry*, " raging in the eaſt like a mad dog, againſt the church, proceeds after his " wild and vain manner, to ſtile *Britain* a province abounding in *Tyrants*."

I ſhall not be particular upon their antient religion, ſince in reality it could not be called by any ſuch name; but a wretched and confuſed heap of ſuperſtitions. For after the great enemy of mankind had eclipſed the light of true doctrine, the ſame *Gildas* tells us, " The frightful figures among the " *Britains*, were perfectly diabolical, and almoſt exceeded thoſe of *Egypt* " in number: Some of them we ſaw within and without their deſert walls; " with deformed liniaments, and grim aſpects, after their wonted manner, to " this day."

But whereas it has been ſuggeſted, the *Britains* were preſent at the rape of *Heſione*, with *Hercules*; and that, from the following verſes, which they take to be the compoſition of *Cornelius Nepos*, where the marriage of *Telamon* and *Heſione* is deſcribed;

> The ſparkling wine, in golden cups addreſs'd,
> Salutes, with gen'rous rounds, each various gueſt,
> All undiſtinguiſh'd; *Britains* with the reſt.

(1) Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſays he has ſeen thoſe boats or veſſels, ſtill uſed at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elſewhere. Hiſt. of the World, Lib. 1. cap. 8. Sec. 3. See alſo his diſcourſe of ſhipping, p. 5, 6. They are called in the *Britiſh*, tongue, *Corraghs*.

This is only a ſtroke of poetry; and I can alſo clearly demonſtrate beſides, that the author of it, was not *Cornelius Nepos*, but one *Joſeph* of *Exeter*, who has expreſsly mentioned our King *Henry* the ſecond, and *Thomas* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

It is doubted by *Brodæus* whether *Ulyſſes* travell'd thus far; though *Solinus* thinks it manifeſt that he did land in *Caledonia*, from an altar inſcrib'd with *Greek* characters; which yet I would judge to have been erected, not *by*, but, in honour *of* him (1); though they would have this *Ulyſſes* to be the ſame with *Elizza*, *Japhet*'s grandſon. It is evident indeed from hiſtory, as I have before obſerved, that the antient *Greeks* were great travellers both by ſea and land; and therefore it ſhould not ſeem wonderful that their names and monuments ſhould be found in divers places: But oftentimes they uſed thoſe names, belonging, not properly to themſelves, but to thoſe heroes and worthies, who were as highly rever'd among them, at leaſt, as either confeſſors or martyrs among the chriſtians; And as the names of St. *John*, St. *Dominic*, St. *Francis*, and of many other Saints departed, have been uſed by the moderns, to diſtinguiſh new-found countries, ſo it cannot be denied, but antiently the *Greeks*, alſo in their diſcoveries paid the like honour to their countrymen. And of all their worthies, who ever made voyages of greater length either as to time or place than *Ulyſſes*, no wonder therefore if their mariners made vows oftneſt to him, and to his name, conſecrated the places of their arrival. Hence *Ulliſſipo*, (or *Lisbon*) upon the mouth of the *Tagus*, took its name: So other monuments were erected to *Ulyſſes*, *Laertes*, and their companions, elſewhere; which are not to be aſcribed to *Ulyſſes* as their actual and perſonal founder; but we muſt think that by ſome *Græcians* who diſcover'd, or travell'd into, thoſe foreign regions, they were dedicated to the honour of him who had been the moſt renowned traveller among them.

As for the aſſertion of *John Tzetzes*, in his *various hiſtories*, that our *Britiſh* kings beſtowed upon that famous *Cato* the elder, who was in continual conflict with the *Roman* people, many rich preſents in reſpect to his virtues, long before the name of *Britain* was known at *Rome*. I leave that author to ſtand to this, and make good his own credit, who is ſo well known to be a fabulous writer.

Nor would I have it believed that *Alexander* the Great, came out of the *Eaſt Indies* to *Cales*, and ſo to *Britain*; however *Cedrenus*, againſt the ſtream of all authorities, writes that, " He being come from thence to

(1) Among Mr. *Camden*'s Epiſtles, Qo. p. 112. there is a letter to him by Dr. *G. Carleton* upon this ſubject.

" *Phaſis*,

" *Phaſis, Cales,* and the *Britiſh* nations, and having furniſhed himſelf with a thouſand veſſels, *&c.*" Of the ſame ſtamp alſo is what *Trithemius* has gather'd out of *Hannibal*, " That king *Baſſanus* put away his wife, the king " of the *Orkney's* daughter, in the two hundred eighty fourth year before " Chriſt; whereupon this, with the aid of the *Britiſh* king, made war upon " *Baſſanus.*"

Nor ſhould it be imagined that *Hannibal* ever wart'd in *Britain* becauſe in the *Eclogue* of the eleventh book to *Polibius* we read, " Thus much in brief; now that *Hannibal* was encloſed in the *Britiſh* ſtreights: " For the place is corrupted, and *Bruttianes* ſhould be read inſtead of *Brettanias*, as it is in the forty ſecond book of *Dion*; for mention is made of the *Brutij* of *Italy* in both places. Yet deny not but that about this time the *Greeks* might arrive in this iſland: For *Athenæus* deſcribing from *Moſchion* a very antient author, that ſhip of king *Hiero*, which was thought a miracle for bulk and building, informs us, that the main-maſt of it was, after much ſearch, pick'd out by a herdſman on the *Britiſh* mountains, and thence conveyed into *Sicily* by *Phileas Taurominites*, the mechanick. But I apprehend that here too, the criticks would reſtore the reading as before, and underſtand it of the *Brutian* mountains in *Italy*.

But in thoſe expeditions which were made from theſe parts into *Italy* and *Greece*, it ſeems the *Britains* were intermixed with the *Cimbri* and *Gauls*. For beſides the *name* being common to both, it is noted in the old *Britiſh* book of the *Triades*, that three mighty hoſts were levied from among the *Britains*; and that a certain foreign commander led a vaſt army from hence, wherewith having waſted a great part of *Europe* at laſt ſettled by the *Grecian* ſea, (meaning perhaps *Gallatia*) that there was a prince ſo famous both in *Greek* and *Latin* authors, named *Brennus*, there are ſome who think they can demonſtrate. For my part, this I know, that his name is not yet loſt among the *Britains*, who call a king *Brennin*, but whether in honourable memory of him I dare not conclude. However, that *Britomarus*, a military commander among them, mentioned by *Florus* and *Appian* was a *Britain*, is certain, from the word itſelf, which ſignifies a *Great Britain*, but to make that *Brennus* a native of *Britain*, I will not wreſt that place in *Strabo*, where he ſays, " That *Brennus* was by birth a *Prauſian*; nor will I dare to convert *Briones* into *Britones*, even though *Otho Friſingenſis* writes, that the *Briones*, a generation of the *Cimbri*, ſeated themſelves at the head of the river *Drave*: And yet what dare not the criticks of our time do.

But to give my ſentiments once for all; As the *Romans* notwithſtanding their ſuperior greatneſs were unknown, either to *Herodotus*, or the antient *Greeks*; as the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* remained ſtrangers a long time to the

old *Hiſtorians*; ſo have I thought it was late before the *Greeks* and *Romans* heard of the *Britains*. As for that diſcourſe *on the world* which paſſes for *Ariſtotle's*, and which mentions the *Britains* of *Albion* and *Herna*, it is not ſo antient as the time of that author, but a much more modern compoſition, in the judgment of the learned; and even that noble hiſtorian *Polybius* who accompanied the famous *Scipio* through a great part of *Europe* about three hundred and ſeventy years before *Chriſt*, ſeems very much unacquainted with this part of the world, he tells us, "That whatever tract lies northward "between the *Tanais* and *Narbo*, is unknown to this day, and that what-"ever is written of it is all fabulous." And ſo alſo ſeems what they have ſaid, who prodigal of their credulity are perſuaded that *Hamilcar* being commanded by the *Carthaginian* ſtate to diſcover the weſtern coaſts of *Europe*, arrived in this iſle many years before: When indeed we have no other records of this navigation than a verſe or two in *Feſtus Avienus*.

But the reaſon why it was ſo late before the *Britains* were diſcover'd to them, may ſeem in part to be the remoteneſs of the iſland, ſo disjoined from the continent; and partly becauſe thoſe old *Britains*, then barbarous like other people in theſe parts, and living within themſelves, had little commerce with other countries. And herein agrees *Dion*, who ſays, "The antient *Greeks* "and *Romans* did not ſo much as know there was ſuch a place as *Britain* in "the world, and the more modern of them queſtioned whether it were con-"tinent or iſland, and much controverſy there was on both ſides of the queſ-"tion, by thoſe who had little knowledge to decide it; either from an ac-"tual ſurvey of the country, or any intelligence from its inhabitants; but "ſuch as rely only on bare conjectures according as they had leiſure or "fancy to frame them.

But the firſt *Latin*, author occurring to my obſervation, who has made any mention of *Britain*, is *Lucretius* in theſe verſes, on the variety of air.

> How differ's *Ægypt*'s from the *Britiſh* air,
> Where th' *Artick* pole bounds in the heavenly ſphere?

Now it is granted that *Lucretius* lived not long before *Cæſar*; about which time we learn out of *Cæſar* himſelf, that *Divitiacus* king of the *Soiſſons*, and the moſt powerful prince in *Gaul*, governed *Britain*. But this is to be underſtood of the maritime coaſts, for *Cæſar* himſelf teſtifies that no part of *Britain* was known to the *Gauls*, but the ſea-ſide and thoſe countries which lay oppoſite to them: And yet *Diodorus Siculus* writes that, "*Britain* was "never ſubject to any foreign power; neither *Bacchus*, nor *Hercules*, nor "any other hero or demy god, do we hear of, to have attempted the con-

queſt

" queſt of that people; 'till *Cæſar*, who for his noble exploits is called " *Divus*, firſt ſubdued the *Britains*, and compell'd them to pay tribute."

Here then muſt the writer of our hiſtory begin his work if he judiciouſly obſerve what the learned *Varro* has ſaid, and I have already hinted, namely, that there are three different *Periods* in the age of the world: The firſt, from the creation to the flood, which becauſe of its uncertainty is called the *obſcure*: The ſecond, from the flood to the firſt *olympiad*, in the year of the world 3189 becauſe of the fiction in it, is called the *fabulous*: And the third, from the firſt *olympiad* to our days, is called the *hiſtorical*, becauſe the tranſactions therein are recorded in ſolid hiſtory. And though no nation however learned, except the *Jews*, had any true hiſtorical commemoration before this age, yet the *Britiſh* hiſtory of *Jeffery* begins three hundred and thirty years before the firſt *olympiad*, a very rude and ignorant age, in theſe parts, which *Varro* called fabulous. Hence therefore, leſt laying a bad foundation, the ſuperſtructure ſhould prove like it, I will begin with the hiſtory of the *Romans in Britain*; which both ſeems requiſite in this place, and may give light to what will enſue. Nor ſhall I collect it out of any thing that appears fictitious, which would argue as well vanity in reciting, as folly in believing; but out of the moſt genuine and uncorrupted monuments of antiquity; and that, with ſuch brevity, as may not engroſs the honour which may be merited by others, who ſhall be diſpoſed to purſue this ſubject in a more copious manner.

The Romans *in* Britain.

WHEN valour and ſucceſs had conſpired, or rather providence had decreed, that *Rome* ſhould be miſtreſs of the world; *Cajus Julius Cæſar*, having now ſpread his victorious eagles over *Gaul*, caſt his eyes towards the ocean; as if the *Roman* world was not yet wide enough for his ambitious ſoul, but it muſt prompt him through ſeas, as well as the land, to *unite* thoſe territories by conqueſt, which were *divided* by nature. So in the fifty fourth year before the birth of *Chriſt* he made his expedition into *Britain*; either becauſe the people thereof had ſecretly aided the *Gauls* againſt him, with

with ſupplies; or becauſe the *Britains* had given ſuccour to the fugitive *Bellovacij*; or elſe, according to *Suetonius*, being excited by the riches of our *Britiſh* pearl; the bigneſs whereof he was wont to compare, and to poiſe the weight in his hands; but moſt probably through his ardent thirſt of glory; ſince he rejected the overtures made by certain *Britiſh* ambaſſadors, who having intelligence of his deſigned invaſion, repaired to him with offers to deliver up hoſtages, and be in ſubjection to the *Roman* empire. But take the hiſtory of his entrance into this iſland, compendiouſly gathered, as follows, out of his own words.

" *Cæſar*, not being ſufficiently acquainted with the coaſts, harbours and " landing places in *Britain*, ſent *C. Voluſenus* with a galley before him; who " after ſuch diſcovery as he could make, returned to him in five days. The " *Britains* in the mean time having been advertiſed by ſome merchants, of " *Cæſar*'s preparations, ſent ambaſſadors to him in *Gaul* from ſeveral of " their ſtates, with proffer of hoſtages, and promiſe of obedience to the *Romans*. " He exhorted them to continue firm in that diſpoſition, ſo diſmiſſed them, " but ſent with them *Comius* of *Arras*, a man of great authority in thoſe " countries, (for the *Atrebates* had formerly left *Gaul* and ſeated themſelves " there), to cultivate the diſpoſition of ſubmitting to his protection. But " upon his firſt landing, he was caſt by the *Britains* into priſon and chains. " *Cæſar* having now aſſembled and fitted out a fleet of about fourſcore veſſels, " for tranſporting two legions; and eighteen more for his horſe; ſet ſail from " the coaſt of *Picardy*, at the third watch; and arrived about the fourth " hour of the day upon the *Britiſh* coaſt, but at a very inconvenient landing " place; for the hills lay ſo ſteep and prominent, that the natives might " ſhower their javelins from them directly down upon the ſhore, therefore " being favoured both with wind and tide, he cruiz'd along 'till he came to " a plain and open ſhore, about eight miles further, and there rid at anchor; the *Britains* perceiving his drift diſpatched away their horſe and " chariots before, to hinder the *Romans* from landing. And here the *Romans* " were exceedingly diſtreſſed again, for thoſe large ſhips could not ride near " enough to the ſhore in that ſhallow ſea, ad the ſoldiers forced, in unknown " places, to leap down from their high built ſhips, and fight in their heavy " armour at once, with the waves and the enemy. On the other ſide, the " *Britains* had a perfect knowledge of the place, had their bodies uncumber'd, " and fought with firm footing, either from the dry ſhore, or wading only " a little in the water. So that the ſpirits of the *Romans* manifeſtly abated " in their wonted proweſs and perſeverance. But when *Cæſar* commanded " the tranſports to be removed and the gallies to be rowed up in full broad-

ſide

" ſide againſt the *Britains*, and the ſlings, engines and arrows, to be diſcharged " upon them. Then terrified with the forms of theſe veſſels, the motion of " the oars, and the ſtrangeneſs of the engines, they gave ground. At that " one of the enſigns of the tenth legion having implored the gods to proſper " their attempt, cry'd out, *Leap down my fellow ſoldiers, unleſs you will forſake* " *your* Eagle, *and ſee it in the poſſeſſion of your enemy; for I will do my duty* " *to my country, and my general.* So threw himſelf into the water with his " ſtandard in his hand and the reſt all followed him. *(But if we believe* " Julian, *it was* Cæſar *himſelf who firſt quitted his ſhip in this manner.)* " Now begun the fight with great eagerneſs on both ſides: But the *Romans* " being cumber'd with their arms, obſtructed by the waves, in want of firm " footing; and withal in great diſorder, were in a very deſperate condition, " 'till *Cæſar* made the barges and pinnaces ply diligently about with con- " ſtant ſupply of freſh recruits. As ſoon as the *Romans* got footing on dry " land, they rallied, charged the *Britains*, and put them to flight, but were " not able to purſue the chaſe, their horſes being not yet arrived. The " *Britains* thus overthrown, preſently diſpatched ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* with a " treaty of peace, and in company with them, the aforeſaid *Comius* of *Arras*, " whom they had impriſoned, and withal laid the fault of their reſiſtance up- " on the rabble, and their own indiſcretion. *Cæſar* hereupon pardoned them, " commanded hoſtages to be given, which he received in part, and their pro- " miſe to deliver the reſt. Thus peace was concluded, four days after the " landing of *Cæſar* in *Britain*.

" In the mean time, thoſe eighteen ſhips which tranſported the horſe when " they came within ſight of the *Britiſh* coaſts, were by a ſudden tempeſt caſt " upon the weſtern part of the iſle, whence with much ado they recover'd " the continent of *France*; that night alſo the moon being at full and the " tide very high, it overflowed the galleys which were drawn aſhore, and " the tranſports which lay at anchor were ſo ſhatter'd by the ſtorm that they " were altogether unſerviceable. When this was known to the princes of " *Britain*, and they underſtood alſo that the *Romans* were thereby in want " of horſe, ſhipping and proviſion, they revolted and reſolved to intercept " all manner of forage: *Cæſar* foreſeeing this, had corn brought daily into " his camp out of the fields, and with the timber of thoſe twelve ſhips, which " had been moſt weather-beaten and craz'd, repaired the reſt of his fleet. " While theſe things were tranſacting, the ſeventh legion being ſent out for " corn while they were buſy in reaping it, the *Britains* ſuddenly ſet upon " and encloſed them with their horſes and chariots.

" Their way of fighting in theſe chariots, is thus, *(as I obſerved before)* " firſt, they drive up and down the plain, caſting their darts about, and often with the terror of their horſes and rattling of their chariots, diſorder " the enemy; as ſoon as they have thus broken their ranks, they leap from " their chariots and fight on foot, while the charioteers driving a little aſide " ſo poſt themſelves, that if their maſters ſhould be overcharged they may " readily recover their ſeats. Thus are they at once ſupplyed with the ſpeed " of the horſe and ſteadineſs of the foot, and are ſo expert by daily uſe and " exerciſe, that on the declivity of a hill they will ſtop in full career, turn and " ſlacken to their pleaſure, trip along the beam, tread upon the yoke, and " as nimbly turn to their chariots again. But *Cæſar* coming luckily to the " relief of his legion, the *Romans* took heart, and the *Britains* ſtood their " ground, who now in full hopes of a final deliverance, by reaſon of the ſmall " number of the *Romans*, and the ſcarcity of their proviſions, were drawn " in a great body up to the *Roman* camp, where *Cæſar* engaged them, ſlew " many, put the reſt to flight and fir'd their houſes about the place. The " *Britains* ſent their emiſſaries the ſame day to ſue for peace, which they obtained; on condition they would double the number of their hoſtages, " whom he commanded to be brought into *Gaul*: For it being within a " day of the *Æquinox*, *Cæſar* ſtraitways hoiſted ſail and arrived ſafe with " his fleet on the continent. Two only of the *Britiſh* ſtates ſent their hoſtages after him; the reſt neglected it. Upon *Cæſar*'s letters to *Rome* and " his relation of what he had performed, the ſenate decreed him a ſolemn " proceſſion for the ſpace of twenty days, altho' he had gained nothing either to himſelf or his country, but the glory of a ſucceſsful expedition.

" The next year, *Cæſar* having got together a great fleet, which, including convoys and the veſſel of volunteers, amounted to above eight hundred " ſail, mann'd with five legions, and two thouſand horſe, he launched from the " port near *Calais*, and landed his forces in the ſame part of the *Britiſh* iſland " as he had done before, and no enemy appeared; for though the *Britains* " had aſſembled there in great numbers, yet daunted at this numerous fleet, " they were withdrawn to the upland countries. Here *Cæſar* incamped in a " convenient place, leaving two cohorts and three hundred horſemen to " guard the ſhips. And having marched forward by night twelve miles, he " ſpied the *Britains*, who retreating as far as the river, began to give him " battle there; but being repulſed by the *Roman* cavalry they betook themſelves to certain woods fortified by art as well as nature. But the *Romans*, " by a *Teſtudo* or target roof: (made by locking their ſhields cloſe over head) " and the help of a mount which they raiſed, took the place and drove them " out of the wood, but made no great purſuit after them, have then their " camp to fortify." *Cæſar*

" *Cæſar* the next day divided his army into three battalions, and ſent them " to purſue the *Britains*, but ſoon recalled them, upon intelligence that his " navy, had, by a ſtorm the night before been torn, batter'd, and caſt upon the " ſhore. Thereupon he returned himſelf to his ſhips, and with ten days la- " bour hal'd them up to land, and entrench'd them, together with his camp, " in the ſame fortification, ſo march'd on to the wood, from whence he came. " Here alſo had the *Britains* aſſembled themſelves in greater multitude, " under the conduct of *Caſſibeline*; to whom the *Britains*, in publick counſel " had committed the whole management of the war, as to their prince and " general. His cavalry and chariots gave the *Romans* a ſharp encounter in " their march, to the loſs of many lives on both ſides. But after ſome inter- " miſſion, and as the *Romans* were buſied in fortifying their camp, the *Britains* " again charged thoſe who guarded it with great fierceneſs, to whoſe relief " when *Cæſar* had ſent two cohorts, the flower of his legions, they broke " thro' the thickeſt of the enemy, and made their retreat with ſafety. Next " day the *Britains* ſhewed themſelves in thin ſtraggling companies upon the " hills: But about noon they rallied, and made an aſſault upon three legions, " with the horſemen ſent out to forage, yet were at laſt repulſed, and with " great ſlaughter. And now their auxiliary forces departing from them, they " had no engagements afterwards with the *Romans*, in their full ſtrength. " From hence *Cæſar* led his army to the *Thames*, ſo to the confines of " *Caſſibelin*, where on the other ſide of the river, and under the water, the " *Britains* had ſecretly planted ſharp ſtakes; and marſhal'd themſelves in " great numbers along the banks: But the *Romans* waded over with ſuch im- " petuoſity, though up to their very necks, that the enemy forſook their " poſts and fled; not that they were affrighted at the ſight of our caſtle-back'd " elephants, as *Polyænus* has pretended. *Caſſibelin* having now no hopes of " ſucceſs from pitch'd battles, retained only with him four thouſand charioteers, " kept an eye on the motion of the *Romans*, and ſallied out upon them as " often as he could catch them in parties, or ſtragling for forage. Mean " while the *Trinobantes* (1) ſubmit to *Cæſar*, intreating that he would pro- " tect *Mandubratius*, (*called by* Eutropius *and* Bede, *out of ſome loſt pieces of* " Suetonius, Androgorius; *and by our* Britains, Androgeus) from the oppreſ- " ſion of *Caſſibelin*; and ſend him for their governor. *Cæſar* accordingly " ſent *Mandubratius*, and demanded forty hoſtages, with proviſion for " his army. Then the *Cenimagni* (2), *Segontiaci* (3), *Ancalites* (4),

(1) Inhabitants of *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*. (2) The people of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge* and *Huntingdonſhire*. (3) About *Holſlet* and *Selcheſter* in *Hantſhire*. (4) The Hundred of *Henly* upon *Thames*.

" *Bibroci* (5), and *Caſſij* (6); following the example of the *Trinobantes*, " ſurrender themſelves to *Cæſar*. He having learnt from them that *Caſſibe-* " *lin's* Town was not far off, and fortified with woods and motes, went and " aſſaulted it in two places; the *Britains* flew out at a back-way, but many " in flight were taken, and put to the ſword.

" In the interim, four petty princes in *Kent*, namely, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, " *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, by a mandate from *Caſſibelin*, fell upon the " camp in which the *Romans* had entrenched their navy; but the *Romans* " ſallying forth, repulſed them: And *Cingetorix*, one of the ſaid kings, was " taken priſoner. *Caſſibelin* after ſo many defeats, and above all, the revolt " of ſo many ſtates, ſent *Comius* of *Arras* in embaſſy to *Cæſar*, to treat up- " on a ſurrendry. Hereupon *Cæſar*, having determined to winter upon the " continent, demanded hoſtages, and appointed an annual tribute to be " paid by the *Britains* to the *Romans*; and withal, laid this injunction on " *Caſſibelin*, that he ſhould offer no hoſtilities to *Mandubratius*, or the *Tri-* " *nobants*: And ſo, at two ſeveral embarkments, he tranſported his army " with a great number of captives." Thus much from *Cæſar*, of his own war in *Britain*.

But *Eutropius*, out of the loſt writings of *Suetonius*, adds further, " That " *Scæva* one of *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers, with four of his comrades, croſs'd over the " ſea before, in a ſmall bark, to a rock near the iſland; and at low water, " were all left there; That the *Britains* in great numbers ſet upon theſe few, " yet that his companions got away in a ſhip, while *Scæva* remained alone, " undaunted, and overcharg'd with weapons on every ſide; one while reſiſt- " ing with his ſword, another, with his ſpear; ſingle, againſt a multitude; " When at length wearied and wounded and having loſt both helmet and " buckler, he ſwam off with two coats of mail to *Cæſar's* camp, where he " begg'd pardon of him for his raſhneſs, and had the honour of being advan- " ced by him to the degree of a Centurion.

When *Cæſar* made his firſt entrance into this iſland, ſo moderate was the appearance he made, ſo far from the pomp and pageantry of this preſent age, that *Cotas* (the firſt officer in his camp, but one) obſerves, in his *Greek commentary of the* Roman *commonwealth*, " all his retinue, or perſonal atten- " dants, conſiſted only of three ſervants."

Seneca has obſerved, " that when *Cæſar* was in *Britain*, as not enduring " that his greatneſs ſhould be confined within the ocean, he had news of

(1) The Hundred of *Bray* in *Berkſhire*.
(2) The Hundred of *Caiſhow* in *Hertfordſhire*.

" his

" his daughter's death, and of the publick calamities likely to enſue thereup-
" on; yet he ſoon conquer'd his ſorrow as he was wont to do every thing
" elſe that invaded him."

Being returned a conqueror from *Britain* he made an offering to *Venus Genitrix*, in her temple, of a *Gorget* beſet with *Britiſh* pearls. He appointed ſome of the *Britiſh* captives to the exerciſes of the theatre, and adorned the ſame with thoſe rich tapeſtry hangings, wherein he had cauſed to be woven his *Britiſh* victories: Theſe were often defaced, and torn away by thoſe *Britains*, they being the people repreſented in them; hence that of *Virgil*,

The *Britiſh* conqueſt, wrought by *Roman* looms,
To *Britiſh* Slaves a ſacrifice becomes.

Nor were the *Britains* appointed to the ſervice only of the theatre, but alſo, as I obſerve by the way, to the emperors litter or ſedan, as plainly appears by an antique inſcription of that age, which mentions a ſuperintendant over thoſe *Britiſh* litter-bearers or chair-men. Of *Cæſar's* victory aforeſaid an antient poet writes thus,

Unconquer'd force! whoſe fleet new rigg'd o'er came
The *Britiſh* hoſt, and *Rhine's* rebellious ſtream.

Hitherto thoſe verſes of *Claudian* may alſo be referred, touching the *Roman* valour upon this occaſion,

Nor ſtopp'd by ſea, nor plough'd its waves for nought,
But a new *Britiſh* world, for conqueſt ſought.

Cicero alſo in his *Quadrige*, a poem now loſt, exalts *Cæſar*, as it were in a poetical chariot, to the very skies, as *Ferrerius* of *Piemond* informs us, whoſe words are; " I will depaint *Britain* in your colours, but with my " own pencil." However in the judgment of others, *Cæſar* did no more than terrify the *Britains* with a fortunate fray; or as *Lucan*, who did not indeed much favour *Cæſar's* family, expreſſes it.

Fear, drove him from the foe, his arms had fought.

And *Tacitus*, a grave and ſolid author, writes that *Cæſar did not ſo much* deliver *Britain up to the Romans as* diſcover *it them*. And *Horace* implies that he ſcarce touch'd them, when flattering *Auguſtus*, he thus inſinuates what a maiden conqueſt they would afford.

Or *Britains*, yet untouch'd, in chains ſhould come,
To grace thy triumph thro' the ſtreets of *Rome*.

And ſo *Propertius*,

Britain that ſcorn'd the yoke of our command,
Expects her fate from thy victorious hand.

So remote from truth is that account of the court hiſtorian *Velleius Paterculus*, which ſays, *Cæſar* paſſed twice thro' *Britain*, when indeed he ſcarce made entry into it. For many years after his landing here, the iſland was ſubject to its own kings, and governed by its own laws.

Auguſtus ſeems deliberately to have declined a dominion here, for he reckon'd it according to *Tacitus*, a kind of *decree that the* Roman *empire ſhould be bounded*: Or that the ocean, with the *Iſtre* and *Euphrates*, were the limits which nature had preſcribed it; to the end it might be an indiviſible, *Adamantine* empire. (as *Auguſtus* expreſſes it in *Julian* and not like an unweildy ſhip become unmanageable, or ſink under its own weight, as it uſually happen'd to overgrown ſtates: Or elſe as *Strabo* conceives, he deſpis'd it, as if the *Britains* were a people as little to be fear'd, as their poſſeſſions to be coveted; and it was alſo thought that no ſmall detriment might accrue to them from the circumjacent nations. But whatever was the cauſe, it is certain that after *Julius* had been here, and the *Roman* valour turned itſelf upon its own bowels, *Britain* was long diſregarded, even when the empire was reſtored again to peace: Yet we find *Auguſtus* at laſt, upon a journey from *Rome* to invade *Britain*, at which time *Horace* made this invocation at *Antium* to the goddeſs *Fortune*,

On *Cæſar's* forces now propitious ſmile,
Who diſtant conqueſt ſeeks in *Britain's* iſle.

But after he was got as far as *Gaul*, the *Britains* ſent ambaſſadors to ſue for a peace, and the *Britiſh* princes having thus obtained his favour by their reſpectful embaſſies and addreſs, dedicated preſents and oblations in the capitol, made the whole iſland as it were, intimate and familiar to the *Romans*, ſo that they were brought to endure taxes without murmuring, raiſed out of the commodities as were conveyed between *Gaul* and *Britain*, being ivory, bricks, chains, amber, glaſs, and other ſuch common wares, therefore there needed a garriſon in the iſland, for it would require a legion at leaſt, beſides horſe, and tri-

tribute were to be levied, and then ſuch tribute would but deſray the charges of ſuch forces, for the imports muſt neceſſarily be leſſened if a tribute was impoſed, and a violent courſe is attended with a dangerous conſequence. The next year alſo *Auguſtus* intended a ſecond expedition into *Britain*, to reconcile ſome difference that had ſprung up about the articles of Pacification; but an inſurrection then happening among the *Cantabri* in *Spain*, diverted his purpoſe: So that there is no reaſon to believe either *Laudinus*, *Servius*, or *Philargyrus*, who have concluded that *Auguſtus* triumph'd over the *Britains*, from theſe lines in *Virgil*.

He fill'd each hand with ſpoils of different hoſts
And twice he triumph'd, on two diff'rent coaſts.

But to that ſubmiſſion of the *Britains* theſe verſes of *Horace* undoubtedly allude,

When we before heard thund'ring *Jove*;
Trembling, we own'd his pow'r above:
To *Cæſar* now we humbly bow;
Cæſar, a greater god below:
When conquer'd *Britain* ſheaths her ſword,
And haughty *Perſia* calls him lord.

Now that policy of *Auguſtus* aforeſaid, ſeems to have been approved of by *Tiberius*, a man no way ambitious to extend the bounds of empire; for he produced a book written in the hand of *Auguſtus*, wherein was drawn up, the whole revenue of the empire, what number of citizens and allies were in arms; the number of fleets, kingdoms, and provinces; what tributes and impoſts belonged to the ſtate; with a concluſive reſolution to keep the empire within bounds; with which reſolution of *Auguſtus*, he was ſo well ſatisfied, according to *Tacitus*, that he would make no attempt upon *Britain*, or maintain any forces there: For where *Tacitus* ſpecifies the number of their legions and the countries they were quarter'd in, he makes no mention of *Britain*; and yet the *Britains* ſeem to have continued in amity with the *Romans*; for at that time, *Germanicus* being upon a voyage, and part of his fleet being driven upon the iſland by ſtreſs of weather, ſome of the princes convoy'd them home again.

That *Cajus Caligula* intended an expedition hither is manifeſt, but through the unſteadineſs of his own mind, and his great attempts upon *Germany*, it came to nothing. For to aſtoniſh *Britain* and *Germany*, which he threatned, with the rumour of ſome wonderful atchievement, he built a bridge between *Baid*

and

and the piles of *Puteoli*, three miles and six hundred paces long: " But he " did nothing more in this exploit than receive into his protection *Adminius* " the son of *Cunobelin* king of the *Britains*; who being banished by his father, " had, with a few attendants, fled over sea. Upon this, as if the whole island " had surrendered to him, he dispatched his vain glorious letters to *Rome*, " with repeated charges to the messengers, that they should post forward di- " rectly to the market-place, and senate house, and not deliver them to the " consuls, but in the temple of *Mars*, and that in full assembly of the senate. " Afterwards marching down to the sea-side, as if he designed a descent upon " *Britain*, he there drew up his army; then having lanched out a little " distance in his galley, and returned, he mounted a high stand, gave the " signal for battle, commanded the trumpets to sound, then charged the " soldiers to fall a gathering the cockles and other little shell fish about the " shore. With these spoils, wanting those of an enemy to adorn his triumph, " he vapour'd as if he had conquer'd the ocean; and having rewarded his sol- " diers, he carried his shells to *Rome*, that his booty might be there seen and " admir'd. In memory of this victory he built a high tower, whence lights " and fires might be kept blazing all night, as out of a *Pharos* or watch " tower, for the direction of mariners (1)." The ruins of this tower are some times seen at low water upon the coast of *Holland*, and, by the inhabitants there, called *Britenhuis*; who also frequently find stones with inscriptions on them, one of which was *C. C. P. F.* which is interpreted by them, I know not how truly, *Caius Caligula Pharum Fecit*, or *C. Caligula* built this tower.

Hence forward, the inland parts of *Britain*, wasted rather with civil or domestic feuds, than the force of the *Romans*; fell gradually, after much slaughter on both sides, under the subjection of the *Romans*: For the states fighting separately one against another, all were in the end insensibly conquer'd; being so bent upon each others destruction, that till they were totally brought to confusion, they felt not that their losses by *parts*, would prove the loss of the *whole*; nay, such was the violence of their ambition, that many, rather than the particular parts they were engaged against, should not be overcome by leagueing with, and seeking aid of the *Romans*, enslaved their country to the common enemy. The chief among these was one *Bericus*, who incited the emperor *Claudius* to invade the *Britains*, which had not been attempted since *Julius Cæsar*'s time; they being now at strife with one another, on pretence of the protection they gave to certain fugitives. " Whereupon he " commanded *Aulus Plautius*, at that time *Prætor*, to conduct an army into

(1) *Dion.*

" *Britain*

" *Britain* who had much difficulty to remove the ſaid army out of *Gaul*,
" for they being much diſcontented to make war in *another world*, ſpun out
" the time with delays. But when *Narciſſus*, who was ſent by the emperor,
" mounted the tribunal of *Plautius*, and began to harangue them, the ſol-
" diers took fire and unanimouſly cried out *Io Saturnalia*, (for the ſlaves
" during the *Saturnalia*, uſually celebrate that feaſt in the habit of their
" maſters) and forthwith followed *Plautius* cheerfully. The army being di-
" vided into three bodies, leſt all landing at one place, might poſſibly meet
" with impediment, they yet met with ſome difficulty, being repulſed by
" contrary winds; however taking heart again, upon ſeeing one of thoſe mete-
" ors, called a *Fire-drake*, ſhoot from eaſt to weſt, they were conveyed to the
" iſland without any moleſtation. For the *Britains* ſuppoſing by what had
" already happened, that their purpoſe was diverted, had not muſter'd them-
" ſelves, but withdrew into the woods and marſhes, in hopes by lingering
" delays, ſo to weary out the *Romans*, that they would return home again, as it
" had befallen *Julius Cæſar*. *Plautius* therefore was at great trouble to find
" them, after he had found them (not yet free, but ſubject to many kings)
" he firſt overcame *Caractacus*, and afterwards *Togodumnus*; the ſons of
" *Cunobelin* who was then dead. Theſe put to flight, part of the (1) *Eodunni*
" ſubject to the (2) *Catuellani*, he received into protection, and having left
" a garriſon there, proceeded unto a certain river, while the *Britains*, who
" thought it impaſſable without a bridge, lay negligently in their camp on
" the other ſide. *Plautius* therefore ſent over the *Germans*, who were ac-
" cuſtomed to wade through the moſt rapid rivers, even in their armour. Theſe
" ſurprizing the enemy, made not one ſtroke at the men, but altogether at the
" horſes which drew their chariots, who being thus diſordered the men could
" not keep their ſeats. Then ſent he *Flavius Veſpaſian* (afterwards emperor)
" and his brother *Sabinus* as lieutenant, who having likewiſe paſſed the river
" ſurpriſed and cut of many of the *Britains*. The reſt did not yet fly hereup-
" on, but joyned battle next day ſo vigorouſly, that the victory remained doubt-
" ful; till *C. Sidius Geta*, at the very point of being taken by them, ſo effec-
" tually defeated them, that the honour of a triumph was granted him at *Rome*
" for his ſervices, though he had never been conſul. From thence the *Britains*
" retired to the *Thames*, where it diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, and ſtagnates with
" the flowing thereof; and being acquainted which parts were fordable and
" which not, they paſſed eaſily over, but the *Romans* in purſuing them ran

(1) Or *Duobuni*; *Glouceſterſhire*, and *Oxfordſhire*.
(2) Or *Catieuchlani*; that is *Buckinghamſhire*, and *Hertfordſhire*.

" great

" great hazards. Soon after, when the *Germans* ſwam over a ſecond time while " others paſſed over at a bridge above, they ſurrounded the barbarians and " made a great ſlaughter, but in the heat of the chaſe fell among bogs and loſt " many of their men Upon this and becauſe the *Britains* were moved rather " with fury than fear at the death of *Togodumnus*, *Plautius* advanced no fur- " ther, but fearing the worſt, was careful to guard what he had got, and ſent " to *Rome* for *Claudius*; being commiſſioned ſo to do in caſe of any deſperate " emergency. For this expedition, among much other equipage, there were " elephants alſo provided. *Claudius*, advertiſed of this news, committed the af- " fairs of the city and the army to *Vitellius* his fellow conſul, ſo ſailed from " *Rome* to *Oſtia*, and thence to *Marſeilles*, ſo by land and ſea came to the ocean, " croſs'd the chanel into *Britain*, and made directly to his forces, expecting " them by the *Thames* ſide. Having taken upon himſelf the command he paſ- " ſed the river, and in a ſet battle with the enemy, who were drawn up there " to receive him, obtained the victory, took *Camalodunum* (1) the royal ſeat " of *Cunobelin*; putting many to flight, and taking many priſoners For his " repeated acts of this kind, he was honoured with the title of *Imperator*, tho' " contrary to the *Roman* cuſtom; for it is not lawful for a general to aſſume " that title above once in one war. To conclude, having diſarmed the *Britains* " and committed them to be governed, as well as the reſt to be ſubdued by " *Plautius*, he returned to *Rome*; ſending *Pompeius* and *Silanus*, his ſons in " law before him, with the tidings of his victory." *Thus far* Dion.

However *Suetonius* reports that he had part of the iſland ſurrender'd with- out loſs of blood, or hazard of a battle. His ſtay in *Britain* was about ſix- teen days, in which time he remitted to the *Britiſh* gentry and nobility the confiſcation of their goods. For this courteſy, they frequented his temple and ador'd him as a god. And thus he returned to *Rome* in the ſixth month after he departed from thence.

It was eſteemed a matter of ſuch conſequence, to conquer but a part of *Britain* that the ſenate decreed anniverſary games, with triumphal arches, both at *Rome* and *Bologne* in *France*, and a moſt ſtately triumph withal, in honour of *Claudius*; at which, as well exiles, as the governours of provinces, were permitted to be preſent: As naval crown was fixed upon the loover of the emperors palace, to ſignify his conqueſt and ſovereignty of the *Britiſh* ſeas: The provinces contributed golden crowns; *France* above the reſt, one weighing nine pound; and *Spain* another of ſeven pound weight. His entry up the ſtairs of the capitol, was upon his knees, ſupported by his ſons in law on

(1) Now *Malden* in *Eſſex*.

either

either ſide; he alſo entered the *Adriatic* ſea, in a triumphant manner, and in a veſſel more like a palace than a ſhip. The uppermoſt ſeat was allowed by the ſenate to his conſort *Meſſalina*, with the permiſſion alſo to ride in a chariot. After this he exhibited triumphal games, having for that end aſſumed the conſular authority. That theſe ſolemnities might be ſhewn at once, they were acted in two theatres, and in his abſence were committed to the charge of others. He conſtituted a prize, and as many horſe races as the time limited would admit, for the winning of it; tho' there were but ten matches in all, for between every courſe the entertainment was diverſified with bear-baitings, combats, and the *Pyrrhic* dances performed in armour, by ſome choice *Aſian* boys brought thither for that purpoſe. He alſo beſtowed triumphal badges upon *Valerius Aſiaticus*, *Julius Silanus*, *Sidius Geta*, and others for this victory. He appointed *Licinius Craſſus Frugi* to ride next after him in this triumph, mounted upon a *Courſer*, richly capariſoned, and attired in a robe of palm work: Upon *Poſſidius* the eunuch, he beſtowed a ſpear without a head; and upon *C. Gavius*, chains, bracelets, horſe-furniture, and a golden coronet, as is to be ſeen in an antique marble at *Turin*. In the mean time *Aulus Plautius*, purſued the war with ſuch ſucceſs, that *Claudius* decreed him the inferior triumph of an *Ovation*; and when he entered the city he went forth himſelf to meet him, and gave him the right hand both to and from the capital. And now *Veſpaſian* began to make a figure, who being made an officer in the wars of *Britain* by *Claudian*, partly under this emperor himſelf, and partly under *Plautius*, fought thirty battles with the enemy, and ſubdued two powerful nations, above twenty towns, beſides the Iſle of *Wight*. For theſe exploits he was honoured with triumphal ornaments; twice with ſacerdotal Dignities, and a conſulſhip beſides; which he enjoyed the two laſt months of the war. Here alſo did *Titus* ſerve under his father in the quality of a tribune, with the reputation of a valiant and vigilant ſoldier (having bravely reſcued his father when beſieged) and was no leſs commended for his modeſty, as appears by the number of his ſtatutes and their inſcriptions throughout the provinces of *Germany* and *Britain*. The remaining tranſactions of the *Romans* in *Britain*, to the latter end of *Domitian*'s reign, *Tacitus*, who is beſt able, will acquaint you with as follows:

"*P. Oſtorius*, proprætor in *Britain*, found great diſorders there at his en-
"trance, by reaſon of the frequent incurſions they made upon our allies
"and thoſe the more outragious, as preſuming, upon the inxeperience of the
"commander, and the unfavourableneſs of the ſeaſon (winter coming on) that
"he would not take the field to oppoſe them. But *Oſtorius* knowing how
"conducive firſt attempts are to the raiſing or ſinking of a reputation, drew
"up the forces he had in greateſt readineſs, and fell upon, and ſlew thoſe that

" made head againſt him, purſuing the reſt that diſpers'd to prevent their
" re-union; and that an infirm or treacherous peace might not deceive either
" army or general, he proceeded to diſarm all thoſe he ſuſpected, and by
" raiſing forts and placing gariſons upon the two rivers, *Auſon* (1) and *Severn*,
" to reſtrain and hem them in upon all occaſions. But the *Iceni*, a potent
" nation, unſhaken by wars, could not digeſt this treatment, having gene-
" rouſly, of themſelves before, ſought the friendſhip of the *Romans*. By their
" example the bordering nations roſe alſo into arms, and having encompaſſed
" themſelves in one of their rude country entrenchments, acceſſable by a nar-
" row paſſage only, to prevent the entrance of any horſe. This camp the
" *Roman* general, tho' without his legions, but with the power of his allies,
" endeavoured to force; and having poſted foot and horſe to the beſt advan-
" tage, fell, after ſignal given, upon this rampier, diſorder'd the enemy, and
" hamper'd them up in their own fences. They, conſcious of being look'd
" upon as rebels, and knowing they could not eſcape, defended themſelves
" with great reſolution. In this fight *M. Oſtorius*, the lieutenant's ſon, had
" the honour of ſaving a citizen.

" Upon this defeat of the *Iceni*, they who before waver'd became fix'd in
" their adherence to the *Romans*; and ſo march'd with his army againſt
" the *Cangi* (2), whoſe country they waſted and ravaged all over, no
" dared the enemy openly to encounter us, and when they attempted it by
" ſtealth and fall upon our rear from their ambuſhes, they ſuffered for their
" treachery. By this time the *Romans* were advanced near the ſea-coaſt that
" looks towards *Ireland*, when diſcords among the *Brigantes* (3) recalled him;
" being determined to attempt no new conqueſts 'till he had ſecured the old:
" they were ſoon pacified, ſome being put to death, and the reſt pardoned.
" But the *Silures* (4), were not to be reclaimed either by rigour of clemen-
" cy, and therefore a legionary gariſon was thither detach'd to reſtrain
" them; for which purpoſe the colony of *Camalodunum*, conſiſting of a ſtrong
" body of veteran forces, was diſperſed into the new conquer'd countries to
" be in readineſs upon any revolt, and train their allies to order and diſ-
" pline. Somes cities and ſtates were granted to king *Cogidunus*, according

(1) Of this river we ſhall read more when we get into *Northamptonſhire*.
(2) *Cheſhire* men.
(3) The diviſion of *Yorkſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, Biſhoprick of *Durham*, *Weſtmoreland* and *Cumberland*.
(4) *South-Wales*; as *Herefordſhire*, *Radnorſhire*, *Brecknockſhire*, *Monmouthſhire*, and *Glamorganſhire*.

" an antient cuſtom of the *Romans*, that they might have even kings for their " inſtruments of ſervitude.

" Then marched the *Romans* againſt the *Silures*, who beſide their own na- " tutal courage truſted much in the abilites of *Caractacus*, a man, who by " his long experience in adventures, both perilous and proſperous, was " render'd ſo eminent as to bear a reputation above all *Britiſh* commanders. " He having the advantage of knowing the country, tho' at the head of a " weaker army, removes the war into the territories of the *Ordovices* (5), " drawing to his aid all ſuch as were averſe to peace, reſolves to hazard there " the laſt chance, and poſts himſelf ſo that the paſſes, retreats, and all " other conveniencies were on his ſide, and all the diſadvantages on ours. " There was no coming at them but by ſteep hills, and all the paſſable parts " of them, ſtopp'd up with ſtones as with a rampier. There ran alſo a river " before him, whoſe fords were doubtful and dangerous; and theſe guarded " by the flower of his nations. Moreover, their ſeveral leaders travers'd their " troops and companies, exorting and encouraging the ſoldiers, by confirming " thoſe who were in hopes, and giving ſpirit to ſome who were in doubt of " victory. *Caractacus* himſelf riding buſily up and down, put them in mind, " That this was the day, this to be the engagement, which would either abſo- " lutely recover their liberty, or perpetuate their bondage, reciting their an- " ceſtors by name, who had driven *Cæſar* the dictator out of *Britain*; whoſe va- " lour had ſheilded them from ſlavery and taxes, and their wives and daughters " from diſhonour. Upon theſe and the like ſpeeches there broke out a general " acclamation from the army, who bound themſelves by mutual vows accord- " ing to their reſpective rites, that neither weapons nor wounds ſhould ever " make them yield. This couragious alacrity of theirs aſtoniſhed the *Roman* " general; beſides, the river to croſs, the rampier on the other ſide, ſteep " mountains to aſcend, all horrible, and ſtrongly defended withal, quite diſ- " may'd him. Nevertheleſs his ſoldiers grew clamorous to be led on, crying " out, *Valour would overcome every thing*, and their Zeal was the more in- " flam'd by the concurrent outcries of their ſuperior officers. *Oſtorius* having " obſerved what places were unpaſſable, and what not, led his men forward " in his warmth, over the river. Being come to the bank, and rampier " aforeſaid, while the vollies of darts lafted on both ſides, we had more men " wounded, and greater numbers ſlain. But the *Romans* cloſing under a " target roof, threw down that looſe and irregular bulwark of ſtones, engaged " the *Barbarians* hand to hand, drove them to the mountains, and the heavy

(5) *North-Wales, Montgomeryſhire, Merionethſhire, Carnarvonſhire, Denbighſhire*, and *Flintſhire*.

" cuiraſſers, no leſs than the light arm'd, purſued them thither; the latter
" aſſailing them with their darts, while the former ruſhed upon them, and
" thereby ſoon diſorder'd them, having neither helmet nor coat of mail for
" their defence. If they oppoſed the auxiliaries they fell under the weapons
" of the legionaries; if they faced about to theſe, they were cut off by thoſe
" of the auxiliaries. Thus did we obtain a noble and compleat victory.

" The wife and daughter of *Caractacus* were both taken priſoners, and
" his brothers ſurrendered themſelves. Himſelf, as relief is generally moſt
" deceitful when it is moſt needed, craving the protection of *Cartiſmundua*
" queen of the *Brigantes*, was ſeized by her, and delivered in chains to the
" conqueror, nine years after the wars began in *Britain*; whereupon his fame
" ſpreading through the provinces and iſlands adjoining, reached as far as
" *Italy*, which incited a great curioſity in them to behold what that crea-
" ture ſhould be, who had ſo many years contemn'd and oppoſed the powers
" of the empire. For the name of *Caractacus* was of no mean account at
" *Rome* itſelf. And *Cæſar* by magnifying his own victory, did not a little
" exalt the merits of the vanquiſhed: The people were called together as to a
" rare and notable ſpectacle. The emperor's guard were drawn up in a plain
" before the camp. Then marched the *Britiſh* king's vaſſals, and retinue in
" the front, and after them were brought the ſpoils and trophies he had
" won in battle againſt his foreign enemies. Next proceeded his brothers,
" wife, and daughter, and laſtly himſelf. The addreſſes and ſupplications
" of all the reſt were ſervile and mean, by reaſon of their fear. But
" *Caractacus*, with a ſteady and undejected countenance and voice, im-
" ploring mercy, neither in looks or words, ſpoke to this purpoſe when he
" came up to the throne of *Cæſar*.

" If my moderation in proſperity had been anſwerable to my birth, and
" poſſeſſions, I might have entered this city, rather a friend to be enter-
" tain'd, than a captive to be gaz'd on; and you, without diſhonour, have
" ratified an alliance with me, being a man of royal deſcent, and a com-
" mander over many nations. My preſent ſtate, to me inglorius, is to
" you magnificent. I have had horſes, arms, armies and treaſure, and what
" wonder is it that I ſhould ſtruggle to preſerve them? But if your ſove-
" reignity muſt be univerſal, our fate of conſequence, among others, muſt be
" ſubjection. If I had readily ſurrender'd, neither my ruin would have been
" ſo conſpicuous, nor your victory ſo renowned: And now that I have no-
" thing left but my life, you may, by putting an End to that, deprive me of
" my *calamities*; or by ſparing it, perpetuate your own *clemency*.

" Upon theſe words, *Cæſar* did not only pardon him, but his wife, and
" brothers. And being all unbound, they paid their reverence likewiſe to

" the

" the empreſs *Agrippina*; who was mounted at a little diſtance on another " throne; and ſhewed her the like honour and diſtinction they had done to " the emperor himſelf. Surely, an example without precedent, among our " anceſtors, that a woman ſhould ſit as commander of the *Roman* troops, but " ſhe behaved herſelf like an aſſociate in the empire, it being acquired by her " progenitors. After this the ſenate was aſſembled, who made long and glo- " rious ſpeeches touching the captivity of *Caractacus*; affirming it to be no leſs " extraordinary, than when *Pub. Scipio* led in *Siphax*, *Luc. Paulus*, ſhewed " *Perſes*, or whatever conqueror beſides exhibited crowned captives to the " people. As for *Oſtorius*, he was decreed the honour of triumphal " ornaments.

Authors have reckoned theſe conqueſts of *Britain* among the moſt famous monuments and teſtimonies of the *Roman* valour: Wherefore, as *Seneca* ſays, " *Claudius* was the firſt who might glory in conquering the *Britains*, for *Julius* " *Cæſar* did but ſhew them to the *Romans*." In another place alſo, writing to the ſame *Claudus*, he ſays,

To his all-conquering forces, *Britain* yields,
And the *Brigantes*, known by azure ſheilds:
Nor, by remoteſt *Lands* alone, ador'd;
But *Ocean* trembles at a *Roman* lord.

And *Seneca*, the *Tragic* Poet in his *Octavia*, wrote alſo to this purpoſe of *Claudius*.

He put to flight the *Britains* bold;
'Till then, ne'er to our leaders known:
And by new *laws* their ſtates control'd,
'Till then, ſtill govern'd by their *own*.

And in the ſame tragedy upon his croſſing the river *Thames*,

Behold, whom firſt *Thames* rugged waves obey'd;
And whoſe vaſt fleets, her lonely ſtreams o'erſpread:
Who ſafe thro' ſtorms, and barb'rous foes is come,
To fall, by a more barb'rous wife at home.

Thus alſo *Ægeſippus* concerning *Claudius*, " Hereof *Britain* is an inſtance; " which lying out of the world is by the power of the *Roman* empire reduced " into the world. What to former ages was unknown, is by the *Roman* " valour diſcover'd; and they who were born free, and lived ignorant of ſer- " vitude, are now made ſlaves; who were the whole breadth of the ocean, " beyond the reach of a ſuperior power, and knew not what it was to be " afraid

" afraid, becauſe they knew none to fear. So that to make a deſcent upon " *Britain*, was a greater action than to have triumph'd over it." *In another place.* " He added, *Britain*, 'till then hid amidſt the ocean, to the *Roman* " empire by the force of arms; which aggrandiz'd *Rome*, gain'd *Claudius* " the character of a politick prince, and *Nero*, that of a fortunate one." *And farther, which is more remarkable.* " The very elements themſelves are " fallen under the name and dominion of the *Romans*; the whole globe " is but the limit of their ſovereignty, and in ſhort, is called by many the " ROMAN WORLD. For if we conſider it rightly, the *Roman* empire is " more extenſive than the earth itſelf; for the valour of the *Romans* hav- " ing launched beyond its confines, the ocean; has, in *Britain*, an Iſland re- " mote from land, poſſeſſed itſelf of another world; inſomuch as when we " would deprive men, not only of the privileges of *Rome*, but in a manner " of all community with mankind, we baniſh and tranſport them thither: " So that the ſea is no longer a bound to the *Romans*; for they have advanced " beyond its utmoſt receſſes." And to this effect *Joſephus*, in the perſon of *Titus*, ſpeaks as follows to the *Jews*. " What greater fence or bulwark can there " be than the ocean? Wherewith the *Britains* are incloſed; and yet this can- " not guard them from ſtanding in awe of the *Roman* power."

But further, there are ſome poetical compoſitions by an ingenious *anonymous* poet, on this ſubject, reſcu'd and preſerved from oblivion, by the famous *Joſeph Scaliger*, in his *catalects*; which, becauſe not every where to be met with, I will here inſert; for the verſes are excellently good, but that they are diſtinct *epigrams*; and to be read ſeparately, I have been lately inform'd by *John Obſopæus*, a learned young *German*, who has diſcovered the ſame out of ſome old *Vellum* manuſcripts.

THAT land, which fear'd no foreign foes alarms,
Fell *Cæſar*, by the thunder of thy arms:
Thy altars, Seas, beyond their ſhores, ſurvey;
And what did bound the *World*, won't bound thy *ſway*.

CONquer'd by thee; 'till now an unfoil'd race,
As well thy *Titles* as thy *Triumphs* grace:
A race unſeen, in *Neptune*'s arms conceal'd,
To unknown yoaks, their necks ſubmiſſive yield:
Rhine, let the north, *Euphrates*, eaſt obey;
Whole rules the centre's *Sovereign of the Sea.*

THE diſtant *Britains* who in ſilence dwelt;
Who never *Conqueſt* or *Subjection* felt;
To their *own glory*, now are overcome,
Encreaſing that of *Cæſar* and of *Rome.*

Tiber

TIBER did, *Romulus*, thy realms ſurround;
And pious *Numa* ne'er enlarg'd their bound:
Your empire, *Cæſar*, tho' like heavenly pow'er,
Was bounded by the ocean's fartheſt ſhore:
But th' ocean now preſents new worlds beyond;
And that's the *middle*, which was once the *end*.

O Guardian *Romulus!* O *Mars*, our ſire!
And *Cæſar*, who, than both, a ſtar ſhines higher!
You ſee, our laws, remoteſt *Britains* own,
Our lands unbounded by the ſetting ſun;
The *world*'s great limits, to our arms give way,
And all *its ocean*, but the *Roman* ſea.

GERMANS, in vain your *Rhine*, a fence you deem;
In vain, you *Parthians*, truſt *Euphrates* ſtream:
All oceans fled beneath the *Roman* ſword;
And with due reverence owns its conquering lord.

BRITAIN, ſequeſter'd from our milder clime,
Is now ſurrounded with a *Roman* ſtream:
Tho' her ſteep cliffs, unfathom'd ſeas encloſe,
And craggy rocks, contemn invading foes;
Tho' *Neptune*'s watry pow'rs her walls ne'er ſcale,
But his inſulting tides her banks repel;
In winter's icy arms, tho' her land lies;
And ſtars inclement threaten in her skies;
By thee, great *Cæſar*, with a glance ſhe's won;
And bears thy yoke, a yoke till now unknown:
Thus friends, in lands impaſſible, we find;
Thus the two *Worlds* are in one *Empire* join'd.

But to proceed in the words of *Tacitus*. " Thus far *Oſtorius* went on " ſucceſsfully, but now his fortune began to waver; either becauſe the war be- " gan to languiſh, as if upon the loſs of *Caractacus*, its ſoul was departed from " the body; or elſe becauſe the enemy, in reſpect to ſo great a prince, were " more exaſperated to revenge. For they environ'd the camp-maſter, and " thoſe legionary cohorts, which were left behind to fortify the country of " the *Silures*. And if the villages and forts adjacent had not aſſembled to " their Relief, they had been totally defeated. Nevertheleſs the camp-maſter, " with eight of the centurians, and moſt forward of the common ſoldiers were

" were ſlain, and ſoon after they chaſed away our foragers, with the detach-
" ments of horſe which were ſent out to guard them. Hereupon *Oſtorius*
" ſent out ſome light arm'd companies, which yet could not have prevented
" their flight, had not the legions advanced and received the enemy. This
" ſupply made the battle doubtful, 'till at length the ſcale turned on our ſide,
" and the enemy flying, eſcaped with ſmall loſs, the day being far ſpent.
" This was followed with many ſkirmiſhes in woods and marſhes, upon the
" ſallies of one or the other, by accident or deſign, as it fell out thro' chance
" or courage; one while for revenge, another for ſpoil: ſometimes by com-
" mand, ſometimes of their own accord. But the leading ſpur was the im-
" placable contumacy of the *Silures*; who were enraged at a ſpeech of the
" *Roman* generals which came to their ears; threatening, that as the *Sugambri*
" were driven away and tranſported into *Gaul*, ſo the name of the *Silures*
" ſhould alſo be utterly extirpated. In this feud, two of our auxiliary com-
" panies, ſent inadvertently out by ſome greedy officers to pillage, were in-
" tercepted by them; and they, by a liberal diſtribution of the ſpoil and the
" priſoners, drew the reſt of the nations to revolt. In this juncture *Oſtorius*,
" worn out with fatigue and vexation, died, whereat the enemy rejoiced, as
" being a commander againſt them of no ſmall account, and the rather becauſe,
" though he did not fall in the very action of war, yet he expired under the
" burden of it.

" *Cæſar* having intelligence of his lieutenant's death, appointed *A. Didius*
" to ſucceed him, leſt the province ſhould be deſtitute of a governor. Though
" in his voyage thither, he was very expeditious, he found not their affairs
" in that proſperous condition he deſired: For in the mean time, *Manlius*
" *Valeus* had engaged the enemy with his legion, to his great loſs. And the
" enemy made his loſs greater than it was, the more to terrify the new ap-
" proaching commander. He himſelf alſo magnified the rumour of it, to
" augment his own praiſe, if he ſhould appeaſe theſe troubles; or facilitate
" his pardon, if he ſhould not. The *Silures* were they who wrought us this
" damage; inſomuch as they over-run the province, 'till upon the arrival of
" *Didius* they were repulſed.

" About this time died *Claudius:* And he was ſucceeded by *Nero* in the
" empire; a man of no war-like ſpirit; nay, he was once enclined to have
" withdrawn all the forces out of *Britain*; and only relinquiſhed that inten-
" tion thro' ſhame, leſt he might be cenſured for detracting from the glories
" of *Claudius*. After *Caractacus* was taken, *Venutius*, born among the
" *Brigantes*, and one of the moſt expert ſoldiers among the *Britains*, yet long
" a friend to the *Romans*, and protected by them; having parted with, and
" been at open wars againſt his wife queen *Cartiſmundua*, revolted alſo from
" us; which grew at laſt into down right hoſtility. The quarrel begun with
" them two, 'till *Cartiſmundua* craftily apprehended the brother and kinſmen

of

" of *Venutius*. This ſo enraged her enemies and raiſed ſuch indignation at " the thoughts of their being govern'd by a woman, that they invaded her " kingdom with a ſtrong power of choſen youth. We foreſeeing this, ſent troops " to her aid, and a ſharp battle enſued; at firſt doubtful, in the end proſperous " on our ſide. And the legion of *Ceſius Naſica* had the like ſucceſs. For " *Didius*, ſtricken in years, and laden with honours, thought it ſufficient to " execute his charge by his officers. What had been won by his predeceſſors " he took care to preſerve; and enlarged the frontier-garriſons in number and " ſpace, that he might be ſaid to have made ſome improvements of their " conqueſts. Though there was a diviſion in the time of theſe exploits, un- " der the two *Proprætors*, *Oſtorius* and *Didius*; I thought beſt to make " none in the narration of them, leſt they ſhould not be ſo clearly compre- " hended.

" *Didius Avitus* was ſucceeded by *Veranius*, who having made ſome in- " rodes upon the *Silures*, was prevented by death from oppoſing them further; " a man, who, in his life-time, had the character of ſeverity, and by his will " at his death, that of ambition: For after much flattery to *Nero*, he therein " added, that he would have ſubdued the whole province to his obedience, " if he had lived two years longer.

Paulus Suetonius was the next governor: A man, in martial accompliſh- ments, according to the ſentiments of the people, (who are ever making com- pariſons) emulating *Corbulo*; ambitious of equaling the honour he had won in recovering *Armenia*, by quelling the oppoſitions in this country: therefore he made all poſſible preparations to invade the iſle of *Angleſey*, which was pow- erfully peopled, and the conſtant reſt of fugitives. To this end he built flat- bottom boats for the ſhallows, and thus tranſported his foot forces: The horſe forded, or were ſwum over, where the water was deep. The enemy were ready drawn up in arms to receive them along the ſhore and banks; the wo- men running up and down, in mourning weeds, with their hair dangling down their necks, and fire-brands in their hands, like ſo many furies; with their *Druids* about them, ſtretching up their hands to heaven, and pouring forth their horrid imprecations. This ſtrange ſight, ſo amaz'd and ſtupify'd the ſoldiers, that they ſtood immoveable, as if they had loſt the uſe of their limbs, and were only to endure the blows of their enemy. But after they were en- couraged by their captain, and had exhorted one another not to fear a rout of women and mad people, they diſplay'd their colours and march'd on, beating down all that oppoſed them, and burning them in their own flames. Then they garriſon'd the towns, and fell'd the woods and groves, conſecrated to their barbarous and execrable ſuperſtitions. For they accounted it lawful to offer the blood of captives upon their altars and to conſult the will of their gods, in the entrails of men.

While *Suetonius* was engaged in this action, intelligence was brought him that the province was ſuddenly revolted. *Praſutagus* king of the *Iceni*, a moſt wealthy prince, had made *Cæſar* and his two daughters his heirs; expecting by this compliment, to win favour, and ſecure his houſe and kingdom from injuries; but it fell out otherwiſe, for his kingdom fell a prey to the officers, and his houſe to the plunder of ſlaves. His wife in the firſt place, was whipp'd, and his daughters deflower'd: And as if all was now become a lawful ſpoil, the principal inhabitants were turn'd out of their paternal eſtates, and the blood-royal treated as bondmen.

" Upon theſe injuries, and the apprehenſions of worſe; being now reduced " to a province, the people began to murmur at their miſeries, to compare " their wrongs, and to magnify them by reflections; urging, their patience " would be only of ſuch effect, that the bearing one impoſition would but bring " on another; that formerly, every ſtate had but one king, now they were " in ſubjection under two; the lieutenant, to prey upon their blood, and the " procurator, upon their eſtates; that the variance of theſe governors, pro- " ved the torment of the ſubjects, by military vexations, and their agree- " ment, the impoveriſhment of them by rapacious extortions; That nothing " was ſafe from their unbounded avarice, nothing ſecure from their braveſt " enemies; but cowards and weaklings were their plunderers now; that theſe " turn'd them out of their houſes, bereaf'd them of their children, and preſs'd " them at pleaſure to foreign ſervices; as if the *Britains* could die for any " country but their own: That there would be no compariſon in their num- " bers if the *Britains* were to number themſelves: Thus the *Garmans* ſhock " off their ſlavery, who had only a river, not an ocean to defend them: That " theſe *Romans* had no better motive to war than ſordidneſs and luxury; but " they had their native country, with their wives and children to incite them, " and if the one would but imitate the bravery of their anceſtors, and not be " diſmay'd at a few difficulties at firſt, the others would retreat, as their dei- " fy'd *Julius* had done before them: That ſuch as were in extremity uſually " purſued their relief with the greater reſolution: That even heaven now " ſeem'd to compaſſionate their diſtreſs, in having removed the *Roman* ge- " neral, and engaged the legate in another iſland. That the moſt dangerous " part of their work was what they were then upon, the conſultation; for it " would be of worſe conſequence to be diſcover'd in the debate, than in the " very execution."

With theſe and ſuch like inducements, having animated one another, they forthwith leap'd into arms, under the conduct of *Boadicia*, a lady of royal blood, (for the *Britains* make no diſtinction of ſex in government) and drew over the *Trinobants*, and with as many as being not yet broken to the yoke or bondage, had ſecretly vow'd the reſumption of their liberty, with the ut-

moſt

most animosity against the veteran soldiers. For these newly led into the colony of *Camalodunum*, had expell'd the antient inhabitants, dissiez'd them of their lands, upbraided them with the title of slaves and captives; while the younger soldiers maintain'd the insolent outrages of the old ones, in prospect of arriving at the like licentiousness. Besides, a temple built in honour of *Divus Claudius*, as a monument of perpetual tyranny, gave them great disgust; and the very priests sent to officiate there, under the cloak of religion, proved no better than robbers of them. And truly, there could be no great difficulty in razing a colony that was unfortify'd, thro' the improvidence of our commanders; who had consulted their delight more than safety. In this interim, the image of victory erected in *Camalodunum*, fell down without any visible cause, and that backwards, as if giving way to the enemy. Several *ethnsiastic* women went singing about, their prophetic menaces of our destruction. Strange noises were heard in their counsel house, hedious howlings in their theatre, and a horrid apparition seen in the arm of the sea there, plainly foreboding the overthrow of that colony. Moreover the ocean look'd bloody; and at its ebb, the print of men's carkases appear'd on the shore; all which, inspir'd hope in the *Britains*, in the *veterans* despair. *Suetonus* being at a distance, they sought succour of *Catus Decianus*, who sent them a recruit but of two hundred men, and those ill accoutred; while the small force they had within the town, rely'd on the protection of the temple. Some of these who were privy to the conspiracy, had so deluded the colony, that they made neither trench nor rampier before the town, nor sent away the women or aged men, but reserved the young ones. So, lull'd in security, as in a time of profound peace, their were surprised unawares, and enclosed by the barbarous rout. All places were sack'd, or consum'd with fire, except the temple; in which the soldiers, had crowded themselves; and that, after two days storm, was taken. The *Britains*, being thus conquerors, meeting with *Petillus Cerealis* lieutenant of the ninth legion, as he was advancing with supplys, put the horse to flight, and the foot to the sword; but *Cerealis* himself with the cavalry escaped to the camp, and he got shelter in the fortifications. *Catus* the procurator was so daunted at this defeat, and by the general odium of the province at the *Romans* avarice, that he made the best of his way over into *Gaul*.

" *Suetonus* however, with an undaunted intrepidity, drove thro' the body " of the enemy to *London*; which, though not famous as a colony, was for the " concourse of merchants, and plenty of provisions most populously frequented. But here, he could not readily determine, whether to make it the " seat of war or not; and considering the weakness of his own forces; withal, howmuch *Petilus* had suffer'd by his rashness, he resolved, with the hazard of one town to save the rest. The tears and prayers of the inhabitants " who sought his aid and protection, avail'd them not; but he gave the sig-

" nal of a remove, and receiv'd all followers as part of his army to march " along with him. As many therefore as weakneſs of age, and ſex, or af- " fection to the place, with-held, were all put to the ſword by the enemy. " The like calamity befell the free town of the *Verulam*, becauſe the barbari- " ans having the engarriſon'd forts, pillag'd the moſt wealthy places, and " thoſe leaſt provided for defence, removing their plunder into parts of grea- " ter ſafety; and as men thirſty thereof, proceeded to others, where there " was the greateſt plenty. And thus, were the *Roman* citizens and allies " ſlain, to the number of ſeventy thouſand, by credible report, up and down " the places before mentioned: For there was no taking of priſoners, or ran- " ſom of them, or any other quarter given, according to the law of arms; " but by killing, hanging, burning, and crucifying, ſuch havock they made, " and ſuch haſte withal, as if they would at once both retaliate their own " ſufferings paſt, and the revenge of their enemy to come."

" By this time *Suetonius*, having with him the fourteenth legion, and the " ſtandards of the twentieth, with auxiliaries from the neighbouring parts; " was near ten thouſand ſtrong; when he reſolv'd to delay no longer, but come " to a full engagement; and ſo encamped in a place thro' the entrance of a " narrow lane, and encloſed behind with a wood, being well aſſured his ene- " my lay all in the front, and that the plain was open without danger of " ambuſh; the legionary ſoldiers being cloſely drawn up in a body, " were flank'd with the light arm'd men, and wing'd with the horſe. The " *Britains* with great triumph, run ſhouting up and down, in ſuch vaſt " ſwarms as were never before ſeen; and ſuch their oſtentatious bravery; " that they would needs bring their wives with them, and place them in " wains, which they had ranged along the borders of the plain to be witneſſes " of their expected victory,"

" *Boadicia*, having her daughters before her in a chariot, as ſhe rode among " the different nations (for it was not unuſual for the *Britains* to go to " war under the conduct of a woman) aſſured them that ſhe came not, as " one royally deſcended, to fight for riches or dominion, but as one of the " common people, to recover liberty, to revenge the ſtripes wherewith they " had diſgraced her, and the diſhonour they had offered her daughters. That " now the *Roman* ſenſuality was grown ſo boundleſs they had left neither " aged matrons, nor virgins undefil'd. That the gods now favour'd their " juſt revenge of ſuch execrable wickedneſs: For the legions who had already " dar'd to oppoſe them, were cut to pieces; and the reſt were either hidden " in their camps and coverts, or turned fugitives for their preſervation; ſo " that they would never endure the clamour of ſo many thouſands, much leſs " the charge in actual engagement. If then, they would conſider both armies, " and the cauſes of war on both ſides, they would reſolve either to conquer " or die in that battle. That for her part, tho' but a woman, this was " her reſolution; the men might if they pleas'd prefer life and ſlavery.

Nor

" Nor could *Suetonius* be ſilent in ſo great an emergency; for though he " truſted much to the valour of his men, he thought it proper alſo to refreſh " that, with arguments and exhortations; as, that they ſhould contemn the " tumultous and clam'rous menaces of the barbarians, that there were more " women than ſtout young fellows among them; that being unwarlike and " unarmed, they would ſoon give ground to thoſe weapons, and thoſe conque- " rors, by whom they had been ſo often repulſed; that even in many legions, " a few gain the victory; and to their greater glory it would redound, if a ſmall " power won the fame of an army; that his advice was, they ſhould fight cloſe, " follow the lanching of their javelins with the ſpikes of their bucklers, and con- " tinue with their ſwords, in hewing down and killing them: And this with- " out ſo much as one thought of booty, for that would of courſe be the con- " ſequence of victory. Theſe words of the commander ſo ſharpened and " kindled the courage of the ſoldiers, and the veterans were ſo ready to " ſend forth the inſtruments of deſtruction, that *Suetonius*, confident of ſucceſs " was reſolved to reſtrain them no longer, but gave the ſignal of battle. " And firſt, the legion kept their ground within the lane aforeſaid, till the " enemy had ſpent their darts againſt them, and then drove out upon them like " a *wedge*. The auxiliaries ſallied out in like manner; and the horſe with " their long ſpears broke through all that made head againſt them; the reſt " turned their backs, and with difficulty eſcap'd by reaſon of the carts and " waggons which extended all round the plain, and block'd up the paſſages on " every ſide. The ſoldiers gave no quarter, ſo much as to the women; war- " horſes and draught-horſes were mingled with human carcaſes, and encreaſed " the pile of lifeleſs fleſh and blood. It was a renowned victory, and com- " parable to the conqueſts of old; for as ſome have reported, there were ſlain " little leſs in number than fourſcore thouſand *Britains*; of our ſoldiers, there " fell not above four hundred; and there were not many more wounded. " *Boadicia* ended her life with poiſon; *Poenius Poſthumus*, camp-maſter of " the ſecond legion, underſtanding this ſucceſs of the fourteenth and twentieth " legion, having alſo deprived his own legion of ſharing in the glory, and con- " trary to the rules of diſcipline, diſobey'd his generals commands, ſlew him- " ſelf with his own ſword.

" After this, the whole army being muſter'd and rallied together, *Sueto-* " *nius* ſtill maintained the field to end the reſidue of the war. *Cæſar* rein- " forced him with two thouſand legionary ſoldiers, eight cohorts of auxilia- " ries and a thouſand horſe out of *Germany*; by whoſe arrival, they of the " ninth legion had their companies recruited and completed. The cohorts " and cornets were appointed new winter quarters; and all thoſe nations of " the enemy which were either in neutrality, or known oppoſition, were waſ- " ted by fire and ſword: But by nothing were they ſo ſharply diſtreſſed as fa- " mine, having neglected to till and ſow their ground, ſo wholly intent had

" they

" they been in the profecution of their wars, and ſuch full expectation had " they of ſupplying themſelves with our proviſions. Thoſe nations which " were yet unconquer'd were the more averſe to a treaty, on the news of ſome " private difference between *Julius Claſſicianus* the new procurator, who " ſucceeded *Catus*, and *Suetonius*; which proved of publick detriment: For " he had ſpread abroad, that they were to expect a new lieutenant, who with- " out any hoſtilities of an enemy, or haughtineſs of a conqueror, would treat " all ſuch with the greateſt clemency as yielding themſelves to him. He ſent " alſo word to *Rome*, that they ſhould look for no end of that war till *Suete-* " *nius* was removed; aſcribing all miſadventrous proceedings to the perverſ- " neſs of his conduct, and all proſperous ones to the good fortune of the " Commonwealth.

" Hereupon *Polycletus*, one of *Nero's* freemen, was ſent over, in good hopes, " that by his authority, there would not only be wrought a perfect harmony " between the lieutenant and the procurator, but alſo that the refractory diſ- " poſition of the barbarians might be won to peace. So, after he had been " burthenſome to *Italy* and *Gaul* with the magnificence of his train, he went " to ſhew himſelf terrible even to our army in *Britain*; but the enemy diſpi- " ſed him; for being perfectly free themſelves, they knew not what to make " of the authority of this *Freeman*, who though a commander over others, and " performer of ſuch exploits, ſhould yet be there in ſubjection, and that even " under a ſervant. But theſe matters were repreſented in the faireſt manner " to the emperor; and *Suetonius*, in his publick engagements, having loſt a " few galleys with their ſlaves, near the ſhore, was commanded, as if the war " ſtill continu'd, to deliver up the army to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had " newly diſcharg'd his conſular dignity, as to one of a more affable temper, " and who unacquainted with the tranſgreſſions of the enemy, would more " readily accept of their repentance. He was neither diſpleaſed by the ene- " my, nor gave them diſpleaſure; but colouring over an idle and indolent life " with the plauſible name of peace, and having compoſed all diſturbances with- " out enlarging his poſſeſſions, reſigned to *Trebellius Maximus*, his charge of " the province.

" He alſo, an unactive man, and unskill'd in military affairs, by a courteous " comportment kept the province in quiet. For by this time the *Britains* " had learned ſo much breeding as to reliſh the pleaſing oppreſſions of flatte- " ry; and the civil wars in the empire were a ſpecious excuſe for the lieute- " nant's remiſneſs in the province. But this wanton eaſe in the army, bred " mutiny, which had been diverted by labour and diſcipline; and *Trebellius* " himſelf grew odious among his own ſoldiers for his mercenary and avaritious " practices. This indignation was enflam'd by *Roſcius Cælius*, lieutenant of " the twentieth legion, who was an old adverſary of his, and their perſonal " animoſity was heightened by the publick diſcord. *Trebellius* was ever

" charging

" charging *Cælius* with factious behaviour, and neglecting the order of disci-
" pline; *Cælius* retorted upon him the plunder and beggery of the legions.
" These contentions in the superiors; banish'd all decorum in those under them,
" and their dissentions grew so exorbitant, that *Trebellius* being deserted, by
" the wings and cohorts of his army, who went over to *Cælius*, and revil'd
" by the auxiliaries, flew to *Vitellius*; yet the province continued quiet in
" the absence of the consular lieutenant, for the lieutenants of the legions
" supplied his charge with coequal authority. But *Cælius* had the greatest
" difference paid him, because he had the greater boldness to exact it.

" During the civil wars between *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*; *Vectius Bo-*
" *lanus* was sent over by the latter, to succeed *Trebellius*: Nor did he trou-
" ble *Britain* with the reformation of discipline, more than his predecessor;
" the same negligence continued against the enemy, the same unruliness in
" the camp; with this difference, that *Bolanus* a harmless good natur'd man,
" was clear of those corruptions, which rendered the other odious; so gain'd
" good will and affection, instead of authority and obedience. Therefore he
" delay'd sending *Vitellius* supplys out of *Britain*, under pretence they were
" not yet quiet enough there. But the great reputation in military affairs
" which *Vespasian* had got when he was lieutenant of the second legion under
" *Claudius* there, won the province soon over to him; though not without
" some opposition of the other legions, wherein many officers and private men
" who had been preferr'd by *Vitellius*, were unwilling to change the prince
" of whom they had such experience: Besides the soliders of the fourteenth
" legion call'd the conquerors of *Britain*, being removed from thence to the
" *Caspian* wars by *Nero*, and defeated in the quartel of *Otho*, were sent back
" to *Britain* by *Vitellius*, and recall'd by letters from *Muttianus*.

" There were no mutinies among the forces in *Britain*, notwithstanding
" any encouragement they might have through this civil war: And indeed
" during all insurrections in the empire, the troops no where behaved them-
" selves more peaceably than in this province; either because they were at
" a distance, and divided by the ocean, or that the many re-encounters they
" had been in had wearied them from the thoughts of further hostilities.
" But by these their domestic, discords, the *Britains*, on the other side be-
" gan to make head again thro' the instigation of *Venusius*; who besides his
" natural pride of heart, and hatred of the *Romans*, was spirited on by
" a private disaffection between him and his consort, queen *Cartismandua*.
" She was queen of the *Brigantes*, nobly descended, and now more powerfull
" than ever, since she had treacherously taken king *Caractacus*, and sent him
" to grace out the triumph of *Claudius*, (for a kind of triumph might the
" spectacle he was made of be call'd) whereby she had both won favour with
" the *Romans*, and much encreased her interest; which grew into affluence,
" and that, into luxury, and wantonness: So that, casting of her hus-
" band

" band *Venutius*, and cutting off his relations, ſhe made his harneſs-bearer *Vello-*
" *catus*, the partner both of her bed and throne. This wickedneſs proved
" the overthrow of her ſovereignty; the good will of her people adhering to
" her lawful husband; the queen's incontinence and cruelty, to the adulterer;
" whereupon, *Venutius* by the aſſiſtance of his own friends, and the revolt of
" the *Brigantes* themſelves, made war againſt *Cartiſmandua* and reduced her
" to great extremities. She ſolicited the *Romans* for relief, and we ſent o-
" ver forces to her defence, which reſcu'd her out of many perils, but
" the kingdom fell to *Venutius*, and to us, the conflicts which procured it
" him.

" While the city of *Rome* was governed by *Mutianus* under *Veſpaſian*,
" *Julius Agricola*, who had ſided with him, and prov'd his courage no leſs
" than fidelity, was conſtituted lieutenant of the twentieth legion in *Britain*,
" which had long declin'd the oath of allegiance to *Veſpaſian*. There he
" heard how ſeditiouſly the preceding commander had behaved himſelf, for
" that legion was grown ſo unruly, as to uſurp an authority over the *Conſu-*
" *lar* legats; nor had the *Prætorian* legate power to reſtrain it, whether
" through his ill diſpoſitions, or the obſtinacy of the ſoldiers is uncertain.
" Thus being elected both to ſucceed and to puniſh, he choſe with admirable
" moderation, to have it thought, that he rather *found* the ſoldiers obedient
" than *made* them ſo. And though *Vettius Bolanus* was then lieutenant in
" *Britain*, and govern'd with more gentleneſs than was prudent among ſuch
" a headſtrong people; yet *Agricola*, cunningly conforming himſelf to his
" humour, would ſmother the warmth of his own; and knew how to temper
" counſels that were *neceſſary*, with thoſe that were *agreeable*".

" But when *Veſpaſian*, with the reſt of the world, had recover'd *Britain* alſo,
" he ſent over ſuch able commanders and brave armies, as much abated the
" hopes of the enemy. *Petilius Cerialis* ſtruck a great terror into them, by
" invading at his firſt entry the *Brigantes*, who were accounted the moſt
" populous ſtate of the whole province, with whom he had many, and ſome
" of them very bloody engagements, and either conquer'd or waſted the
" moſt powerful part of their country; and though the aſſiduity and repu-
" tation of *Cerialis* was ſuch as might have obſcured the fame of an
" ordinary ſucceſſor, yet *Julius Frontinus*, a man, maintained the charge
" with as much credit as could be expected, after ſuch an example: He
" vanquiſhed the ſtrong and warlike nation of *Silures*, where beſides the bra-
" very of the *people*, he had alſo many difficulties in the ſituation of the
" *places* themſelves to ſtruggle with."

" In this poſture was the province, and thus far the war advanced, when
" *Agricola* about the middle of the ſummer paſſed over and our ſoldiers as
" if the ſeaſon was paſt, expected a reſpite of the war, but the enemy a
" revival of it. A little before his arrival, one of our wings which lay on

" the

" the frontiers of the *Ordovices* was almoſt cut to pieces by them; this be-
" ginning awakened the country to arms, and inflamed all to follow the pre-
" cedent, being either ripe for contention, or curious to try the courage of
" the new lieutenant.

" *Agricola*, tho' the ſummer was well ſpent, and the troops diſperſed in
" the province, the army in expectation of reſt, and the generality rather for
" ſecuring ſuſpected places; all oppoſite to his expedition; yet reſolved to
" break thro' theſe impediments: Having therefore drawn together the enſigns
" of the legions, with a number of auxiliaries; and perceiving the *Ordovices*
" would not deſcend to a fair trial upon the open plain, he drew up his men,
" and advanced at the head of them, that by expoſing himſelf to equal danger
" he might inſpire them with equal courage. Having thus deſtroyed almoſt
" that whole nation, and knowing the neceſſity of purſuing his fortune, that
" the end might be anſwerable to the beginning, he determined to make him-
" ſelf maſter alſo of the iſle of *Angleſey*, from the conqueſt of which, as I be-
" fore obſerved, *Paulinus* was withdrawn, by the general revolt of *Britain*.
" But as it is uſual in undeliberated projects of this kind, they wanted ſhips
" to tranſport them, therefore through the contrivance and reſolution of the
" general, this expedient was taken: He commanded a ſelect company of the
" auxiliaries, who were beſt acquainted with the fords and ſhallows, and who
" according to the cuſtom of their country were ſuch expert ſwimmers, that
" they could convey horſe, arms, and themſelves at once, to throw aſide
" their baggage, and directly make their way over to them. This ſo aſtoniſh-
" ed the enemy, who look'd for a fleet, ſailing over ſeas, and landing of ſhips,
" before they could be invaded; and thought, nothing could be invincible
" to men who came to oppoſe them with ſuch reſolution. Hereupon they
" intreated for Peace, and ſurrender'd the iſland. Thus *Agricola* at his firſt
" entrance into the province (the time which others conſume in oſtentatious
" parade, and ceremonious congratulation,) entering withal into toils and
" perils, acquir'd great reputation and renown. And he was ſo far from
" ſhewing any vanity upon this ſucceſs, that he would not call the reducing
" in this manner to obedience, thoſe who had been before conquer'd, ſo
" much as an atchivement; or ſuffer his letters to be deck'd with the uſu-
" al ornament of Laurel: By thus ſuppreſſing, he augmented the ſtream of
" his fame; every one concluding, from his making light of ſo great an
" action, how much greater he muſt have in view.

" In matters of civil government, he ſaw by the diſpoſition of the province,
" and knew by the experience of others before him, that arms would little
" avail to ſettle in peace, while wrongs were ſuffer'd to diſturb it; ſo reſol-
" ved to cut off the cauſes of war; and to begin at home, firſt made a regu-
" lation in his own Family; as great a difficulty to ſome perſons, as the go-
" vernment of a province. He committed none of the publick affairs either

" to his freemen or ſlaves; nor advanced any of the ſoldiers, either upon " private recommendations, or even thoſe of their captains themſelves; but " would ſtill promote thoſe who were the moſt orderly men, preſuming they " would be the moſt faithful. He had an eye to all parts of their duty, " but did not in all, keep it up to the rigour; little miſdemeanours he would " connive at, great ones he would ſeverely chaſtiſe; yet ſometimes the re- " pentance of the criminal would relieve him from the correction; and he " choſe rather, not to prefer ſuch as were likely to offend, than to puniſh an " offender. He moderated the taxes and exciſes upon corn, by laying the " burden equally, and cutting away the petty impoſitions; which were a " greater grievance to the ſubject than the tribute itſelf: For the people " were obliged to wait at the publick granaries before they were open, and " both to buy and ſell their corn at the rate that was impoſed. They were " alſo diſtreſs'd by the purveyors in the carriage of their corn, to diſtant and " round-about parts; ſo as the country ſhould tranſport it from the neareſt " to the remoteſt camps; till to the particular profit of thoſe officers, every " place had unreaſonably compounded for liberty to carry their goods the " eaſieſt way. By this early ſuppreſſion of ſuch abuſes in the firſt year of " his lieutenancy, great expectation was raiſed that he would eſtabliſh a " profound tranquility: Peace being now, by the diſregard or connivance of " the preceding governors, grown as irkſome as war.

" At this time died *Veſpaſian*; who for thoſe victories, and his own perſo- " nal merits under *Claudian*, is addreſſed by *Valerius Flaccus*, before his " poem, with this ſalutation:

O thou, whoſe fame, on canvas wings unfurl'd,
Has ſtretch'd thy triumphs o'er the watry world;
The *Northern* ſeas, which did, with ſcorn, decline
Thy predeceſſors yoke, ſubmit to thine.

" When *Titus*, the darling of mankind, ſucceeded his father; *Agricola*, " being favoured by the ſummer ſeaſon, drew up his army together, and in " their march, commended thoſe who behaved themſelves modeſtly, but reproved " the diſſolute and irregular. He laid out, himſelf, the ground for pitching " their camp. He went in perſon to ſound their fords, and ſearch their " thickets, nor ſuffered in the interim any corner of the enemies territories to " reſt unmoleſted, that he might keep them employ'd from encroaching upon " his; but ſpoiled and waſted, by ſudden ſallies and inroads, all wherever he " came: Yet when he had thus haraſſed and terrify'd them, he would give " them an interlude of reſpit and forbearance, to allure them to thoughts of " friendſhip and concord; and did by this means win over many to ſurrender, " and give hoſtages, and to admit of fortifications and garriſons, who ſtood before

" upon

upon terms of equality: In all which he acquitted himself with such exquisite prudence, that these were the only *Roman* forts among them which the *Britains* left unbesieged.

" The rest of the winter was spent in a very politick device; for whereas the *Britains* liv'd in a vagrant and disorderly manner, and were therefore prone to insurrection upon every occasion; he induced them to quietness by employments of pleasure; and therefore exhorted them in private, and assisted them in common, to build themselves temples, fine houses, and places of publick resort, encouraging the forward, and reprehending the dilatory. Thus the honour of gaining his favour, brought them under a necessity to use the means. Herewith he also introduced the liberal arts among the sons of the nobility, and preferr'd the genius of the *Britains*, before that of *France*, so that they who but lately despised the *Roman* language, now aspired to study the elegancies of it. From this time also the *Roman* mode of attire grew in request among them; and the gown was commonly worn: So by degrees they rose to the luxurious incitements of stately porticoes, refreshing baths, and delicious banquets, which among the ignorant passed for *Breeding* and fine *Taste*; when they were indeed but badges of their bondage.

" In the third year of his wars, he discovered a new country, wasting all the way as he march'd along, till he came to the river *Taus* (1), which so intimidated the enemy, that they made no resistance, tho' his army had been much wearied and weakned by the ways and weather; so that the *Romans* had leisure, as well as space, to raise fortifications in these parts, and it was observed by competent judges, that never did any commander make choice of more advantageous situations. No castle that *Agricola* raised was ever taken by storm, surrendered upon conditions, or abandon'd as inde ensible. His garrisons made frequent sallies; and against long sieges, they provided themselves with a twelve-month's provisions, so winter'd there without fear of want; each castle being furnish'd for it's own maintenance and defence, to the disappointment and despair of the enemy, when they made any attempts against them; for heretofore they would retrieve in winter, their losses by the summer engagements, but they were now discomfited alike in both seasons. In all these actions, *Agricola* never assumed to himself the honour due to any other persons performances; but whether captain or subaltern, he would punctually attest the service of the action, and applaud the merit of the actor. He was sometimes thought a little harsh, and bitter in matters of reprehension; and indeed, as he wanted no sweetness and courtesy to men of good behaviour, so he could be morose and cholerick enough

(1) The *Tweed* as some think.

" towards

" towards the profligate; but then his reſentments never ſurviv'd his rebukes.
" Silence and reſervation was not dreadful in *Agricola*: If he took no notice of
" a fault, it died in his memory, and did not breed rancour in his heart; for
" he accounted it more excuſable in one man to *commit* an offence, than in
" another to *hate* him for it.

" The fourth ſummer was ſpent in reviewing and regulating his new acqui-
" ſitions; and if the valour of his armies, or the glory of the *Roman* empire,
" could have been ſatisfied, they needed not to have ſought a more extenſive
" boundary in *Britain*. (1) *Glota*, and *Bodotria*, (the arms of two con-
" trary ſeas ſhooting far into the country,) are only ſevered by a narrow neck
" of land, which was then ſecured by our guard and garriſons; ſo that the
" *Romans* were lords of all on this ſide, having caſt out the enemy as it were
" into another iſland.

" The fifth year of this war, *Agricola* ſailing over from thoſe parts, engaged
" and overcame ſeveral other ſtates; then reinforc'd that part of *Britain*
" which faces *Ireland*; more in hopes of enlarging his dominion than in fear
" of having it diminiſhed. For *Ireland*, lying between *Spain* and *Britain*,
" and commodious alſo for the *French* ſea, would, to their mutual and ma-
" niſold advantage, have united thoſe powerful members of the empire. It
" is not ſo extenſive as the iſland of *Britain*, yet larger than the iſles of our
" ſea. The ſoil and temperature of the air, with the nature and manners of
" the people, vary little from thoſe of *Britain*. The ports and harbours are
" better known by reaſon of a greater mercantile commerce. *Agricola* had
" before given a hoſpitable reception to one of the Princes of that country,
" who had been expell'd by civil wars; and under colour of friendſhip
" retain'd for a fair occaſion. I have often heard him ſay that *Ireland* might
" be maſter'd by one legion, and ſome few auxiliaries; and that it would
" greatly ſtrengthen our intereſt in *Britain*, if the *Roman* forces were quarter'd
" on every ſide, and no proſpect of liberty left among them.

About this time died *Titus*, who for theſe ſucceſſes, through the government of *Agricola*, was honour'd with the title of emperor fifteen times. As it is recorded by *Xipbline*, and confirm'd by an antient coin. " Then *Agricola*
" enter'd the ſixth ſummer of his lieutenancy under *Domitian*, when a general
" inſurrection, in the large cities, and more remote nations beyond *Bodotria*,
" being fear'd, and that the avenues were all beſet by the enemy, he mann'd a
" fleet to ſearch the cricks and havens of that region; thus, was he the firſt
" that invigorated his land-army by a naval power, and who with great
" gallantry carried on the war at once by ſea and land; when it often hap-
" pened that horſe, foot and marines, met and made merry together, each re-

(1) The *Friths* of *Dunbritton* and *Edenburgh*.

" counting

" counting the hazards of their paſſage, and magnifying their hardineſs, in " overcoming them: The one, vaunting, ſoldier-like, of the difficulties " they had overcome in the woods and mountains, the other, oppoſing " their dangers amidſt the billows and tempeſt: The one, glorying in " their conqueſts by land, the other, in having conquer'd the ocean it- " ſelf. The *Britains*, as we heard by their priſoners, were amazed at the " ſight of this navy, as apprehenſive they ſhould be deſtitute of all " refuge, now their maritime receſſes were ſounded and diſcover'd. Where- " upon the *Scots*, making great preparations, though, as commonly in matters " imperfectly known, not ſo great as was rumour'd, broke out into open " war, and aſſaulted our caſtles; that, by ſhowing ſo little fear themſelves " as to become the aggreſſors, they might intimidate us; inſomuch that " ſome of our cautious, and indeed cowardly adviſers, would needs be for " *Agricola*'s retiring to this ſide of *Bodotria*, and prefer a voluntary retreat " to a neceſſitated one. In the mean time *Agricola* had intelligence that " the enemy intended to ſeparate themſelves, and attack us in ſeveral " places at once. He therefore, to avoid an encloſure by their multitude " acquainted with the country, divided alſo his army, and they march'd in " three Batalions. The enemy, advertiſed hereof, immediately chang'd their " ſcheme, and uniting into one body, fell, by night, upon our ninth legion, " as the weakeſt; and having ſlain the centinels, partly diſarm'd by ſleep " and partly confounded with fear, made their way into the very camp. " Thus begun the fight in the very trenches; when *Agricola*, having by the " intelligence of his ſcouts, diſcover'd which way the enemy march'd, pur- " ſued them, and with the lighteſt of his horſe and foot fell upon their rear, " ſeconding the attack with the huzzas of the whole army, and, at break of " day, with the appearance of their glittering enſigns. This danger on both " ſides diſhearten'd the *Britains*; but the *Romans*, taking freſh courage, be- " came aſſailants, and fought now more for their honour than their ſafety. " Having made a ſally, there was a ſharp conteſt at the very entrance of the " gates, in which the enemy were routed, while both our armies were in a " kind of contention; the one, to bring up timely ſuccour, the other, to " gain the victory without it. The enemy had in this ſingle engagement " been abſolutely defeated, had not the woods and Fens afforded them " protection. But an action ſo bravely undertaken, and renounedly execu- " ted, inſpir'd the army with reſolution to think nothing invincible to them, " and with impatience to be conducted into *Scotland*; that they might clear " their way, by a courſe of continued conqueſts, to the bounds of *Britain*: " Thoſe who were lately moſt cautious and circumſpect, were become moſt " daring and bluſtering by this ſucceſs; and, ſuch is the inequitable condi-

" dition of war, that all men claim a ſhare in the events which are proſperous,
" while thoſe that are unſucceſsful are charged upon one. The *Britains*,
" on the other ſide, imputing their overthrow not ſo much to the valour
" of their adverſaries, as to their cunning and fortunate embrace of a fair
" opportunity, were no ways diſpirited; but proceeded to arm their young
" men, remove their families into places of ſafe retreat, and, by aſſemblies
" and religious rites, to eſtabliſh an aſſociation, and congregate their
" cities and ſtates together: So both armies left the field that year
" in enmity.

" This ſummer a cohort of *Uſipians*, which had been levied in *Germany*
" and ſent over into *Britain*, committed a horrid and memorable act:
" Certain ſoldiers diſperſed among them, to train and exerciſe them, fled
" to ſea, ſeiz'd upon three pinnaces, and forced the maſters to convey them
" off: But only one obeying them readily, the other two were ſlain upon
" their ſuſpicious behaviour. This abrupt embarkment (the fact not being
" yet diſcover'd) was very ſurpriſing. After having been driven up and
" down, and had ſeveral skirmiſhes with ſome of the *Britains*, who oppos'd
" them in their own defence, often conquering ſometimes conquer'd, they
" were at laſt reduced to the extremity of eating one another; beginning
" with the weakeſt, and proceeding by lot: At laſt, having ſailed quite round
" the iſland, and loſt their veſſels for want of pilotage, they were taken,
" firſt by the *Suecians* and afterwards by the *Triſians*, as pirates and rovers.
" Some of them being ſold to merchants for ſlaves, and, by change of maſters,
" brought to our coaſt, grew famous upon the relation they gave of this
" rare adventure.

" In the beginning of the next ſummer, *Agricola* was viſited with a do-
" meſtic misfortune, which was the loſs of his ſon about a year old. In this
" affliction, his mourning was neither vain-glorious, as with ſuch great men
" it often is, nor on the other ſide was it effeminate and inconſolable. A-
" mong other diverſions of his ſorrow he made his military duties one. Ha-
" ving therefore diſpatched his fleet before, which, by attacking firſt one place
" then another, made the conſternation of the enemy more dubious and in-
" concluſive, he follow'd ſpeedily after at the head of his army, which he
" had enforced with ſome of the braveſt *Britains*, whoſe fidelity, after the
" trial of a long peace, he had well approved; ſo advanced as far as mount
" *Grampius* where the enemy lay: For the *Britains* no way daunted at their
" laſt overthrow, and now meditating upon nothing but revenge or ſlavery,
" had by leagues and treaties brought their ſtates to a union; being
" grown ſenſible at laſt, that a common danger could only be repell'd
" by a confederate power. And now there appear'd, upon the review, up-

wards

" wards of thirty thouſand armed men in the field, beſides an infinite num-
" ber of youth which daily flock'd in, and hardy old ſoldiers who had been
" famous in the paſt wars, and bore about with them, engraven upon their
" limbs, the marks and badges of their bravery. While the multitude, thus
" aſſembled, ſhew'd their impatience to fall on, *Galgacus*, a chief, as in birth
" ſo in valour, among them, is reported to addreſs them after the following
" manner.

" When I reflect upon the cauſes of this war, and the extremity we are
" at preſent driven to, I think I have great reaſon to preſume that this
" day, through this unanimous reſolution, will give a proſperous beginning
" to the freedom of the whole iſland: For we have not only hitherto enjoy'd
" our liberty, but are now in a place where there is no land beyond, nor
" even ſea, that can ſecure it us by a retreat, while the *Roman* navy is thus
" hovering upon our coaſts; ſo that arms, which the brave will covet for
" their honour, the fearful muſt uſe for their preſervation. The battles
" which have before been fought, with various ſucceſs, againſt the *Romans*,
" have relied upon our valour to crown them with ſucceſs. For we, the
" flower of the *Britiſh* nation, and therefore ſituated in the heart of it, ne-
" ver having ſeen the coaſts which are enſlaved by the enemy, have kept
" even our eyes undefiled and free from the contagion of tyranny. Beyond
" us is no land, beſide us, no freedom. This corner, till now unknown to
" fame, has hitherto been our ſanctuary: Now the remoteſt parts of *Britain*
" are laid open; and the leſs any thing has been expoſed to knowledge,
" the greater is the glory to compaſs it. Beyond us is no country, nothing
" but waves and rocks; and the land all within is already reduced to the
" *Roman* vaſſallage. In vain might we ſeek by any ſubmiſſive behaviour to
" ſooth their intollerable pride. Theſe robbers of the world, now the ex-
" hauſted lands can no more ſupply their rapine, think to riſle the ſeas.
" Where they meet with wealthy enemies, they are cruel through covetouſ-
" neſs; where with poor ones, through ambition. The eaſt and weſt, vaſt as
" they are, cannot ſatisfy them; they alone, with equal greedineſs, fall upon
" the riches and poverty of nations; murder and devaſtation paſs with them
" for empire and government; and they boaſt to have eſtabliſh'd peace in
" Provinces they themſelves have render'd deſolate. Our children and re-
" lations, which by nature are endear'd to us, they preſs from us to wars
" abroad, or tranſport to foreign ſervitude, and if the modeſty of our wives
" and ſiſters were a protection from their violence, when they were our open
" enemies, it is no ſecurity, now they are become our gueſts, from their
" laſcivious friendſhip. Our goods and chattels they draw from us by way of
" tribute, and our corn for proviſion; our very bodies and hands they wear

" out in paving of bogs, and clearing of woods, with a thouſand ſtripes and
" reproachful indignities beſides. Thoſe who are born ſlaves are yet ſold but
" once, and ever after maintain'd by their maſters; 'tis *Britain* only that
" buys her ſlavery, that daily ſupports and nouriſhes her oppreſſors; and, as
" in a private family, the laſt comer is ever moſt ſubject to the impoſitions
" of his fellow ſervants, ſo in this antient family of the world, we, who are
" the *laſt*, and ſhall be treated as the *vileſt* ſlaves, have nothing to expect,
" from the enemy that ſhall prevail, more favourable than death. We who
" have no fields to manure, no mines to dig, nor havens to carry on their
" traffick; for what ends or employments ſhould we be reſerved alive? Be-
" ſides, the valour and reſolution of the conquer'd will but enflame the jea-
" louſy and diſpleaſure of the conqueror; and this diſtance and privacy,
" the more ſecurity it has afforded us, will work in them but the greater
" ſuſpicion. Seeing then there is no hopes of mercy, it behoves you to exert
" ſuch reſolutions as will maintain your ſafety as well as your honour. The
" *Trinobantes*, under the conduct of a woman, fir'd a colony, forced a camp
" and a caſtle, and if their proſperity had not ſlackened their diligence, they
" might have totally ſhaken off the *Roman* yoke. We are hitherto uncon-
" quer'd, untouch'd. As men therefore determin'd to preſerve the freedom
" they were born to, not for the preſent but for ever; let us ſhow them,
" at the firſt onſet, the bravery of the men they'll meet with in *Caledonia*.
" Do you imagine the valour of the *Romans* in war to be as great as their
" debaucheries in peace? Their glory is all owing to our diſcord, and the
" folly of their enemies has raiſed the fame of their arms; as nothing but
" ſucceſs could have held together ſuch a medly of divers nations, ſo we may
" expect any diſaſter will diſſolve them; unleſs we can ſuppoſe the *Gauls*
" and *Germans*, nay and, to our ſhame be it ſpoken, many of our own
" countrymen which now lend their lives to eſtabliſh a foreign uſurper, and
" yet have been at enmity with, longer than in ſervice under them, can per-
" ſevere with hearty zeal and affection in this quarrel: No, it is only terror,
" the weakeſt bond of fidelity, that induces them to obedience; and this
" once removed, their hatred will predominate, as their fear diminiſhes: We
" have on our ſide all the motives that can invigorate our valour: The
" *Romans* have no wives to excite their oppoſition, no parents to reproach
" their flight, and the generality of them have no country at all, at
" leaſt they are foreign to this; a diffident handful! gazing about at
" the ſtrangeneſs of the heavens, the ſea, the woods, and every unaccu-
" ſtomed object! So that they ſeem already pent up, and deliver'd as
" captives to us by providence. Let us not be dazled by the blaze of
" their gold and their ſilver, which can neither defend them, nor damage

" us;

" us; nor let us despair but we shall find friends in the very body of our " enemies. The *Britains* know it is their own cause; the *Gauls* are still " mindful of their lost liberty; and the *Germans* will desert them as the *Usipians* lately did. What have we more to fear? The castles are forlorn, " the colonies are planted with age and impotence, and the cities filled " with faction and discontent; whilst those who govern, rule against right, " and those who are subordinate, obey against their wills. You behold the " *Roman* leader and his crew on one side, on t'other, the taxes, the mines, " with all the dreadful plagues and punishments which are the spawn of sla- " very: Whether we are to wear these galling chains for ever, or break them " and revenge ourselves against those who would rivet them upon us, is this " day to be decided. Therefore, as you march on, imprint firmly in " your apprehensions the freedom of your ancestors, the bondage of your " Posterity."

" This speech was received with great alacrity by the army; who, after " their barbarous manner, applauded it, with songs, acclamations, and the " like confused clamours. Now began the troops to close, and glitter o'er " the plain, while the boldest advanced formost and the ranks were drawing " into order, when *Agricola*, though he found the army eager for the engage- " ment, and he could scarce detain them to hear him, thought it necessary " to exhort them in this manner.

" This is now the eighth year, my companions in arms, that, by the " valour and fortune of the *Roman* empire, through your diligence and " fidelity, we have prosperously carried on the conquest of *Britain*. In so " many expeditions, so many engagements, we have often been necessitated " not only to demonstrate our courage against the adversary, but our pati- " ence against nature itself; and in all, our behaviour has been such, that I " have never shewn a desire of a more faithful army, nor you of a more " faithful commander; insomuch that one as well as the other, have surpassed " our predecessors. We have not found out the bounds of *Britain* by fame " and rumour, but by our arms and encampments there: The island I say is " discover'd, and subdued. In our marches through bogs, mountains, and " rivers, how often have I heard every brave man ask when this enemy " would face them? When they should come to an engagement? Lo they " are now unkennel'd, they are here before us. We may now enjoy our " wishes, and satiate our valour. Smooth and easy will be our future course, " if we are victorious, if not, it will be full of difficulties; for all the tedious " marches and escapes we have had, through woods and waters, is glorious " and honourable in our advancement, but if we retreat, all our advantages " will be turn'd to our greatest detriment. We are not so well skill'd in

the

" the country, nor have the like ſtore of proviſion: But we have hands, and we " have weapons, and in them we have every thing. For my part, I have " been long ſince convinced there is no ſafety, either for army or general, " in flight; that death with applauſe, is much preferrable to life with re- " proach, and that, for the generality, ſafety and honour are united. Or if " we ſhould miſcarry in theſe utmoſt limits of the earth, it will not ſtill be " inglorious to end our days, where nature has ended her works. If you " were to engage a new and unknown enemy, I would exhort you by the " example of other armies: But as it is, I need only bid you reflect on your " own former actions, and judge of your preſent task with your own eyes. " Theſe are the very mortals, who ſtole an aſſault laſt year upon one of " our legions in the night, and were blown away with a ſhout. Theſe are " the moſt nimble-footed race in the whole iſland; otherwiſe they had not " been ſo long alive. And as in woods and foreſts, the nobleſt game is that " which holds the hunters at a bay, while the timorous are ſcar'd and ſcour " off at the very cry of the field: So the braveſt and ſtouteſt of the " *Britains* have long ſince given us battle, and had their diſpatches; what " remains is nought but the herd of cowardly renegadoes. But we have " at laſt got an opportunity to engage them; not that they intended through " courage to make head againſt us, but being overtaken are ſtupify'd into " ſtocks, and grown immoveable through fear; preſenting the faireſt occaſion " of a worthy and memorable victory. Let us therefore, once for all, give " a finiſhing ſtroke to the war; let us make this day the glorious concluſion " of fifty years toil; and our country be confirm'd that their army could " never be juſtly charged, either with prolonging the war, or ſlipping any op- " portunity of compleating the conqueſt.

" While *Agricola* was thus ſpeaking, the ſoldiers gave great tokens of their " fervency, and when he had ended his ſpeech, crown'd it with a joyful plau- " dit, and immediately betook themſelves to their weapons. Seeing them " ſufficiently ſharpen'd, he drew them up in this manner. With the aux- " iliary foot, being eight thouſand, he fortify'd the main body; three " thouſand of their horſe he caſt on both ſides into wings; commanded the " legions to the rear before the camp; to the greater glory of the victory, " if it were obtained without ſhedding any of the *Roman* blood, but if the " vanguard were overpower'd, that they might be ready to lend their aſſiſtance. " The *Britains* were marſhal'd on the higher ground, to advantage both for " ſhew and terror, the firſt batalion on the plain, the reſt riſing higher behind " each other, as the hill aſcended; the field between rung with their clattering " chariots and horſemen, who traverſed the middle ſpace. Then *Agricola*, " perceiving the enemy exceeded him in number, and fearing leaſt he ſhould

be

" be aſſailed both in front and flanks at once, lengthen'd out his front; " though ſomewhat too thin, and many adviſed him to incorporate the le- " gions; but, being more ſway'd by hope than fear, he rejected the counſel, " and diſmounting his horſe, march'd up in perſon at the head of his " infantry."

" In the firſt encounter, at a little diſtance, the *Britains* ſhewed great " courage and conduct, ſtriking aſide, or bearing off, with their broad " ſwords and little bucklers, our darts, and then returning great vollies of " their own: 'Till *Agricola*, ſpying his advantage, commanded three cohorts " of the *Batavians*, and two of the *Tungrians*, to advance and fall upon " them ſword in hand, as by cuſtom was familiar to them, but very diſad- " vantageous to the enemy, by reaſon of their ſcanty targets, and unweildy " ſwords: Their ſwords being alſo blunt-pointed, were incommodious for the " cloſe or the open fight. Now, when the *Batavians* began to lay about them, " to ruſh upon them with the pikes of their bucklers, and wound them in " the very faces, to clear the plain and ſcale the very mountain; the other " cohorts, ſpurr'd up with emulation, alſo fell on, and laid all at their feet " before them, leaving many half dead or wholly untouch'd, thro' haſt " to over-run all.

" In the mean time, their horſe began to fly, and their chariots were " hamper'd among the foot. And tho' at firſt we were under ſome apprehen- " ſions from them, yet, thro' the cloſeneſs of their ranks, and the " ruggedneſs of the ground, they were now in confuſion themſelves. Nor was " the form of this fight like horſemen skirmiſhing to and fro, but cloſe and " fix'd, over-bearing one another by the force and weight of their own " horſe. Many times the chariots alſo, in their random courſe, and the " frighted horſes, without their riders, ſcouring about as the diſorder drove " them, trampled down thoſe that met or croſſed them; while thoſe *Britains* " who ſtood more remotely on the hill, and had not been engaged, perceiving " our ſmall number, began to deſcend by degrees, and wheel in upon their " back: But *Agricola*, having foreſeen that danger, oppoſed them with four " wings of horſe, which he had kept as a reſerve, and made their retreat as " expeditious as their advancement. So now the late ſtratagem of the *Britains* " was turn'd upon themſelves; for the wings were immediately commanded to " divide from the front, and wheel about upon the backs of the enemy. Then " follow'd a very tragical ſcene upon the plain; one purſuing, another wound- " ing, a third taking, and killing the priſoner he had taken as ſoon as he " took another. Now whole regiments of the *Britains*, according to their " ſeveral diſpoſitions, tho' arm'd and more numerous, gave way. Others, who " had been depriv'd of their weapons, made a free offering of their lives to

" thoſe

" thoſe of their Enemy. The whole field was beſtrewed with a dire mixture of " carcaſſes, limbs, blood, and the inſtruments of death: And ſometimes a " mixture of rage and valour, even in thoſe who were overcome. For when " they reached their woods, they rallied, and encloſed ſome of our men, who " had too precipitatel purſued them, and were unacquainted with the country: " So that if *Agricola* had not been every where at hand, and ſent out ſome " of his beſt and lighteſt cohorts to enſnare the enemy, and commanded ſome " horſemen to alight where the paſſes were narrow, with others where the " woods were thin to enter on horſeback, we had doubtleſs ſuffer'd conſidera- " bly by this unadviſed impetuoſity. But when they beheld us in a compact " body, and in orderly purſuit of them, they fled again, not in troops as " before, and in ſight of one another, but utterly diſbanded and ſtraggling, " into remote and deſert places, 'till at laſt the darkneſs of the night and " our ſatiety of ſlaughter put an end to the chaſe. Ten thouſand of the " enemy were leſt dead in the field; three hundred and forty of the *Romans*. " Among whom was *Aulus Atticus*, captain of of a cohort, being carried on " too far, by the ardour of his youth, and the mettle of his horſe. The " conquerors, that night, ſolaced themſelves with the victory and ſpoil, " but the *Britains*, roaming up and down the field, which reſounded with " the mixed ſhrieks of men and women, ſpent the night in carrying off the " wounded; calling together the unhurt; in forſaking and firing their habi- " tations through rage and reſentment; and ſhifting from one lurking hole to " another; ſometimes raiſing their hopes by conſultations, ſometimes their " pity; but oftner a furious frenzy itſelf, on beholding the dear pledges of " their love: And certain it is, that ſome, through a kind of merciful indig- " nation, laid violent hands upon their own wives and children. The ſuc- " ceeding day diſcover'd the greatneſs of the victory more conſpicuouſly: " Nothing but ſilence and deſolation around; no ſtir upon the mountains; " the houſes in flames afar off; and not a mortal to be met with but our " own ſpies, who, being diſperſed on every ſide, found they had made to no " particular refuge, but that their flight was uncertain and divided. Where- " upon, the ſummer declining, and the war not to be carried on ſeparately, " *Agricola* let his army to the borders of the *Horreſtians* (1); where, receiving " hoſtages, he commanded the admiral of his fleet to ſail round *Britain*, ap- " pointing him all convenient ſupplys, the terror of the *Roman* name *being* " *ſent* before; while himſelf, with eaſy and gradual marches, diſpoſed his " horſe and foot in their winter quarters, to awe the new conquer'd nations

(1) Now called *Angus*, as ſome think.

By

" by ſuch delay. The navy with a fair wind arrived at the port of *Trutu-*
" *lenſis*, from whence it ſet out. For having coaſted about the *Britiſh*
" ſhore, it arrived there again; and having doubled the point of the utmoſt
" land, they now firſt diſcovered *Britain* to be a perfect iſland, at the ſame
" time finding out and ſubduing the iſles of *Orkney* 'till then unknown,"
which Oſorius *and his followers erroneouſly aſcribe to* Claudius.

" *Agricola* having ſignified this ſtate of the affairs in *Britain*, in a plain
" and unamplifyed manner, by letters to *Domitian*. He received the news,
" according to his artful manner, with a pleaſant countenance, and a diſ-
" pleaſed heart. For being conſcious, that his late *German* triumph, where-
" in certain hir'd ſlaves were ſuitably attired to counterfeit captives, as it
" was groundleſs, had render'd him rediculous: Whereas a victory really
" great, wherein ſo many thouſands were often ſlain, was now univerſally
" applauded; he therefore thought it dangerous that the honour of a private
" perſon ſhould be exalted above that of a prince. And that he had ineffec-
" tually ſuppreſſed the ſtudy of oratory, with the other liberal ſciences,
" if in military glory he might thus be ſurpaſſed by another: For other
" qualifications might be diſpenſed with as more inconſiderable, but thoſe
" which conſtitute a great commander, are above the level of a private
" condition, and only proper for a prince. With theſe and ſuch like re-
" flections the emperor was tormented, and muſed much in his cloſet alone,
" a ſhrewd token of ſome brooding miſchief, which yet he thought beſt at
" preſent, to diſſemble and divert, till the heat of *Agricola*'s glory and the affec-
" tion of his ſoldiers were ſomewhat abated, for as yet *Agricola* was in *Bri-*
" *tain*, therefore he was careful to have a ſtatue, and all other honours that
" are the ſubſtitutes of a triumph, in full ſenate amply decreed him; and
" withal cauſed it to be ſpread abroad, that he was nominated to the province
" of *Syria*, a government always reſerved for men of ſupream dignity,
" and which was then vacant by the death of the conſular lieutenant,
" *Atilius Rufus*. It was alſo generally reported that *Domitian* ſent a
" patent for *Syria*, privately to *Agricola*, with orders that it ſhould be de-
" liver'd, if he were in *Britain*; but that the meſſenger meeting *Agricola*
" upon the ſea, returned again to *Domitian*, without opening his in-
" ſtructions. Whether this was fact, or a probable ſurmiſe, as correſpon-
" dent to that prince's policy, I cannot affirm: However *Agricola* had
" deliver'd up the province in a peaceable and quiet ſtate, to his ſuc-
" ceſſor. And leaſt his entry into *Rome* ſhould be too popular and
" magnificent, through the concourſe of his countrymen, who might meet to
" congratulate and accompany him, he declin'd their compliments, and en-
" ter'd the city (as he had received intimations to do) by night. Where

"being admitted to the prince's presence, and received with a silent "salute, he rank'd himself among the rest of the attendants."

The person who succeeded *Agricola* was named according to other writers, *Cn. Trebellius*, but, as I take it, rather *Salustus Lucullus*; whom *Domitian* soon after put to death; because he occasion'd certain new-fashion'd spears to be called *Lucullææ*. At which time also flourish'd *Arviragus* in this island, and not in the reign of *Claudius*, as *Jeffery* of *Monmouth* has dream'd; for these verses of *Juvenal* are to be understood of *Domitian*,

Blest omen! which a triumph does presage
Or'r some crown'd captive, thro' thy martial rage:
Or, from his *British* carr, thrown headlong down,
That proud *Arviragus* shall yield his throne.

Then also flourish'd at *Rome Claudia Rufina*, a *British* lady, eminent both for her extraordinary learning and beauty, and therefore applauded by *Martial* in the following epigram:

Since *Claudia*'s sprung from painted *British* race;
Why shines she to the *Romans* with such grace?
Such charms! which, whilst as natives, *Rome* prefers,
Greece may contend as proudly to be hers.

This is the lady mentioned by St. *Paul*, in his second epistle to *Timothy*, as it is asserted by *John Bale*, and *Matthew Parker* archbishop of *Canterbury*: Nor is there any chronological repugnance in the assertion; however others are of a different opinion (*t*).

Thus

(*t*) This *British* Lady is further celebrated by *Martial*, for being the means that his Poems were first read in *Britain*, and also for the three Children she bore her Husband; But that she was a Christian, and the same *Claudia* whose salutation St. *Paul* sends to *Timothy*, or that her husband was that *Aulus Pudens* a *Roman* Senator, as our Author, *Camden*, a little further describes him, (though one *Pudens* is also mentioned by the Apostle in the same place aforesaid) or that the Children of this Learned *British Claudia*, were *Novatus*, and those two famous Christian Virgins, or Saints *Praxedes* and *Pudentiana*, who after the Death of their Father in *Cappadocia*, dwelt with their Mother in *Umbria*, where they constantly worshipp'd the Saints, as we have it in *Hollinshed*; there is an Author, who should have little expected to diminish the repute of his Country in the Popish Calender, but that was in Opposition to these two Protestant Historians, who has, by the following Arguments, endeavour'd to dissuade our belief.

Although

Thus in *Domitian*'s reign, the further part of the island was left to the barbarous *Britains*, as unpleasant and unfruitful, and this hither side entirely reduced to a perfect province. The government thereof was not *Consular* nor *Pro-consular*, but rather *Presidial*, and under the emperor being annexed to the empire, according to the provincial division made by *Augustus*, and having *Propretors* of its own. But afterwards, when *Constantius Maximus* new modelled the state, there was deputed a lieutenant under the pretorian prefect of *Gaul* over it, with whom were joyn'd, in matters of war, the count of *Britain*, count of the *Saxon* coast by *Britain*, and a duke or general of *Britain*, besides presidents, auditors, or receivers, and such like. And further, out of those twenty-nine legions, which were the standing guard of the empire, three were garrison'd in this province, *namely*, the second legion *Augusta*; the sixth legion *Victrix*; and the twentieth *Victrix*. But this is to be understood in the time of *Severus*; for before, authors tell us there were others, and more numerous. And tho' *Strabo* writes, that there needed no more than one company to keep *Britain* in subjection, yet in the reign of

Although I could wish much (says he) for the Honour of our Nation, that this were true, especially her being the Wife of Pudens *and Mother of the foresaid Children, who were all Saints; Yet have I great Arguments to the contrary. Whereof the first is, the silence of all Antiquity in this behalf.* Martial *also being a Heathen, and an enemy to Christians, would hardly have commended her so much, and written Epigrams to her of her rare Beauty, if she had been a Christian, which was the most odious thing that might be in those days: Nor could she be so beautiful in his time, living under* Vespasian *and* Titus, *and dying under* Trajan; *during whose reign, it appears in* Martial, *that these verses were written. For she must needs be very old in those Days, having* Pudens *his house, placed in* declivo montis Scauri, *on the side of the hill* Scaurus, *as* Baronius in Martyr; ad diem 19 May, *has observed, was the first, by tradition, of all antiquity, that received St.* Peter *and afterwards St.* Paul *in* Rome; *and is at this Day, a Church, dedicated to his Daughter St.* Pudentiana. *And from the arrival of St.* Peter *at* Rome, *till the time of* Trajan, *were almost sixty Years; so that if she were the Wife of* Pudens, *and Mother of those Children, when St.* Peter *came to* Rome, *she must needs be very Aged when* Martial *wrote these Verses of her Beauty. Besides this, our own* Bede, Ado *Archbishop of* Trevers, Usuardus, *and other antient Authors, in their Martyrologies do assign another Wife to* Pudens *the Senator, the Mother of the foresaid three Children, whose Name was* Sabinella: *So that, though it be true, there was such a* British *Lady named* Claudia Rufina *in* Rome, *commended by* Martial *for her Beauty under* Trajan, *and that St.* Paul *did commend another* Claudia *and* Pudens *for Christian Religion in his second Epistle to* Timothy; *all which is sufficiently proved; yet that this* Claudia Rufina *was the* Claudia *mentioned by St.* Paul, *or that the same* Rufina *was a Christian, or the Wife of* Pudens, *or Mother of* Praxedes *and* Pudentiana (*which are the principal Points, whereof the Matter depends*); *this, I say, is not proved, nor any part thereof; but only huddled up by our latter* Heretical *Writers, under a shew of other proofs; to wit, that there was such a* Claudia, *who was of* Britain, *and another by St* Paul *named; which are impertinent Points to the Principal that should have been proved.* Father *Parson's* Three *Conversions of* England, Vol. I. 8vo. 1603. p. 16, 17.

Claudius there were plac'd here the ſecond legion *Auguſta*; the ninth legion of *Spain*, and the fourteenth, named *Gemina Martia Victrix*. And *Joſephus* ſhews us, that about *Veſpaſian*'s time we had no leſs than four legions quarter'd upon us in this iſland. *For*, ſays he, Britain *is encompaſs'd with the ocean, and almoſt as large as our world. The inhabitants are under the dominion of the* Romans; *and that populous iſland is kept in obedience by four of their legions.* And doubtleſs theſe ſtanding guards, garriſons, and camps of the *Roman* ſoldiers, prov'd often as in other provinces, ſo in *Britain* the foundation of towns and cities.

Thus was the yoke firſt laid upon the *Britains* by a military force, which, to the terror of the inhabitants, had them always under command; and it was afterwards confirm'd by tributes and taxes; upon which account they were obliged to admit of *Publicans*, another word for *leeches* and *cormorants*, who ſuck'd their blood, confiſcated their goods, and exacted their money in the name of the dead. Neither were they permitted the uſe of their antient municipal laws, but were obliged to ſubmit their cauſes to the rods and axes of ſuch judges, as *Rome* ſent over to decide them. For the provinces had their propretors, lieutenants, preſidents, pretors and pro-conſuls; and every particular ſtate had its peculiar magiſtrates. The pretor had his ſolemn aſſizes and ſeſſions every year, where, mounted on a high tribunal, he pronounced ſentence in the moſt capital caſes, with his vergers planted about him to execute his juriſdicton, with their rods on the backs, and axes on the necks of the people. Thus, by a freſh magiſtrate of this kind, were they every year viſited: nor was this all their plague, for they fomented factions among them, and favoured ſuch among them as they could make tools of, to enſlave the reſt.

But however grievous this *Roman* yoke ſate upon the *Britains*, yet was it attended with very beneficial Conſequences, for it let in the bleſſed beams of our ſaviours doctrine upon them, (whereof I ſhall be more particular hereafter) the brightneſs of whoſe empire chaſed away the barbariſm wherewith their minds and manners were over-clouded, as it had done in all other places where the goſpel had any influence. For *Rome*, as *Rutilius* has it,

> Cements the world with laws her triumph brings,
> And from her arms one general union ſprings.

And in another place, ſpeaking very truly and very elegantly, to the ſame empire, ſays,

Thou

Thou has one *Realm* of various *Regions* fram'd,
Happy the conquered, who by laws are tam'd!
Thy civilizing pow'r's by all obey'd,
Thou of the *Caos* haſt one *City* made.

For not to inſtance other provinces, the *Romans*, having tranſported colonies hither, and reduced the natural inhabitants of the iſland to civil ſociety, by training them in liberal arts, and ſending them in to *Gaul* to be inſtructed in the *Roman* laws; whence *Juvenal* ſays,

Of fluent *Gauls* the *Britains* learn'd to plead.

They were at laſt ſo reform'd in manners and behaviour, by their Laws and cuſtoms, that even in their diet and dreſs they were not inferior to other provinces. Their noble houſes alſo, and other elegant pieces of architecture were ſo magnificent, that we beheld the ruins of them at this day with admiration. And the common ſort of people currently report that theſe *Roman* buildings, were the work of giants, by them vulgarly called *Eatons*, for heathens, if I conceive aright, or *ethnics*. They are, certainly, very ſtately ſtupendious works, eſpecially the *Picts Wall*, whereof I ſhall be more particular in its proper place; and thoſe cauſeys or pavements throughout all the country, a performance of wonderful labour alſo, for the continuation of which, fens were drain'd in ſome places, valleys levelled in others, and they were withal of that breadth, that carriages upon them might eaſily paſs by each other. But the following account is given hereof by *Galen Trajan* who repaired the ways, ſays he, by paving them with ſtone, or raiſing them with banks, where they were hollow and miry; by clearing them where they were rough and overgrown with buſhes; by making bridges over waters that were not fordable; by ſtraitning thoſe ways that were crooked, turning the hilly paſſages along the plain; the deſert ways, infeſted with wild beaſts, into paths more frequented; and levelling all that was rugged and uneven. But, at this day, theſe banks and cauſeys in *Britain*, are ſo divided and par'd away, by the country people digging ſand, or gravel, up and down, that they are ſcarce viſible, though in ſome parts leading through paſture and by-grounds, they appear plainly to run along in ridges.

Theſe cauſeys or ſtreet-ways, the *Romans* called *Vias Conſulares*, *Regias*, *Prætorias*, *Militares*, *Publicas*, *Curſus Publicos*, and *Actus*, as it may be ſeen in *Ulpian* and *Julius Frontinus*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls them *Aggeres Itinerarij* and *Publici*: *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *Aggeres*, and *Tellu-*

res,

res inaggeratæ: *Bede* and the latter writers, *Stratæ* or ſtreets. Our hiſtorians are doubtleſs deceived who hold that there were no more than four ſuch cauſeys as theſe, whereof the firſt was called *Watling-ſtreet*, ſo called, from one, I know not whom, named *Vitellian*, to whoſe charge this way was committed, (and indeed the *Britains* called *Vitellian* in their tongue *Guetalin*) it was named alſo *Werlaemſtraet*, as lying through *Verulam*, and in other places according as it lay to the inhabitants, *High-dike*, *High-ridge*, *Forty-foot-way*, and *Ridge-way*. The ſecond they called *Ikenild-ſtreat*, becauſe it extended from the country of the *Icenes*. The third was called the *Foſſe*, becauſe 'twas thought to have been ditch'd on either ſide. The fourth, *Erminſtreat*, from a *German* word, of *Mercury*, whom thoſe our anceſtors worſhipp'd, as I am inform'd by *John Obſopeus*, a very learned man, under the name of *Erminſul*, that is, *Mercury*'s pillar; and that *Mercury* preſided over the highways, his *Greek* name, *Enodios*, ſufficiently implies; beſides his four-ſquare images, antiently called *Herme*, were erected every where on the roads: Yet has it been generally thought that one *Mulmatius* (I know not who) made theſe cauſeys ſeveral hundred years before Chriſt; which I am ſo far from giving credit to, that I dare confidently affirm they were gradually made by the *Romans*. Thus, ſays *Tacitus*, "While *Agricola* govern'd in *Britain*, "there were ſeveral ways enjoyned, and far diſtant places (by the purveyors) "that the country ſhould carry proviſions from the neareſt ſtanding camps, or "winter quarters, to thoſe that were moſt remote and out of the way." And the *Britains* complain'd, as the ſame *Tacitus* obſerves, "That the *Romans* "wore out and conſumed their bodies and hands in clearing the woods "and paving the fens, with a thouſand ſtripes and reproachful indignities." We read alſo in antient records, "That in the days of *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, "there were made in *Britain* certain beaten highways, from ſea to ſea." And that this was a work of the *Romans* is teſtified by *Bede*, who ſays, "The "*Romans* inhabited within the walls, (which as I before noted, *Severus* had "made croſs the iſland) towards the ſouth ſide, which is confirmed by the "cities, temples, bridges, and highways, there viſible at this day." The *Romans* employ'd their ſoldiers and common people in making theſe ways, leſt they ſhould grow mutinous, and attempt alterations in the ſtate, by eaſe and idleneſs. It is remark'd by *Iſidore*, "That the *Romans* made highways almoſt "all the world over, to ſhorten the journeys and keep the people at work." And we may gather from *Suetonius*, his life of *Caius*, that condemned malefactors were often ſentenced to this labour. Moreover there are to be met with in *Spain*, the *Salamantica*, or *Silver-way*; in *France*, certain roads called *Military ways*, pav'd by the *Romans*; not to inſtance the *Appian*, *Pompeian*, *Valerian* ways, and others in *Italy*.

Along

Along these cauſeys, *Auguſtus* appointed young men at firſt to be poſted at moderate diſtances from one another; but afterwards, poſt-waggons inſtead of them, that intelligences of all occurrences might be convey'd to him with the utmoſt expedition. Upon theſe publick ways were their cities built, and Inns for the reception and entertainment of travellers, as alſo houſes, called mutations, as they then called the places where ſojourners changed their poſt-horſes, draught-horſes, or waggons. He therefore that ſeeks not about theſe roads for thoſe places which are mention'd in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*, will wander out of his way, and miſs the truth.

Nor ſhould we think much of our pains to note in this place, that the emperors erected at every miles end, certain little pillars along theſe cauſeys, inſcrib'd with figures, or letters, to ſignify the diſtance of miles. Whereupon *Sidonus Appollinaris* writes in this manner.

Nor let the antient cauſeys be decay'd,
Where, in old columns, *Cæſar's* name's diſplay'd.

On either ſide of theſe highways, they alſo erected their monuments, or ſepulchres (1) having inſcriptions graved on them in memory of their brave and noble men to remind paſſengers of their own mortality. For the reparation of theſe ways there were ſtanding laws, as we may ſee in the *Theodoſian Code*, entitled *de itinere muniendo*, of making and mending ways, *to excite every one to further this buſineſs with the utmoſt zeal and readineſs.* They had alſo overſeers appointed them: And in our antient laws there is mention made of *keeping peace in the four high roads* (2).

Authors are ſilent of this iſland, during the reign of *Nerva*. But the *Britains* ſeem to have revolted and rebell'd under *Trajan*: And that they were then ſubdu'd is evident out of *Spartian*. *Julius Severus* was lieutenant here in the reign of *Adrian*, but he being recalled upon an inſurrection of the *Jews*, the *Britains* had certainly thrown off their allegiance to the *Romans*, had not *Adrian* himſelf come over in perſon, among them; who being then in his third conſulſhip, the year of Chriſt 124, ſeems by dint of valour to have ſubdu'd them; For I have ſeen in one of his coins the impreſſion of an emperor, with three ſoldiers, whom I judge to repreſent three legions, with this inſcription, EXER: BRITANNICUS; and another bearing this inſcription, RESTITUTOR BRITANNIE. This emperor made divers reformations thro' the iſland, and was the firſt who built a wall between the barbarous *Britains*

(1) *Varro Lib. de Ling. Lat.*
(2) Laws of *S. Edward*

and

and the *Romans*, which was fourſcore mile in length; "laying the foundation "thereof within the ground, of huge piles or ſtakes, and joyning them toge- "ther in the manner of a ſtrong hedge." For which expedition of his he is thus play'd upon by *Florus* the poet.

Cæſar, e'en ſtill let *Cæſar* be,
Or let who will be him for me;
To ſtrole the *Britiſh ſhores* around,
And in bleak *Scythian* ſleet be drown'd.

To whom *Adrian* reply'd,

Florus, e'en ſtill let *Florus* be,
Or let who will be him for me;
To reel his ſottiſh taverns round,
And be in beaſtly bumpers drown'd.

At this time *M. F. Cl. Priſcus Licinius* was propretor of *Britain*, who accompany'd *Adrian* in his expedition againſt the *Jews*, as appears by the following antique inſcription on a broken marble.

M. F. CL. PRISCO.
ICINIO. ITALICO. LEGATO. AVGVSTORUM.
PR. PR. PROV. CAPPADOCIAE.
PR. PR. PROV. BRITANNIÆ. LEG. AVG.

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LEG. IIII. GALLICICÆ. PRÆF. COH. IIII. LINGONVM. VEXILO. MIL
ORNATO. A. DIVO. HADRIANO. IN. EXPIDITIONE. JVDAIC.

Q. CASSIVS DOMITIVS. PALVMBVS.

In the reign of *Antonius Pius*, who made a conſtitution that all perſons, under the *Roman* dominion, ſhould be citizens of *Rome*, the *Britiſh* combuſtion broke out again into a full blaze, which he ſo quenched, by driving the barbarous *Britains* away under the conduct of *Lottius Urbicus*, the lieutenant, and by raiſing another wall of earth, that he was thereupon ſurnamed BRITANNICUS,

TANNICUS; and he was highly commended for confiscating some part of the *Brigantes* country, who, under the protection of the *Romans*, had infested a neighbouring province, named *Genounia*. And, at this time, as we gather out of *Jabolenus*, the *Archigubernus* of *Britain* was named *Sejus Saturnius*; but whether by that title we should understand the *High-Admiral*, *Chief Pilot*, or *Master of a ship*, I leave to the judgment of the *Civilians*.

The *Britains*, still making one war the occasion of another, raised a commotion under *Antoninus* the philosopher; for the quelling whereof *Calphurnius Agricola* was sent over, who seems to have done it effectually. "The glory of determining this war was imputed by *Fronto*, an incompa- "rable master of the *Roman* eloquence, to *Antoninus* the emperor himself; "for though he kept at home in his palace at *Rome*, and only issued out his "commission to another, yet, (in his opinion) like a pilot, that sits at the "helm of a spacious ship, he deserved the honour of that whole voyage "and its success. There served also at the same time in the wars of "*Britain*, *Helvius Pertinax* who came hither out of the *Parthian* wars "and here resided" (1).

Under the emperor *Commodus*, *Britain* was much troubled with broils and seditions. For those barbarous people having scal'd the wall aforesaid made great waste in the country, and havock among the *Roman* officers as well as soldiers. *Ulpius Marcellus* was sent over to suppress this rebellion, and he was so successful in appeasing it, that envy soon over-shaddow'd the lustre of his merits, and he was recall'd. "This general was, of all others, "most vigilent, and, being desirous of keeping those about him, like himself, "would fill a dozen writing-tables, such as are made of the lime-tree, with "dispatches every evening, and commanded one of his attendants to carry "them to several of the soldiers at different hours of the night; that they, "by concluding their general took little sleep, might be themselves more "wakeful" (2). There is thus much further added of his temperance. "Though he naturally requir'd but little sleep, yet that this habit might "be easier to him he was very moderate and sparing in his diet, for, that he "might not indulge his appetite too liberally even with bread, he caused all "he eat to be brought over from *Rome*, that by reason of its being so stale "and dry, he might not be tempted to use a crumb more than barely "necessary.

(1) *Eumenius Capitolinus.*
(2) *Xiphilin* out of *Dio.*

Upon his being recalled, the army grew licentious, and the forces in *Britain*, letting the reins looſe of military diſcipline, became headſtrong and unruly to the gov-rnment of *Commodus*; however he was complimented with the title of *Britannicus* by ſome of his flatterers. Moreover, the *Romans* in *Britain* brib'd fifteen hundred of their ſoldiers over againſt *Perennis*, who had not only a ſhow of the emperor's favour, but a real aſcendancy over him, objecting, he had preferr'd gentlemen to the office of ſenators, and had conſpir'd againſt the emperor's life. *Commodus* gave credit to thoſe accuſations, and reſign'd the man into their hands, who, after he had endured the ſcourge, and many other indignities, was beheaded and pronounced a traytor to his country. Theſe tumults were however at laſt quieted by *Helvius Pertinax*, though not without great hazard to himſelf, being very near ſlain; and certainly left for dead among thoſe who were ſo, in pacifying this inſurrection.

In this ſtate of tranquility, *Commodus* committed the government to *Clodius Albinus*, who was afterwards, for his great exploits in *Britain*, ſurnamed *Caeſareus*. But becauſe he had made a publick invective againſt the government of the emperors, he was ſoon after obliged to reſign to *Junius Severus*.

The clouds of ſuperſtition being at that time diſperſed, in the reign of *Commodus*, when *Eleutherus* was biſhop of *Rome*; and not under the emperors *Marcus Aurelius* and *L. Verus*, as *Bede* writes, the heavenly light of chriſtianity, began by the means of king *Lucias* (1), to break out upon this iſland. This prince (as we find in the martyrologies which were antiently read in churches) admiring the ſimplicity and uprightneſs of the chriſtians, petitioned pope *Eleutherus*, by his *Britiſh* ambaſſadors, *Eluan* and *Meduanus*, that himſelf and ſubjects might be inſtructed in their doctrine. Hereupon the pope diſpatched over two religious men, named *Fugatius* and *Donatianus*, with letters, at this day, extant, and believed by many to be genuine, dated in the ſecond conſulſhip of *L. Aurelius*, *Commodus* and *Veſpronius*. By thoſe two holy perſons, the king and others were taught the myſteries of the chriſtian religion. Whence *Ninnius* writes thus of that king. *King* Lucius *is ſurnamed* Leuer-Maur; *that is, a prince of* great glory, *by reaſon of the religion planted here under his reign* (2). Some call this ſtory of king *Lucius* in

(1) All the Circumſtances of the Chriſtian Religion's being firſt introduced among us under this King *Lucius* are gather'd together by Dr. *Stillingfleet* in *Orig. Britan fol.* 67.

(2) See alſo the Hiſtory of K. *Lucius* in Bp. *Ushers* Antiquities of the *Brit.* Churches p. 19, 20.

queſtion

queſtion, ſuppoſing the iſland was long before reduced to a compleat province; but I would have thoſe conſider, the *Romans* had, by antient cuſtom, kings in their provinces as their tools of bondage; that the kings at that time refuſed allegiance to *Commodus*; that they were in full poſſeſſion of all the iſland beyond the *Wall*; that they had their own kings there. And that *Antoninus Pius* a few years before, *having finiſhed the war left the kingdom to be ruled by their own kings, and the provinces to be governed by their own courts* (1). What ſhould then hinder but that *Lucius* might be king over that part of the iſland, to which the *Roman* forces never came? And truly, what has been recorded by *Tertullian*, who wrote much about thoſe times, if thoroughly weigh'd, may very properly refer to this converſion of the *Britains*. For, ſays he, "Thoſe countries among the *Britains* which "were inacceſſable to the *Romans*, are now ſubjected to Chriſt". And ſomewhat further, "*Britain* is encircled with the ocean: The *Mauri* and barba-"rous *Getulians* are pent up by the *Romans*, leaſt they ſhould enlarge "their territories. And what ſhould we ſay even of the *Romans*, who pre-"ſerve their empire by their legions? Nor are they able, with all their ar-"mies, to extend their dominion beyond thoſe nations, whereas the kingdom "of Chriſt and his name, reaches much further; he is believed every "where, and worſhipped by all the nations aforeſaid".

But our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, who have ſpent both time and pains in the enquiry, (2) labour to prove, out of antient and creditable authorities, that before his time, even in the very dawn of chriſtianity, *Britain* had been enlightned therewith: And particularly that *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, a noble ſenator, ſail'd over hither out of *Gaul*; and that *Claudia Ruſina*, the wife of *Aulus Pudens*, (thought to be the ſame mentioned by St. *Paul* in his ſacred epiſtle to *Timothy*, and whom *Martial* ſo much applauds,) was a *Britiſh* lady. They cite alſo the teſtimony of *Dorotheus*, commonly called the biſhop of *Tyre*, who has aſſerted in his ſynopſis, that *Simon Zelotes* after he had travelled through *Mauritania*, was at laſt killed and buried in *Britain*; as alſo that *Ariſtobulus*, whom St. *Paul* mentions in his epiſtle to the *Romans*, was made biſhop of *Britain*, (in which alſo *Nicephorus* concurs) though he ſpeaks of *Britiana* (3) and not of *Britannia*. Moreover they report, upon the authority of *Simeon Metaphraſtes* and of the *greek* calender, that St. *Peter* came alſo into this iſland and diſplayed the light of the goſpel: And further out

(1) *Capitolinus*.
(2) *Bale*, Archbiſhop *Parker*, and *Fox*.
(3) The *Brutij* in *Italy*.

of *Sephronius* alſo, and *Theodoret*, that St. *Paul* after his ſecond impriſonment in *Rome*, viſited this our country. Hence *Venantius Fortunatus*, if he may be believed as a poet ſpeaks of him, unleſs it be rather of his doctrine, in theſe words,

Sail'd o'er to iſles, had any port or bay,
Where *Britiſh* realms, and furtheſt *Thule* lay.

But that which makes moſt to the purpoſe, I before alledged out of *Tertullian*, and alſo that of *Origen*, who obſerves, " How the *Britains* unanimouſly " embraced the faith, and were prepared for it by their *Druids* who were " always inculcating this article of belief, *that there was but one God*" (1). And truly of great authority with me is that which *Gildas* writes, who after mentioning the rebellion of *Boadicia* and the revenge of it, ſays, " In the " mean time *Chriſt* the true *Sun*, diffuſing his radient influence upon the " whole world, not from a temporal or elementary firmament, but from the " moſt exalted and eternal throne of heaven, did in the latter end of *Tiberias Cæſar* firſt vouchſafe his rays to this cold frozen iſland, extending " at ſo great a diſtance from the viſible ſun." And by the way St. *Chryſoſtom*, ſpeaks of the chriſtian religion in *Britain* in theſe words. " The " power of the holy word has ſpread its happy influence over the *Britiſh* " iſles, which lye beyond the ſea, and are extended in the very ocean itſelf, " for there are churches and altars ſet up and dedicated to that word; which " the inclinations of all men, at firſt, naturally imbibed, and which their " tongues now declare." And the ſame author farther ſays, ſeveral times " have the inhabitants of *Britain* been eaters of their own kind, but now " they purify their ſouls with faſtings." But St. *Jerom* alſo intimates thus much concerning *Britain*. " When the *Britains*, ſays he, whoſe habitations " are far from our world, determine on a pilgrimage, they will leave behind " them the weſtern ſun, and travel to *Jeruſalem*, which only fame and the " ſacred ſcriptures have made known to them."

The opinions of learned men with reſpect to the firſt planting of chriſtianity in this iſland, are very numerous, and no leſs various, ſeveral writers of our own country, on the authority of *Gildas* above cited, fix the time of this memorable circumſtance to the latter end of the reign of *Tiberias Cæſar*, which was about ſeven and thirty years after our ſaviour's birth, but the paſſage of *Gildas*, in relation to this point, has undoubtedly been conſtrued

(1) See *Stillingfleet: Orig. f.* 57.

in

in a wrong ſence and miſapplied, without taking notice, how the ſcripture differs from this account, which ſays, that the diſciples, after St. *Stephens* martyrdom, confined themſelves, for ſome time, to preach the word to *the Jews only*, and that *Cornelius* was ſix years after, *the firſt fruits of the Gentiles*, which, if we allow this ſuppoſition, will make it follow, that there were converts to chriſtianity in *Britain* before this time. Now the author above cited makes mention of a double *ſhining* of the goſpel, which he thus accounts for: namely, one, which, towards the decline of the reign of *Tiberias* was more diffuſive through the world; the other, which, at the conjuncture he is pointing at there, *viz.* about the middle of *Nero's* government, was more particular to this iſland: Upon which, wrong conſequences have been drawn from this account of *Gildas* in relation to the firſt planting of the faith, I mean, applying it to the particular propagation of the word in *Britain*. Not indeed is the ſcripture leſs repugnant to the ſtory of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, eſpecially, with regard to the time and manner of delivering the goſpel to the *Gentiles* at firſt. Beſides men of penetration and ſobriety, from the precarious bottom it ſtands on, and the ſeveral ridiculous circumſtances blended with it, take it for an invented peice of monkiſh craft, let ſome writers of the *Roman* ſide ſtand up for it as much as they pleaſe. For it has never once entered into the writings of either *Gildas* or *Bede*, or *Aſſerius*, or *Marianus Scotus*, nor is any mention made of it by any of the antient annals; beſides which, thoſe authors, who ſtrive all they can to ſupport its authority, are obliged for their beſt teſtimonies to *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*, and the legends of *Glaſtenbury*. And as for the charter of St. *Patrick*, which is ſo vaſtly extoll'd by the *Roman* writers; tis no more than downright forgery. For its beginning is dated according to the *year of our Lord:* when the learned are not unacquainted how that way of calculation did not take birth till a whole hundred years after; and beſides there are indulgences, ſaid to be obtained from pope *Eleutherius*, mention'd in it; whereas that name was not, till the eleventh century, known to be made uſe of in any ſuch capacity. But further, as little ſtreſs is to be laid on the charter of king *Ina*, in which tis laid down that *Glaſtenbury* church is of the greateſt antiquity in *Britain*, by which it would ſeem to countenance this traditional ſtory of *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*. This charter particularizes the kings of *Britain*, archbiſhops, biſhops, dukes, and abbots being ſummoned together to conſent to its being paſſed: But the contrary appears how that *Ina* was inveſted with no juriſdiction, except over the weſt *Saxons*, and that only three biſhops, without any archbiſhop, were in his dominions. Now king *Bolred* is made a witneſs to this charter, but 'tis evident from all our hiſtories, that not one of them ſpeak of ſuch a name till a hundred

years

years after this pretended fact. But over and above these particulars, reference is made in this to other charters of *Glastenbury*, with regard to the priviledge of exemption of its monastery; which must necessarily be copies of the monkish forgeries, in *England* and other countries, since all the search and enquiry the most penetrating persons have been able to make, have centered in this at last, that till very near this time they could not find out any traces of the use of charters.

Add to all which, that it is very remarkable in this point, that not a syllable about *Joseph* of *Arimathea* is intimated in either of these charters, nor others, made in the *Saxon* times, though all are so copious in making *Glastenbury* as the spring-head of religion in *Britain*; so that it follows from hence that *Joseph*, for the veneration he showed to the body of our saviour, and the respect the place would gain from his name, obtained from the monks the title of being their founder. But we may add another particular, which is, that the twelve hides of land are mentioned in the legend of *Glastenbury* to be the gift of *Aviragus*, a *British* king, whereas it is evident that there was not any king in this island of that name at this time: And besides, the same legend says, that a church yard, with the church, was consecrated; but this is a known fact, that it was not till long afterwards, that the custom of enclosing churches with church-yards was brought in.

But however this account be; and though the story, above cited, of *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, according to what we have advanced, cannot, with any shew of truth, be defended, yet it is asserted, and that on very good grounds, that while the apostles were on earth, *Britain* was blest with a christian church; to prove which, *Eusebius*'s words are produced, which are these, that some of the apostles crost the ocean, *to those which are named the* British *Islands*; and besides, *Theodorus* is brought into the case, as expresly mentioning the *Britains* among those nations which the apostles turned to the faith, who says in another place that "Saint *Paul* brought salvation to the islands that lie in "the ocean," to which the passage of *Clemens Romanus* is added, which says "that St. *Paul preached righteousness through the whole world*, and by that means went *to the utmost bounds of the west*, which the generality of mankind took *Britain* to be then, upon which account *Catullus* calls it *ultimum occidentis insulam, the fartheſt isle of the west*, consonant to which *Arnobius* *constitutes it the boundary of the gospel to the west.*

It is plain therefore, from the authorities above cited, (chiefly from what *Clemens Romanus* has advanced on this point) that not only while the apostles were living on earth, the gospel was propagated in *Britain*, but that the preacher of it was St. *Paul* himself, this assertion is corroborated by

making

making the following obſervation, that eight years elapſed from this apoſtle's obtaining his liberty, which was in the fifth year of *Nero*, to his going back to *Rome*; and that theſe eight years, according to the general account of the antient writers of the church, were ſpent in the weſtern parts: That therefore it cannot be imagined, that after St. *Paul* hade made his ſolemn farewel to the eaſtern parts, and acquainted them for certain, that they *ſhould ſee his face no more*, that his preaching was not employed in other places of the world: That *Gildas* intimates, "that before *Suetonius Paulinus* had given the *Britains* their fatal overthrow, the goſpel was received "in this iſland," which victory fell out either in the ſeventh or eight year of *Nero*, and ſo conſequently in the third or fourth of thoſe eight years, which are attributd by antient writers to St. *Paul* as ſpent in the weaſtern parts. That what we are told about St. *James*, *Simon Zelotes*, and *Philip's*, propagating the holy faith here, want not only vouchers, but even probability to confirm them. That alſo what is related of St. *Peter*, is only teſtified by the ſingle authority of *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, and other writers of legends, is the only foundation on which the ſtory about him depends: Beſides, what the more weakens it, the account of ſcripture is againſt it, which plainly intimates that *Peter* was entruſted with the goſpel of circumciſion, and that *Paul* had the care of that of uncircumciſion.

But the ſtory of king *Lucius* is produced as an exception to obviate this account. Now whether this king reigned in the time of *Aurelius* and *Verus*, or (1) *Commodus*, it is alledged in it that *Britain* was not bleſt with the light of the goſpel till a conſiderable time after. How ſhall we reconcile theſe different narratives, firſt of all *Lucius*'s ſtory not only makes againſt the *Britains* being brought to the faith by St. *Paul*, but it is an argument too, againſt the converſion itſelf, and the goſpel's being propagated in this iſland before that time; but, I hope, it has been already ſufficiently proved from the teſtimonies of authors above cited, that the faith was preached here, a long time before this ſtory of *Lucius* can pretend to take place. But without having recourſe to theſe writers of antiquity, (2) authors of our own country have taken notice, that *Gildas*, who was a *Britain*, and conſequently not unacqnainted with the *Britiſh* affairs; is the ſole authority on whom the authenticity of this earlier converſion reſts: Whereas *Bede*, who was a Saxon, and in moſt parts of his book no great friend to the *Bri-*

(1) See Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and Biſhop *Stillingfleet*.
(2) See *Uſher. primord. pa.* 39.

tains,

tains, is the ſole other authority for the converſion which happened under king *Lucius*. That, therefore, if either the one, or the other of theſe two different accounts muſt be thrown aſide, there is no ſcruple to be made, but that *Gildas*'s narrative, as to this point, ought to be received for true, and *Lucius*'s ſtory for a meer fable.

Indeed, ſuch a number of authors confirm there being ſuch a king as *Lucius* in *Britain*, that there cannot juſtly be raiſed any argument to obviate them. An author of our own country, famous for his learning, acquaints us, that he had ſeen two coins, having the image of a king upon them; and that, from the croſſes, he imagined him to be a chriſtian; and, beſides, the letters *L. U. C.* were impreſſed, which make it probable that *Lucius*, above cited, is denoted thereby. But what the legendary gentlemen ſay of his being king over all *Britain*, and of a letter as ſent to him from *Rome*, and of eſtabliſhing a new church, or eccleſiaſtical government, in the room of the *Flamins* and *Archflamins*, no credit in my humble opinion, ought to be given to them. I grant, indeed, that conſidering *Lucius* in the light of a petty prince over ſome part of this iſland, he might ſend a meſſage to *Rome*, where at this time was a chriſtian church, and a biſhop, the twelfth in ſucceſſion from the apoſtles, in order to have a fuller and truer account of the chriſtian faith, than he had already received; and yet that the more early converſion in *Britain* is no way affected by this meſſage; and I take it there is no inconſiſtency to ſuppoſe thus, chiefly with regard to the former converſion. For it is evident from the meſſage itſelf, if he ever ſent any, and from his inclination to be a convert to chriſtianity, that he had ſome previous acquaintance with this doctrine, and knew what it was: Nor, indeed, could he obtain better information in this point from any others, than from thoſe two, deputed by his order, to go on the errand, who, according to *Leland*, and ſome other writers, are believed to be two of the old *Britiſh* chriſtians. But waving more of this, let us turn our ſubject to the empire.

As ſoon as *Commodus* was ſlain, *Pertinax* was elected emperor, who preſently diſpatch'd away *Albinus* for *Britain*. However *Pertinax* having reigned two years and ſomething more, was put to death, and thereupon four different factions made pretenſions to the empire. *Didius Julianus*, (who did not long ſurvive his ambitious aim) made himſelf emperor at *Rome*, *Peſcenninus Niger* in *Syria*, *Albinus* in *Britain*, and *Septimius Severus* in *Pannonia*. *Severus*, by the ſituation of *Pannonia*, was neareſt to *Italy*, and conſequently made *Rome* the firſt, where being choſen emperor by the unanimous ſuffrage and conſent of the pretorian-bands and the ſenate, his firſt care was to have no enemy to incommode him; accordingly *Albinus* who, at this time, held the

the forces of *Gaul* and *Britain*, to pacify for the preſent, he alſo conſtituted emperor: And by ſtamping money with his image, ſetting up his ſtatues, and conferring on him the conſular dignity ſooth'd and oblig'd him with great prudence. Then he march'd eaſtward againſt *Niger*, whom in the open field he fought and ſlew. Next he laid ſiege to the city of *Bizantium* which he conquer'd in three years; and brought alſo to ſubjection the *Adiabenes*, the *Arabians*, and other nations. But now elated with ſucceſs he grew impatient of a partner, and ſecretly employ'd aſſaſſins to murder *Albinus*, but this plot not anſwering his purpoſe, he openly declared him an enemy to the ſtate, and with all expedition march'd into *Gaul* againſt him: And there, near *Lyons*, *Albinus* with the flower of the *Britiſh* army, was prepared to receive him. In the battle, the *Albinians* behaved themſelves ſo courageouſly, that *Severus*, throwing off his purple mantle, began with his whole army to give ground. The *Britains*, as if the victory was abſolutely gained, neglecting all order in their purſuit, being watched by *Lætus* one of *Severus*'s captains who waited with a freſh reſerve, and having heard that *Severus* was ſlain, with hopes that himſelf might be exalted to the throne fell upon the enemy and routed them. By this time *Severus* having rallied his men, and recovered his robe, fell in likewiſe upon them and having ſlain *Albinus* among many others gain'd a ſucceſsful victory.

And now *Severus*, enjoying alone the ſovereignty of the world, ſent over firſt *Heraclianus*, and after him *Virius Lupus*, as prætor and lieutenant (called by *Ulpian* the civilian *Preſident of Britain*) to take poſſeſſion thereof. This *Lupus*, as we ſhall in its proper place obſerve, repaired many caſtles here. However he was driven at laſt to purchaſe peace of the *Meate* at a great rate, upon having made ſome of them priſoners, becauſe the *Caledonians* (1) who had promiſed to reſtrain them from making invaſions had failed in their word. And being unable after many loſſes and calamities to repreſs the ſudden incurſions and aſſaults of the enemy, he was at laſt neceſſitated to ſend for *Severus* himſelf; who gladly embracing the occaſion, both that he might wean his ſons from the luxuries of *Rome*, and alſo add to his other titles the name of *Britannicus*, reſolved tho' he was upwards of threeſcore, and diſabled with the gout, to carry over the ſaid ſons *Baſſianus* (whom he had named *Antoninus* and *Auguſtus*) and *Geta Cæſar*, together with the legions. The *Britains* ſent their ambaſſadors forthwith to him for peace; whom after he had purpoſely delay'd

(1) Inhabiting the County of *Northumberland*.

under that pretence, 'till he had made all due preparations for war, he diſmiſſed without granting their ſuit. And leaving his ſon *Geta*, whom at his firſt arrival in *Britain*, he created *Auguſtus*, in the hither part of the iſland, which continued their allegiance to the *Romans*, for the civil juriſdiction and adminiſtration of affairs there; himſelf with *Antoninus* went into the remoter parts, where being buſied in felling of timber, making bridges, and draining the fens, he fought no battle; and yet, what with the ambuſcades of the enemy, and what with ſickneſs, he loſt fifty thouſand of his men. So ſays *Dion*. But we are told by *Herodian* that whilſt the barbarous *Britains* kept in the marſhes and thickeſt woods, whence they might moſt ſafely aſſail the *Romans*, he had the better, in certain light skirmiſhes, of them; enforcing them at laſt to a league, with condition that they ſhould ſurrender a good part of their country. And which was the greateſt ornament of his reign, he built a wall from ſea to ſea, quite acroſs the iſland. Upon theſe victories, he ſtamp'd his coins with this inſcription, VICTORIA BRITANNICA; aſſumed the ſurname of BRITANNICUS MAXIMUS, and his ſon *Geta* was alſo named *Britannicus* as appears alſo upon his coins. But notwithſtanding this truce, the *Britains*, afterwards having broke covenant began to rebell, which ſo exaſperated the emperor that in a harangue he made his ſoldiers, he recommended the utter extirpation of them in theſe verſes of *Homer*

Let nought alive your guilty mercy ſhare
Not babes unborn, eſcape the rage of war.

When he had ſuppreſſed theſe inſurrections in great meaſure by his own forces, he ſicken'd and died at at *York*; not ſo much out of any bodily diſeaſe, as grief, at the unreclaimable wickedneſs of his ſon *Antoninus*, who once or twice attempted to kill him with his own hand. Theſe were his dying words, *I enter'd upon a ſtate diſorder'd in all its parts, but I leave it at peace even among the* Britains. His body was hence carried by the ſoldiers in military pomp, committed to the funeral fire, and the day was ſolemniz'd with races performed by his ſoldiers and his ſons. I might incur the cenſure of levity if I ſhould here relate the progedies which happened before his death, and namely, the blackneſs which appeared upon the ſacrifices, and the cypreſs garland offered him by a buffoon in theſe words, *Thou haſt been all things elſe, now be a god.* But the ceremony of his canonnization, I ſhall not think much of annexing, ſince it may divert the reader.

"I

" It is a cuſtom among the *Romans* to deify thoſe emperors after their " death who leave ſons or ſucceſſors behind. And thoſe who are thus ho- " noured, are canoniz'd and enroll'd among their gods. There is a general " mourning throughout the city, with a mixture of feſtival ſolemnity. They " bury the princes corps as they do thoſe of others in great ſtate; but withal " they make a waxen Image, reſembling the perſon deceaſed, and lay it " openly at the entrance of the palace upon a large and loſty ivory bed, " cover'd with a cloth of gold, ſo that the pale effigy appears like a " ſick languiſhing man. About this bed attend the whole body of the ſe- " nate, on the right hand in mourning; and on the left, certain ladies and " matrons of honour by deſcent or marriage. No gold or jewels appears " upon any of them, but they are dreſſed in thin white garments like " mourners. Thus they wait for ſeven days, during which time phyſicians " repair daily to the bedſide, and as if the pageant were a real patient " conſult together and pronounce it worſe and worſe. After a weeks time " the body is declared dead, then ſome youth of quality among the " knights and ſenators carry the bed upon their ſhoulders, along the *ſacred-* " *way* into the old *Forum*, where the *Roman* magiſtrates were wont to reſign " their offices. Here certain ſtairs were raiſed on both ſides, and a choir " of the ſenators ſons on one hand, and on the other, a company of " noble young damſels, ſinging ſolemn and mournful hymns in praiſe of " the deceaſed prince. Then is the bed or herſe taken up again, and " carried without the city, into the *Field* of *Mars*, and in the moſt ſpaci- " ous part thereof a ſquare frame or turret is erected, conſiſting only of " large ribs, in form of a tabernacle; the inſide is filled with dry " fewel, the outſide hung round with tapeſtry richly embroider'd with gold " and ivory imagery. Above this ſtands another frame of the ſame form " and furniture, but ſomewhat leſs every way, with windows and doors " ſtanding open; ſo a third and a fourth, ſtill ſmaller one above another, " till you rise to the uppermoſt, which is the leaſt of all. The form of " this pile may be compared to thoſe towers built near the ſea ports for " burning fires in, to direct mariners in the night, commonly called *Phari* " or light-houſes. The herſe aforeſaid being then carried up into the " ſecond tabernacle, where aromatic gums and perfumes, as well as fragrant " fruits, ſweet herbs and juices of all ſorts are thrown upon it: For there " is no city, country, or perſons of any rank, who do not emulouſly con- " tribute preſents of this nature, in honour of the departed prince. when " they have thus got together ſuch a quantity of theſe aromaticks as

" will

" will fill up the ſpace, the whole equeſtrian order firſt ride round the pile,
" then they march about it, and return in a certain grave and warlike
" ſtep or meaſure. The ſenators likewiſe drive round it in open chariots,
" perſonating in their robes and masks their renowned generals and em-
" perors. This ceremony ended, the next ſucceſſor to the throne, is the
" firſt that takes a torch, and fires the tabernacle, then all the reſt, on
" every ſide ſet fire below, ſo that every place being full of the dry ſpices
" and fewel, the whole pile is inſtantly all over in a flame. At the ſame
" time an eagle is let fly from the uppermoſt turret of this pile, ſuppoſed to
" convey the prince's ſoul to heaven. Henceforth the emperor is adored by
" them among their other deities". But this by way of digreſſion; now to return.

Antoninus Caracalla the ſon of *Severus* purſued the reliques of the war by his captains for a while in *Britain*, but ſoon after he made peace with them and reſtored their lands and forts. However through a ſpirit of ambition he aſſumed the title of *Britannicus*, and even *Britannicus Maximus*. His brother *Geta* alſo took upon him the ſtile of *Britannicus*, for ſome coins I have ſeen of his are thus inſcribed.

IMP. CÆS. P. SEPT. GETA. PIUS. AUG. BRIT. PONTIF. TRI. P. III. COS. II. P. P.

Henceforward for a long ſpace together writers have been imperfect in the *Britiſh* ſtory; for *Alexander Severus* was not ſlain as ſome would have it in *Sicilia* a town of *Britain*, but in *Gaul*. Thus much only appears to certain from the inſcription of an antique ſtone. That *Nonnius Philippus* was proprætor here under *Gordian* the younger.

While *Gallienus* the emperor abandoned himſelf to all manner of riot the ſtate of *Rome* either through negligence or deſtiny fell to ruin, among the reſt this province alſo ſhook off their government. For then ſtruggled the *Thirty Tyrants* at once, for that empire in ſeveral parts of it, among whom *Lollianus Victorinus*, *Poſthumus*, the *Tetrici*, and *Marius* were ſu-pream governors in this iſland, I ſuppoſe becauſe their coins are daily dug up here in great plenty. Under *Aurelian*, that jolly toper *Bonoſus*, who was by birth a *Britain*, joining with *Proculus*, bore himſelf a while for emperor laying claim to all *Britain*, *Spain*, and that part of *Gaul* called *Braccata* (which provinces had been under the government of *Florianus* two months) but being at laſt in a long and bloody battle vanquiſhed by *Probus*, he

(1) *Herodian.*

hang

hang'd himſelf which gave occaſion to that pleaſant ſaying of him, *Here hangs a hogshead not a man.*

However *Probus* was welcom'd into *Britain* with new troubles; for one whom he himſelf had promoted, through the commendation of his familiar friend *Victorinus Maurus*, to an office in the government, had ſtirred up a rebellion, which created ſome words between the emperor and *Victorinus*, who thereupon obtaining leave to go and ſpeak to the ſaid perſon, came to him as one who had fled over from the emperor, and being freely received by the ſaid tyrant, kill'd him in the night and returned to *Probus*; thus was the province reſtored again to its former peace (1). But who this tyrant was, no author has remember'd, yet he appears to be that *Cl. Corn. Lelianus* whoſe coins are found in this iſland and no where elſe. Moreover *Probus* ſent over the *Burgundians* and *Vandals* and ſettled them here, who afterwards proved ſerviceable to the *Romans* upon any ſedition that aroſe: But whereas this *Probus* is ſaid by *Vopiſcus* to have allowed the *Britains* liberty to plant vines, there is a very learned man, who fears this paſſage did inadvertently eſcape that author, as if this were a ſoil too unkindly for the growth of vineyards; whereas we have not only vines growing in it at this day, but certainly had great plenty of them in former days. It was in reference to the many rival tyrants in this iſland at that time, that *Porphyry* who lived in the ſame age, makes this exclamation, Britain, *a Province full of Tyrants!*

Britain was given after this, by the emperor *Carus Auguſtus* to his ſon *Carinus*, together with *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Illyricum*. There are ſome would infer, however ſlight the authority may ſeem, that he carried on a war in theſe parts, from thoſe verſes of *Nemeſianus*.

> Nor will I here forget to ſing thy worth
> For thy brave acts, *Carinus* in the *North*,
> Which round the diſtant pole, thy deathleſs name
> Has equall'd to thy godlike ſire's in fame.

In *Dioclesians* reign, *Carauſius* a *Menapian* born of mean extract, but a ſubtil, dext'rous man, and eminent for his naval exploits, was made governor of *Bologne* in *Gaul*, to chaſe away thoſe *Saxon* and *French* pirates who infeſted that ſea. This perſon having ſeveral times taken many barbarians priſoners, yet neither brought in all his prizes to the emperors exche-

(1) *Zoſimus.*

quer

quer, nor made reſtitution to the provinces; and at laſt took ſo few that he began to be ſuſpected of admitting them to enter, that he might ſeize their cargo and enrich himſelf. Hereupon he was by order of the emperor *Maximian* to have been put to death. But having previous intelligence thereof he poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Britain* under the title of emperor, tranſported the fleet he had to defend *Gaul*, thither, built more ſhips after the *Roman* model there, drew in the *Roman* legion, kept out foreign troops, preſs'd in *French* merchants, fortified *Bologne*, converted the *Britiſh* and *Batavian* revenues to his own uſe, allur'd *Barbarians* into alliance, by the plunder of the provinces, eſpecially the *Franks*, whom he had trained to ſea-ſervice, and in a word infeſted all the neighbouring coaſt. *Maximian* marched againſt him with a gallant army, (1) ſome whereof ſuffer'd a glorious martyrdom in the expedition, but when he was got down to the ſhore, being in want of ſaylors, and frightned at the rage and roughneſs of the *Britiſh* ocean, he halted, and having patched up a pretended peace with *Carauſius* yielded to him the government of the iſland, as the more proper perſon to command and alſo defend the inhabitants againſt all invaſions. Hence do we find in all the ſilver coins of *Carauſius*, two emperors, hand in hand, with this legend CONCORDIA AUGG: But *Maximian* turned his forces upon the *Franks* of *Batavia* who had ſent aid to *Carauſius*, and taking them at a ſurpize ſoon brought them to ſubjection. In the mean while *Carauſius* went on in *Britain* with a character unſpotted, and a government undiſturbed. *Againſt the Barbarians he rebuilt the wall between the mouths of* Clud *and* Caran, according to *Ninnius* the diſciple of *Elvodugus*, and built a round houſe of poliſh'd ſtone, upon the bank of the river *Carun*, ſo called from his own name, with a triumphal arch in memory of his victory: However *Buchanan* thinks it was the temple of *Terminus*, as we ſhall obſerve in our deſcription of *Scotland*.

When *Dioclefian* and *Maximian* took *Conſtantius Chlorus* and *Maximianus Galerius* to be partners in the empire, as well to preſerve what they poſſeſſed as recover what they had loſt; *Conſtantius* having levied an army arrived with greater ſpeed than was expected at *Bologne* in *France*, otherwiſe called *Geſſoriacum*, a town which had been fortified by *Carauſius* with a ſtrong garriſon; and inveſted the ſame. By pitching large ſtakes in the earth, and piling huge ſtones on one another like a rampier, he excluded the the ſea, and they loſt the benefit of their harbour, for all the violence of the ſea beating againſt it many days could not beat it down; but no ſooner

(1) The *Thebane* Legion.

was

was the town ſurrendered, but this rampier gave way to the very next tide, ſo that it was wholly diſplaced and thrown down. And whilſt he was rigging out a fleet, here and in other parts for the recovery of *Britain*, he cleared *Batavia*, in poſſeſſion of the *Franks*, of all enemies, and tranſported many of them to cultivate the waſte and barren parts of the empire.

At this time *Carauſius* was treacherouſly ſlain by his familiar friend and prime miniſter *Allectus*, who thereupon uſurped the imperial purple. At this news, *Conſtantius* having man'd out ſeveral fleets, drove *Allectus* to ſuch diſtraction in his defence, that he began to find the ocean not ſo much his protection, as his priſon. Moreover the fleets ſetting out in miſty and tempeſtuous weather, paſſed by the *Britiſh* navy unkenn'd, which lay off the iſle of *Wight*, to obſerve and intercept him: And ſo ſoon as his forces were landed he fir'd all his own ſhips, that his ſoldiers having no means of ſafety in flight, might have no hopes of it but in conqueſt. When *Allectus* ſaw the fleet of *Conſtantius* approaching, he forſook the ſhore where he had planted himſelf, and in his flight was encountered by *Aſclepiodotus* captain of the life guard; but ſo franticly and fooliſhly did he haſten his own end, that he neither drew the foot nor horſe that followed him, into order, but caſting off his purple garment that he might not be known, ruſhed on with the mercinary barbarians, and in the confuſed skirmiſh was ſlain; and ſcarce could be diſtinguiſhed from the carcaſes of the barbarians which overſpread both hills and plains.

But the *Franks* and other barbarous ſoldiers which remain'd alive, determin'd upon ſacking *London*, and ſo to make the beſt of their way; but a party of *Conſtantius's* ſoldiers then happening to be ſever'd from the reſt, by reaſon of a thick fog, meeting with them there, made a great ſlaughter of them throughout the whole city, and procured not only ſafety to the citizens in the execution of their enemy, but alſo ſatisfaction in the very ſight of it. Thus was the province recovered by this victory, after an uſurpation of about ſeven years by *Carauſius*, and three more by *Allectus*. Upon this occaſion *Conſtantius* is thus addreſſed by *Eumenius*. "O glorious and im-
" portant victory! worthy of many triumphs; whereby *Britain* is ſafely re-
" ſtored, whereby the *Franks* are utterly deſtroyed; whereby various na-
" tions link'd in that rebellious confederacy, are reduced to obedience, and
" whereby, in a word, the ſea itſelf is alſo purged of all that might
" diſturb our quiet: But you O invincible *Cæſar* may boaſt without bound,
" in this conqueſt of another world, and by retrieving the maritime ſovereign-
" ty of *Rome*, that you have added to the empire an element more exten-
" ſive than all the earth beſide".

In

In the latter years of *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, after the eaſtern church had been for many years polluted with the blood of martyrs, the violence of that raging perſecution paſſed even alſo into theſe weſtern parts, and many chriſtians ſuffer'd martyrdom in *Britain*. The principal among them were *Alban* of *Verulam*, *Julius*, and *Aaron* of *Iſca*, a city otherwiſe called *Caer Lleon*, of whom I ſhall ſpeak more largely in their proper places. *For then the Church was gloriouſly triumphant, when ten years perſecution could not vanquiſh it.*

Upon *Diocleſian* and *Maximians* reſignation of the imperial government, *Conſtantius Chlorus* was elected emperor, who till then ruled under the title of *Cæſar*. To his charge fell *Italy*, *Africa*, *Spain*, *France*, and *Britain*, but he ſurrender'd *Italy* and *Africa* to *Galerius* and was contented with the reſt. When this *Conſtantius* ſerved in *Britain* under *Aurelian*, he married *Helena* the daughter of *Coilus* or *Coilus* a petty prince of this iſland, and had by her that noble *Conſtantine* the *Great* in *Britain* as with that great hiſtorian, *Baronius*, all other authors agree, except one or two *Greek* writers, who vary from each other, and one learned man, who grounds his aſſertion upon a corrupt place of *Julius Firmicus*. However *Chlorus* was obliged to repudiate his wife, by *Maximian*, and to marry his daughter *Theodora*. This is the *Helena* who in antient inſcriptions is called *Venerabilis*, and *Piiſſima Auguſta*; and who for her chriſtian piety, her ſuppreſſion of idolatry in *Jeruſalem*, erecting a church in the place of our Saviours paſſion, and for recovering his croſs, is ſo highly celebrated by eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians. But the *Jews* call her ignominiouſly *Stabularia*, becauſe, pious princeſs, ſhe found out the manger where *Chriſt* lay, and built a temple where the ſtable ſtood. Agreeable hereto ſays St. *Ambroſe*. "They tell us this lady was originally a hoſteſs, *&c.* However this "good hoſteſs *Helena* haſten'd to *Jeruſalem*, and ſought out the place of our "lord's paſſion, and alſo through her effectual diligence, the manger where "he lay: This good hoſteſs was not ignorant of that hoſt who cured the "traveller that was wounded by the thieves: This good hoſteſs heeded not "how vulgarly ſhe was accounted of, ſo ſhe could gain *chriſt*". And indeed no leſs commendably is her husband *Conſtantius* remembered for his piety and diſcretion: "A man who having utterly rejected the ſuperſtition and "impiety of worſhipping many gods, voluntarily profeſſed the being of One "only, who was the ruler of all things". And hereupon to make tryal of the faith in his courtiers, he put it to their free choice, either to ſacrifice to their gods, and continue under him, or refuſe and depart; but thoſe who choſe to leave him rather than forſake the true God, he retained; and diſmiſſed them who relinquiſhed the true worſhip, as thoſe who could not be

faithful

faithful to him, who were treacherous to their maker. This worthy emperor died at *York* in his laſt expedition againſt the *Caledonians* and the *Picts*; leaving behind his ſon and ſucceſſor *Conſtantine*, who was proclaimed emperor.

Some few days before *Conſtantius* died, his ſon *Conſtantine* took poſt from *York* for *Rome*, cauſing all other horſes mantained at the charge of the ſtate, to be lam'd as he paſſed along, except thoſe he uſed, that nobody might follow him; and there he received his father's laſt breath. Hence ſays an antient orator to him. "You entered this ſacred palace, "not as a competitor for the empire, but as one ordain'd to the poſſeſſion of "it, and forthwith your father's houſe ſaw you its lawful owner; for "there is no doubt, but he ſhould be the firſt in title, whom providence "had diſtinguiſhed the firſt in birth". Nevertheleſs he was in a manner compelled to take the government upon him by the army, and eſpecially thro' the importunity of *Erocus* king of the *Almans*, who accompanied him as an auxiliary. "The ſoldiers rather in regard to the public welfare of the "commonwealth, than their own private affections, inveſted him with the "purple robe, he weeping, and ſpurring away his horſe, to avoid their "zealous ſolicitations, *&c.* but his modeſty at laſt yielded to the felicity "of the commonwealth." Hence it is the panegyriſt makes this exclamation, "O happy *Britain!* above all other lands moſt bleſſed, in that "you firſt beheld our *Conſtantine* emperor (1)."

And now the emperor at his entrance, purſuing thoſe wars his father had begun againſt the *Caledonians* and other *Picts*, fell upon thoſe remoter *Britains*, and iſlanders, who, as a certain author phraſes it, *are witneſſes of the ſun ſetting* (2). Some he vanquiſhed by force of arms, and others (for he had *Rome* and higher proſpects in his eye) he drew by money to his alliance: Of open enemies he made friends; and confidants of others who had been moſt inveterate againſt him. He was afterwards ſo victorious over the *Franks* in *Batavia*, that he ſtamp'd certain gold coins, one whereof I have ſeen, with the image of a woman ſitting under a trophy and leaning one hand upon a croſs-bow, with this ſubſcription FRANCIA, and this circumſcription, GAUDIA ROMANORUM. Having alſo ſubdued the barbarians in *Germany*, won over the *German* and *French* nations to his intereſt, and raiſed forces out of *Britain*, *France* and *Germa-*

(1) Panegyrick to *Conſtantine* the Great.
(2) *Galeacius Cizicenus, lib.* 1. *Act. Conc. Nicen. c.* 3.

ny, to the number of ninety thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe, he marched into *Italy*, overthrew *Maxentius*, who at *Rome* had laid claim to the empire; and having vanquiſhed *Italy* with that tyrant, he reſtored the whole world to the bleſſings of liberty, as we gather out of this antique inſcription, *By divine impulſe, his own magnanimity and the conduct of his army, he was at once as well revenged, of the tyrant himſelf, as of his whole faction, by a lawful war in behalf of the commonwealth.*

However that he returned again to *Britain* is intimated by *Euſebius* in theſe words. " *Conſtantine* (ſays he) paſs'd over at laſt into *Britain*, " which is ſurrounded by the ſea, which having conquer'd, he bent his " thoughts upon other parts of the world, that he might bring timely aid " to thoſe who wanted it." And in another place. " After he had " ſeaſon'd his army with principles of moderation and piety, he invaded " *Britain*, that he might likewiſe inſtruct thoſe who were environed with the " ocean, in a country which bounded as it were upon the ſetting ſun, with " its coaſts". And it is of *Britain* that theſe verſes of *Optatianus Porphyrius*, to *Conſtantine*, are to be underſtood,

The *northern* clime which braves the weſtern ſtorms,
Still to thy laſting, peaceful laws conforms;
Their loyal *valour* now redeems their *fame*;
They conquer now, for *thoſe* who conquer'd *them*:
Fierce nations to *their* arms obedient be,
Whoſe willing tribute ſhews them ſo to *thee*:
Such gallant chiefs haſt thou preferr'd from thence!
Such conqu'ring troops thy *Eagles* to advance!

About this time, as it is manifeſt from the *Theodoſian Code*, *Pacatianus* was vicegerent in *Britain* for with that title was the governor of this province now inveſted, and no longer ruled by proprætors or lieutenants.

This *Conſtantine*, had the felicity to be highly praiſed, and the vertues to be highly deſerving of it, for he not only eſtabliſh'd freedom in the *Roman* empire, but having alſo diſperſed the clouds of ſuperſtition let in the pure light of the goſpel, by opening the temples to the true worſhip, and ſhutting them againſt that which was falſe. " For now was " the raging ſtorm of perſecution no ſooner aſſuaged, but the faithful chriſtians " who in the dangerous times had hidden themſelves in woods, deſerts, and " caves, appearing again in public, re-edified the churches which had " been demoliſhed, founded and finiſhed temples to their martyrs, and diſ- " play'd about in that manner their victorious banners; celebrating their

" feſtivals

" festivals, and with pure hearts and lips performing their holy solemni-" ties" (1). Wherefore it is that we find him so much renowned under these titles. *An emperor most valiant, most blessed, most pious; happy, redeemer of* Rome, *founder of peace, restorer of* Rome, *and the world, great most great, invincible, most invincible, perpetual,* Augustus *for ever, best of princes, and governors, most vertuous, most merciful.* And in the laws, *he who fortified the Roman empire with the venerable faith of christians, sacred, of sacred memory, of divine memory, &c.* And he was the first emperor as I could hitherto observe, who in coins and public monuments was honoured with the title of *Our Lord*; though I know very well that *Diocletian* was the first who, after *Caligula*, suffer'd himself openly to be called *Lord*.

And yet, even in this worthy emperor, it was thought a defect of policy, that he open'd the way for barbarians into *Britain*, *Germany*, and *Gaul*: For when he had reduced the northern nations beyond all fear of danger from them, and had newly built the city of *Constantinople* to keep those *Persians* in subjection who threatned the *Roman* empire in the eastern parts, he drew away the legions, which lay upon the frontiers, partly into the east, and partly into cities remote from them, and built fortresses to supply their room: So that soon after his death the barbarians forcing those towns and forts broke into the provinces. Upon this account is he so dishonourably represented in *Zosimus*, as the first and chief subverter of that most flourishing empire.

Since the model also of the *Roman* government was alter'd under this *Constantine*, it may not be improper briefly to observe here, after what manner *Britain* was ruled both under him and his successors. He appointed four chief præfects for the *East*, *Illirycum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*; two commanders of the forces in the west, one of foot, the other of horse, whom they distinguished by the title of *Præsentales*.

The civil government in *Britain* was administred by the præfect of the *Prætorium* in *Gaul*, and under him a vicegerent, honour'd with the title of *Spectabilis*. Under him were two consular deputies, and three presidents, according to the number of provinces; and these determin'd all causes civil or criminal.

In military affairs there presided the western commander of the foot; and he gave directions to the *Counts* of *Britain* and the *Saxon* coast along *Britain*, and the duke of *Britain* who were all stiled *Spectabilis*.

(1) *Gildas.*

The *Count* of *Britain* ſeems to have governed the inland parts of *Britain*; under his command were ſeven companies of foot, and nine troops of horſe.

The count of the *Saxon* coaſt who defended the maritime parts againſt the *Saxons*, and is named by *Ammianus*, *Comes tractus maritimi*, had ſeven companies of foot, two troops of horſe, the ſecond legion, and one cohort.

The duke of *Britain*, who defended the marches or frontiers againſt the barbarians, had the command of thirty eight garriſons, mann'd with fourteen thouſand foot and nine thouſand horſe: So that in thoſe times, if *Pancirollus* has rightly computed, the forces maintained in *Britain* amounted to nineteen thouſand two hundred foot, and ſeventeen hundred horſe, or thereabouts.

Beſides theſe, there were the count of the imperial largeſſes or almoner, who had under him a receiver general, a lord-treaſurer, and ſuperviſor of the *Britiſh* wardrobe where the princes clothes were made, and thoſe of the ſoldiers. Alſo the count of the privy purſe, had here in *Britain*, his private auditor. Not to mention the maſter of the prize-fighters (taken notice of in an old inſcription) and ſome other officers of inferior degree.

Britain, upon the death of *Conſtantine*, fell to his ſon *Conſtantine*, who thro' an ambitious thirſt of ſovereignty invading the poſſeſſions of others, was ſlain by his brother *Conſtans*. He was ſo exalted with this victory that he ſeized upon *Britain*, and other provinces, and came over with his brother *Conſtantius* into the iſland. Hereupon *Julius Firmicus*, not he who was the pagan aſtrologer, but the chriſtian, ſpeaks after this manner to them. "You "in the midſt of winter, which none did ever before, or will again, have "triumph'd over the tempeſtuous billows of the *Britiſh* ocean. It's waters "till now almoſt unknown to us, have trembled, and the *Britains* been aſto-"niſhed at the arrival of their emperor: What is there further that can be "ſubject to your victory, when the elements themſelves have ſubmitted to "your valour?" It was this *Conſtans* who conven'd a council at *Sardis* againſt the *Arians*; to which aſſembled three hundred biſhops, and among them the biſhops of *Britain*, who having condemn'd the hereticks and eſtabliſh'd the *Nicene* creed, gave their voices for the innocence of *Athanaſius*. But this youthful prince caſting off the care of the empire, and drowning himſelf in ſenſualities, grew diſguſtful to the ſtates, and diſagreeable to the ſoldiers; inſomuch that *Magnentius*, lieutenant of the *Jovii* and *Herculei*, ſet upon him as he was hunting in the town of St. *Helens*, and there ſlew him; fullfilling the propnecy

prophecy, *That he ſhould end his life in his Grandfather's lap*, from whom that town indeed took its name.

This *Magnentius* being the ſon of a *Britain*, but born among the *Læti* in *France*, having now ſlain *Conſtance*, inveſted himſelf in *France* with the imperial dignity, and won over the *Britains* to his intereſt; but he was for three years together ſo harraſsed by his brother *Conſtantius*, that he laid violent hands upon himſelf. A fortunate prince he was, as any, for favourable weather, plentiful harveſts, and peace among the barbarians; circumſtances which greatly contribute to the reputation of a prince in common acceptation. But upon what account this *Magnentius* ſhould in an old inſcription long ſince dug up at *Rome*, be ſtiled *Taporus*, I leave to the enquiry of others. For thus it is read there, ſpeaking of the obelisk erected in the *Circus*.

While *Taporus* bore in *Rome* ſuch cruel ſway,
Th' imperial gift thro' ſcorn, neglected lay.

At this time *Gratianus*, the father of *Valentinian* the emperor, was general of all the forces in *Britain*. He was ſurnamed *Funarius*, from a rope, which, as he went about to ſell, when he was a ſtripling, occaſioned him to be taken notice of, for the manful reſiſtance he made againſt five ſoldiers who attempted to take it from him. Upon his return home and diſcharge from his commiſſion, his goods were confiſcated to *Conſtantius* becauſe he was reported to have entertained *Magnentius*.

Upon the murder of *Magnentius*, *Britain* ſubmitted to the government of *Conſtantius*, and immediately was ſent over, one *Paulus* a notary born in *Spain*, a man, who under the fair vizor of a friendly countenance carried a treacherous and deceitful heatt. He to ruin certain ſoldiers, who had conſpired with *Magnentius*, though now unable to reſiſt him, after he had outrageouſly broke in like a torrent upon them, ſeized upon many of their effects. Thus went on, to the ſpoil and deſtructon of numbers, condemning freemen to priſon, and even to the bruiſes of bonds and ſhackles, and all by patched up or accumulative charges, altogether as falſe as they were ſevere. And hence proceeded an action ſo wicked as to brand the reign of *Conſtantius* with perpetual infamy. For there was one *Martin* the vicegerent in *Britain*, who in compaſſion to the ſufferings of the Innocent, often intreated *Paulus* to ſpare ſuch as were not guilty, but finding himſelf an ineffectual advocate for them, he threatned to leave the province, hoping this barbarous perſecutor would be reſtrained thereby from all further moleſtation of thoſe peaceable people. *Paulus* thinking this might ſpoil his trade,

trade, and having a ſhrew'd head at *linking* together any circumſtances to the miſchief and detriment of others, wherefore he was called the *chain*, he hook'd in this vicegerent who was ſuch a patron of thoſe ſufferers, to be a partaker in their ſufferings; and had very near compaſſed the bringing him, in company with ſeveral tribunes and others, bound as a priſoner before the emperor's privy council. This imminent danger ſo exaſperated *Martin* that he drew his ſword, and made an *Elonge* at *Paulus*, to have run him through, but not making a home *paſs*, he turned the point againſt his own ſide, and diſpatch'd himſelf. This was the unhappy fate of that worthy man who had vertues ſo eminent as to eſpouſe the cauſe of the injured and oppreſſed. After this miſchief, *Paulus* returned to the head-quarters, all bloody as he was, bringing ſeveral with him, ready to ſink under the miſery and weight of their chains; upon whoſe coming, the burning-horſes were prepared, with hooks and other inſtruments of torture, by the executioner. Some of the priſoners were baniſhed, ſome out-law'd, and others put to death. At length through divine vengeance upon ſuch inhumanities, he received the juſt rewards of his cruelty; being burnt alive in the reign of *Julian*.

After this, as my author *Ammianus Marcellinus* continues, when the tranquility of *Britain* was interrupted by the incurſions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, thoſe barbarous borderers; the frontiers waſted, and the provinces continually alarm'd and wearied with inceſſant depredations; *Julian* who was by *Conſtantine* declared *Cæſar* and collegue in the empire, being then in his winter quarters about *Paris*, was in ſuch diſtracted condition, that he feared to ſend the provincials ſuccour, as we obſerved *Conſtantine* had before done, leſt he ſhould leave *Gaul* without a governor: Conſidering withal that the *Almans* were contriving an inſurrection, he thought it beſt to diſpatch into theſe parts, for reconciling thoſe diſturbances, one *Lupicianus*, maſter of the armory, a man both of perſonal courage and experience in military affairs, but withal of a haughty and imperious ſpirit, affecting a ſupercilious air in his countenance, and the theatrick or buskin ſtile in his ſpeech; one in ſhort over whom it was doubted whether covetouſneſs or cruelty had the greateſt aſcendancy. He therefore, with a party of light arm'd men, *Herulians*, *Batavians*, and ſome companies of the *Mæſians*, marched to *Bologne* in the depth of winter; where taking a fair wind he imbark'd his ſoldiers and arrived at *Rhutupiæ*, juſt oppoſite to it, and ſo ſet forward for *London*; that upon taking proper council there, for the purſuit of his enterpriſe, he might proceed to give them battle.

Under this *Conſtantius*, who was a great abettor of the *Arians*, their hereſy crept into *Britain*; where from the beginning of *Conſtantine* the Great

a ſweet harmony of " (1) Chriſt the head and his members had continued till " that deadly hereſy of *Arius* like a ſerpent ſpitting her venom over ſeas " diſſolved the band of unity even in brothers themſelves. Thus a tranſ- " marine paſſage being made, other like ſavages diſgorged their poiſon, and " infected our country; ever greedy of novelty, and never conſtant in any " principle." In favour of theſe *Arians*, *Conſtantius* conven'd a council of four hundred biſhops at *Arminium* (2). " Who were allowed provender " and diet by his imperial order, but that allowance was deemed by " the *Aquitanes*, *Gauls*, and *Britains*, very unbecoming, and they choſe " rather to live at their own expence. Three only out of *Britain* who were " not able to defray their own charges, were maintained by the ſtate, having " refuſed the contributions offered them by their fraternity; accounting it " more honourable to be chargeable to the public treaſury, than to any " particular perſons."

After this, upon the death of *Conſtantius*, *Julian* the apoſtate, who in competition againſt him, had taken the title of emperor, firſt baniſhed *Palladius* one of his chief miniſters into *Britain*; and diſpatched away *Alipius*, who had been deputy lieutenant in *Britain*, with a commiſſion to rebuild *Jeruſalem*, where when they began to work, ſuch fearful flaſhes of fire broke out about the foundations of the buildings, that he was ſcar'd from proceeding therein, and many thouſand *Jews* who perſevered againſt the will of heaven, were buried in the ruins. This diſſolute emperor, with a philoſophical face, fear'd, as is already obſerved, to come and grant the oppreſſed *Britains* relief, and yet he drained the country of corn for the ſupport of his *German* forces.

When *Valentinian* ſucceeded to the throne, and the whole world was in arms, *Britain* was inceſſantly alarmed by the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacoti*: Hereupon *Fraomarius* king of the *Almans*, was ſent thither tribune over a band of his own ſubjects, for number and valour then much renowned, to ſuppreſs thoſe barbarous nations. " (3) Nevertheleſs " *Britain* was through the common confederacy of thoſe barbarians much " harraſſed and brought to great diſtreſs. *Nectaridius* count or lieutenant " of the maritime tract was ſlain, and *Bulchobaudes* the general, was inſi- " diouſly circumvented by the enemy: The news whereof being received " at *Rome* with great conſternation, the emperor firſt ſent *Severus* then high

(1) *Gildas.*
(2) *Sulpitius Severus.*
(3) *Ammianus Marcellinus. Lib.* 27. *&c.*

ſteward

" ſteward of his houſhold, to redreſs theſe grievances if fortune ſhould ſo
" favour him; but he being ſoon after recalled, was ſucceeded by *Jovinus*,
" who ſent back *Proventuſides* for a reinforement, as the occaſion was re-
" preſented to require; at laſt the iſland was reported to be in ſuch diſtreſs
" that *Theodoſius* was haſtened over; a man, both skilful and ſucceſful in
" warlike affairs, who having ſelected a ſtout body out of the cohorts and
" legions began his hopeful progreſs. The *Picts* were then divided into
" two nations, the *Dicalidones* and *Vecturiones*; the *Attacoti* alſo a warlike
" people, and the *Scots* ravaging up and down, did great miſchief. As for
" *Gaul*, the *Franks* and *Saxons* confining upon them, were frequently inva-
" ding them both by land and ſea, and what with plundering their goods,
" firing their towns, and killing the captives, were very terrible neighbours.
" To heal theſe crying calamities, if fortune would have permitted it, this
" valiant and vigorous commander, made his voyage to the remoteſt bounds
" of the earth. When he arrived at the coaſt of *Bologne*, (divided from
" the oppoſite tract by a narrow ſtraight ebbing and flowing, apt to ſwell at
" certain ſeaſons, and ſink again to a plain level, yet navigable without
" danger) he ſet ſail, and gently croſſing over, arrived at *Rhutupiæ*, a quiet
" road and harbour over againſt it. The *Batavians*, *Herulians*, *Jovij*, and
" *Victores*, brave men who followed him, being alſo landed, he bent his march
" for *London*, an antient town, call'd, in after-ages, *Auguſta*. Having divided
" his ſquadrons into ſeveral Troops, he firſt ſet upon a crew of porſling plunder-
" ing enemies, even as they were laden with their prey; which being ſoon routed,
" they were forced to leave behind them, conſiſting of cattle, and captives
" whom they had taken from the miſerable *Tributaries*. After he had made due
" reſtitution of the booty, to the reſpective owners, ſaving only ſome ſmall
" ſhare which he reſerved for the refreſhment of his wearied army, he made a
" magnificent entrance into the city, which being till then much dejected with
" their miſeries, revived at the approaching proſpect of recovery and protection.
" His ſucceſsful beginning encouraged him to greater projects, yet to proceed
" with caution, having learn'd from the intelligence of ſome revolters and cap-
" tives, that ſuch a numerous enemy, of various nations and obſtinate temper,
" were not to be ſubdu'd but by ſtratagem and ſurpriſe, he therefore publiſh'd an
" act of indemnity, ſummon'd all deſerters and runagades to repair to him, which
" having drawn many into his ſervice, he had thoughts of taking the field, but
" delay'd it till he had ſent over for *Civilis*, a man ſomewhat impetuous in his
" temper, but juſt and upright in his principles, to be deputy governor in *Britain*,
" and alſo *Dulcitius*, a brave and expert commander. Afterwards taking cou-
" rage he left *Auguſta*, which was antiently call'd *London*, with a good army
" he had been at great pains to raiſe, and which proved a great ſuccour to the

" ruinous

ruinous ſtate of *Britain*. He took the advantage of all places favourably ſituated to way-lay the *Barbarians* by ambuſcades, and gave command to no enterprize in which he did not ſhare the ſame danger with every common ſoldier. Thus he performed the duty of a private man as well as that of a general; and having routed ſeveral nations, which, depending upon their ſecurity, had the confidence to invade the *Roman* empire, he laid the foundation of a laſting peace, repaired and reſtored to their former ſtrength and beauty, ſeveral cities and caſtles which had received much damage. In the mean time a dangerous conſpiracy was hatch'd, which had been of very detrimental conſequence, had it not been cruſh'd in the ſhell. For one *Valentinus* of *Valeria Pannonia*, a man of an inſolent temper, and brother-in-law to *Maximinus*, that intollerable deputy, and afterwards lieutenant, was for ſome ſignal offence baniſh'd into this iſland, where like ſome wild and reſtleſs creature, he was ever raiſing ſome diſturbance or inſurrection againſt *Theodoſius*, thro' his pride and envy, being the only man who could oppoſe him; however, that he might proceed with caution and ſafety, he endeavour'd by all probable means to corrupt both the exiles and ſoldiers, thro' the proſpect of profit, to ſome rebellious action; but before the plot could be brought to execution, the general having got intelligence of it, was reſolved to anticipate the conſpirators, ſo committed *Valentinus*, with the heads of them, to the cuſtody of Capt. *Ducitius*, that he might ſee them executed; but withal weighing the conſequences, (for he was the moſt prudent and experienced commander of his age) he ſuffer'd no further examination to be made of the traytors, leſt by raiſing too great apprehenſions among ſuch numbers, he might imbroil the province, which was now at quiet. Turning therefore his thoughts upon ſeveral neceſſary reformations, from which any appearance of danger could little avert him, ſince fortune was ſo manifeſtly propitious to him upon all occaſions, he re-edify'd the cities and garriſons (as we obſerved) and fortify'd the frontiers with watches and intrenchments. Thus having recovered the province which had yielded ſubjection to the enemy, he ſo reſtored it to its antient ſtate, that upon his own motion it had a lawful governor ſet over it; and by the prince's order was called *Valentia*. The *Arians*, an order inſtituted by the antients, of whom I have ſpoken in the acts of *Conſtans*, the emperor, degenerating into corruptions, and being plainly detected of mercenary intelligence with the barbarians he diſplaced; for it was their practice to run to and fro between our officers, with the news of whatſoever commotion they found brewing in any of the adjacent countries. After he had with great approbation performed theſe and the like exploits, he was ſent for to the emperor's court; and leaving the Provinces in ſuch a joyful condi-

" tion, was no leſs honour'd for his many and important victories, than either
" *Furius Camillus*, or *Curſor Papirius*. So being honourably attended to the
" narrow ſeas; he ſail'd over with a gentle gale, and arrived at the prince's
" camp, where he was received with great joy and applauſe.

For theſe famous exploits an equeſtrian ſtatue was erected in honour of him, as *Symmacus* informs us, ſpeaking to his ſon *Theodoſius* the emperor, in this manner: " The founder of your race, a general both in *Africa* and *Britain*,
" was among other antient honours dignify'd by the ſenate with the ſtatues on
" horſeback among the antient heroes." And thus flows *Claudian* with a full commendation.

He, who encamp'd in *Caledonian* ſnow,
And *Lybian* heats, in burning armour, bore;
Who bravely conquer'd the bold *Britiſh* foe,
And ſtruck with terror the revengeful *Moor*;
Who *North* and *South*, to like ſubjection brought!
What did thoſe colds, or heats, or ſeas unknown
Avail, to obſtruct ſucceſs where'er he fought,
Or ſhew their pow'r, when he diſplay'd his own?
When *Saxon* gore th' *Orcades* did overflow,
And *Thule's* face was warm'd with *Pictiſh* blood;
When icy *Ireland* thaw'd with tears of woe,
That ſlaughter'd *Scots*, in heaps, her plains beſtrew'd.

And thus again he ſings in another place concerning the ſame prince.

Lybia's parch'd ſands did tremble at his pow'r,
And *Thule's* cliffs, where ſhips can't reach the ſhore:
He put to flight the nimble *Moors*, and tam'd
The *Picts*, with great propriety ſo nam'd;
The routed *Scots*, his goading ſteel purſu'd;
His ventrous keel cut thro' the *Northern* flood;
Spurn'd the bold tide as o'er the beach it rolls,
And fix'd his trophies under both the poles,

And thus alſo writes *Pecatus Drepanus* concerning him; *What need I ſpeak of the* Scot, *repell'd to his bogs*; *or the* Saxon, *ruin'd in ſea fights?* &c. He was ſucceeded in the empire by *Gratian*, who alſo proclaim'd *Theodoſius*, the ſon of that *Theodoſius* we have already ſpoken of, emperor; which was highly reſented by *Maximus* his rival, who was a *Spaniard* born, and deſcend-

ed in the right line from *Conſtantine* the great; and who alſo had been formerly general over the whole army, that he aſſumed the purple robe himſelf; or as *Oroſius* reports it, was againſt his will, ſaluted emperor by the ſoldiers; a valiant and vertuous man he was, deſerving the title of emperor; had he not againſt his allegiance, uſurped that dignity. He firſt of all, vanquiſh'd the *Picts* and *Scots* who uſed to make irruptions upon the province; afterwards, ſhipping off almoſt all the ſtrength of the *Britiſh* forces, and arriving at the mouth of the *Rhine*, he drew over moſt of the *German* army, fixed his imperial court at *Triers*, whence he was ſtiled *Trevericus Imperator*, and ſpreading his wings, as *Gildas*, obſerves, into *Spain* and *Italy*, he levied taxes and tributes of the moſt uncivilliz'd nations in *Germany*, merely by the terror of his name. *Gratian* led an army againſt him, but that after many engagements for five days together, deſerted him, and he was put to flight, whereupon he ſent St. *Ambroſe* to treat for peace, which was concluded, but with great treachery towards him; for *Maximus* having ſecretly diſpatched *Andragathius* in a cloſe coach, and cauſed a report to be ſpread before him, that it was *Gratians* wife arrived from *Britain*; *Gratian* thereupon, went very affectionately to meet her, but as ſoon as the door was open'd, out leap'd *Andragathius* with his bravoes, and murder'd him on the ſpot. *Ambroſe* was ſent over a ſecond time to demand his body, but cou'd meet with no admittance, becauſe he had refuſed to communicate with thoſe biſhops who had eſpouſed the intereſt of *Maximus*; who being puff'd up at this ſucceſs, procured his ſon *Victor* to be choſen emperor, dealt cruelly with thoſe officers who had adhered to *Gratian*, and ſettled the ſtate in *Gaul*. *Theodoſius Augaſtus*, who govern'd in the eaſt, alſo acknowledged him emperor, at the requeſt, or rather mandate of his ambaſſadors, and erected his ſtatue among the *Alexandrines* to be publickly ſeen. But now having made a prey of every man's property, the commonwealth, thro' his avarice, begun to languiſh under a general impoveriſhment. The colour for his tyranny, was the ſupport of the catholic religion. *Priſcillian*, with ſome of his ſect, being convicted of heretical doctrines at the council of *Burdeaux*, he, notwithſtanding the appeal made to him, condemned to death; tho' *Martin*, that pious biſhop of *Tours*, moſt humbly ſolicited him to forbare ſhedding the blood of thoſe unfortunate people, alledging that the deprivation of thoſe hereticks, or excommunication of them from their churches, by ſentence of the biſhops, wou'd be ſufficient chaſtiſement; and that it was an unprecident irregularity, for a ſecular judge to determine in eccleſiaſtical cauſes. Theſe were the firſt, who to the ill-example of after ages, were put to death for hereſy by the civil power. After this, he enter'd *Italy* in ſuch a formidable manner, that *Valentinian*, with his mother, were glad to ſeek refuge un-

der *Theodoſius*. He was received by the cities of *Italy* with the utmoſt honour, and particularly by the *Bononians*, among whom this inſcription yet remains,

DD. NN. MAG. C. MAXIMO, ET. FL.
VICTORI, PIIS, FELICIBUS, SEMPER
AVGVSTIS. B. R. NATIS.

To our great lords, C. Maximus *and* Fl. Victor,
Pious, happy, always Cæſars;
Born for the good of the commonwealth.

Mean while, the *Franks*, who by their incurſions, had made great havock in *Gaul*, received a mighty overthrow by *Nannius* and *Quintinus*, two great captains, with whom *Maximus* had intruſted the tuition of his ſon, and the cuſtody of *Gaul*, and to whom thoſe enemies were forced to give hoſtages, and ſurrender the authors of theſe inſurrections. As for *Valentinian*, he earneſtly intreated *Theodoſius* to ſuccour him, being dethron'd by an uſurper, from whom he cou'd get no other anſwer for a long while but this, *He thought it not ſtrange, that a ſeditious ſervant ſhould become ſuperior to ſuch a lord as had himſelf renounced the true lord.* For *Valentinian* was corrupted with arianiſm. However, being at length overcome by his importunities, he ſet out in a warlike manner againſt *Maximus*, who then reſided at *Aquileia*, unapprehenſive of any danger. For he had before ſet a guard upon the paſſages between the mountains, and ſecured the ſea coaſt with his fleet, ſo that with great chearfullneſs and intrepidity, he ſaluted *Theodoſius* with one battle before *Syſcia* in *Pannonia*, and afterwards received him moſt valiantly in another under the conduct of his brother *Marcellus*, but ſo unſucceſsful in both that he was obliged to retreat to *Aquileia*, and there, as he was making a diſtribution of money among his own ſoldiers, he was taken by them, diveſted of his imperial ornaments, and carried before *Theodoſius*, who immediately delivered him up to execution, after he had now worn the purple four for five years. Whence the following praiſes are thus beſtowed upon *Aquileia* by *Anſonius*,

And thou, ſince new deſerts have rais'd thy name,
Fair *Aquileia*, ſhalt be ninth in Fame.
Againſt *Illyrian* hills thy cliffs are ſhown;
Thy walls, and harbour, gain thee vaſt renown:
But this new praiſe ſhall make thee ever proud,
That here the tyrant choſe his laſt aboad,
And pay'd the vengeance he ſo long had ow'd:

That thou, vile *Maximus*, didſt laſt receive,
Rais'd to a monarch, from a knapſack-ſlave.
Bleſt town! which all that noble triumph view'd;
And *Britain*'s robber ſaw by *Roman* arms ſubdued.

Andragathias was now in a ſuch a deſperate condition, that he threw himſelf over-board into the ſea; and *Victor*, the ſon of *Maximus*, was defeated in *Gaul*, taken priſoner, and ſlain. But thoſe *Britains*, who took the part of *Maximus*, are by ſome writers reported to have invaded *Armorica* in *Gaul*, and ſeated themſelves there. *Theodoſius*, ſoon after his victory, enter'd *Rome* in triumph, with his ſon *Honorius*, and publiſh'd an edict, importing, "That "no perſon ſhould claim any honour which had been granted by that bold "tyrant, but that ſuch preſumption ſhould be condemn'd, and reduced to "the former ſtate." And *Valentinian*, in theſe words, "All edicts that the "moſt deteſtable tyrant *Maximus* ever enacted, we repeal." But St. *Ambroſe* in his ſermon at the funeral of *Theodoſius*, ſaid, "That *Eugenius* and "*Maximus* were now woeful examples in hell, what an unpardonable crime "it is to rebell againſt a lawful prince." In a word, this victory was accounted ſo great and memorable, that the *Romans* thence forward ſolemniz'd that day every year as a feſtival.

Honorius, a boy of ten years old, ſucceeded his father *Theodoſius* in the *Weſt*. He was committed to the protection of *Flavius Stilicho*, a perſon of great Diſtinction, having been familiar with *Theodoſius* in all his wars and victories, who gradually promoted him to the greateſt poſts in the army, and allied him by marriage to the imperial family. Yet ſatiated with his proſperity, and growing extravagantly ambitious, he came to a miſerable end. But for ſome years he managed the affairs of ſtate in the empire with great aſſiduity, and defended *Britain* againſt the invaſions of the *Picts*, *Scots*, and *Vandals*; wherefore *Claudian* makes *Britain* ſpeak of herſelf in this manner.

And I ſhall ever own his happy care
Who ſav'd me ſinking in unequal war;
When *Scots* came thund'ring from the *Iriſh* ſhores,
And the ſea trembled, ſtruck with hoſtile oars.
Secur'd by him, nor *Scottiſh* rage I mourn,
Nor fear again the barbarous *Picts* return;
No more their veſſels, with the dubious tide,
To my ſafe ports the *Saxon* pirates guide.

So that *Britain* at that time ſeems to have been ſafe enough from enemies; for in another place the ſame poet writes thus,

Now

Now ocean's clear, now safe from *Saxon* pow'r,
Now *Picts* are conquer'd, *Britain* fears no more.

And when *Alaric*, king of the *Goths*, threatn'd *Rome*, that legion which was garrison'd in the frontiers against the barbarians, was levied out of *Britain*, as *Claudian*, where he reckons up the supplies sent for from all parts, thus testifies.

The legion came, for *Britain*'s borders rais'd;
Who curb'd the *Scots* that might their rights invade;
And on the branded figures oft' had gaz'd,
Which the pale limbs of dying *Picts* display'd.

In those days flourish'd *Fastidius*, a *British* prelate, who wrote many books fraught with divine learning; and also *Chrysanthus*, the son of *Marcus*, the bishop, who having been a consular deputy of *Italy*, under *Theodosius*, and made vicegerent in *Britain*, was so deservedly admir'd and applauded for his administration, that he was enstall'd bishop of the *Novatians* at *Constantinople* against his will. These people made such a schism in the church, that they were called *Cathari*, or *Puritans*. They had their distinct bishops, and sects among them, who profanely deny'd, "That any one relapsing into sin after "baptism, cou'd be restored to a state of salvation." This is that bishop who according to history, of all ecclesiastical revenues, was wont to reserve nothing for himself but two loaves of bread only every sunday.

But when the *Roman* empire began to decline in the west, and *barbarians* on ev'ry side, wasted the provinces over the continent; the *British* states, fearing lest the flame of their neighbours combustions should catch hold of them, and considering the necessity they were under of some sovereign ruler to direct them against the danger of those ravagers, they had recourse to elections. And first they enthroned *Marcus*, and obeyed him as the emperor of those parts. But not answering their expectation, he was put to death, and they set up *Gratian*, a countryman of their own, whom they invested with the imperial ornaments, and loyally obeyed as their prince; but upon some dislike of him also, they dethron'd him after a reign of four months, and put him to death. Next they consign'd the sovereignty to one *Constantine* a common soldier, purely on the account of his name, which imported good luck according to their exposition, for from the fortunate name of *Constantine*; they nourished hopes, that he would constantly and fortunately govern the empire, and overcome their enemies as *Constantine* the great had done

done, who was advanced to the imperial dignity in *Britain*. This *Conſtantine* ſetting ſail from hence, landed at *Bologne* in *Gaul*, and eaſily drew in the *Roman* forces as far as the *Alps* to join him. He defended *Valentia* in *Gaul* with great courage againſt the powers of the emperor *Honorius*; and fortified the *Rhine* which had for a long time paſt lain neglected. He alſo built fortreſſes upon the *Cottian* and *Penine Alps*, as well as thoſe towards the maritime coaſt wherever there were any paſſes. In *Spain* he carried on his wars ſucceſsfully under the command of his ſon *Conſtans*, who of a monk, was now made emperor, and afterwards, by letters to *Honorius*, apologizing for having been robed with the purple tho' againſt his will, by the ſoldiery, had the upon the imperial robe freely preſented him. This ſo enflam'd his ambition, that after he had paſſed over the *Alps*, he was for marching directly to *Rome*; but hearing that *Alaric*, king of the *Goths*, who had been in alliance with him, was dead, he retired to *Arles*, which he made his imperial ſeat, commanded the city to be called *Conſtantina*, and ordered that the courts of judicature for ſeven provinces ſhould be held therein. He ſent for his ſon *Conſtans* out of *Spain*, that by being together they might better conſult about the affairs of ſtate, who leaving his princeſs and the furniture of his court of *Sarragoſa*, committed the charge of the government in *Spain* to *Gerontius*, ſo took his journey to his father. When they had been together ſeveral days, and there was no appearance of danger from *Italy*, *Conſtantine* giving himſelf up wholly to gluttony, adviſ'd his ſon to return into *Spain*. But the ſon having ſent away his guard and retinue before, and while he ſtaid behind with his father, news was brought from *Spain* by *Gerontius*, that *Maximus*, one of his ſervants, was advanced to the empire, and at the head of a ſtrong power of the barbarians, was preparing to invade them. Upon this alarm, *Conſtance*, with *Decimius Ruſticus*, who from maſter of the offices, was now become a preſect, having diſpatched *Edobeccus* before to the *German* nations, marched into *Gaul*, with the *Franks*, *Almans*, and other military forces, intending to return directly to *Conſtantine*. But *Conſtans* was intercepted by *Gerontius*, and put to death at *Vienne* in *Gaul*, who alſo beſieged *Conſtantine* himſelf at *Arles*. But *Honorius*, ſending one *Conſtantius* with recruits to raiſe the ſiege and repell the enemy, ſo terrified *Gerontius*, that he run away, at which his own ſoldiers thro' indignation beſet his houſe, and drove him to ſuch extremities, that firſt he beheaded his faithful friend *Alanus*, next laid violent hands upon *Nunnichia* his wife, who deſired to die with her husband, and laſt of all diſpatched himſelf.

Conſtantine, at the cloſeneſs of his confinement, and the unſucceſsful engagement of *Edobeccus* being much diſpirited, threw off the purple, after he had been beleaguer'd four months, and reigned four years; then taking him,

him the orders of prieſthood, he became an eccleſiaſtic, and having ſurrendered *Arles*, was led captive into *Italy*; where he was beheaded together with his ſon *Julian*, (ſtiled *Nobiliſſimus*) and a brother called *Sebaſtian*. From that time the government of *Britain* reverted to *Honorius*, and it flouriſhed a while under the prudence and valour of *Victorinus*, who then ruled the province, and repreſſed the excurſions of the *Picts* and *Scots*. In whoſe commendation are theſe verſes of *Rutilius Claudius* extant, ſuitable to the ingenuity of their author,

Him *Thule*, him, the vanquiſh'd ocean knows,
And thoſe vaſt fields the barb'rous *Britain* ploughs,
Where, yearly pow'r t'abuſe, the rulers fears;
Where an encreaſe of love rewards his care.
To that great part another world made known,
Yet he *both* worlds as eaſy rul'd as *one*:
'Tis nobler gentle methods there to uſe,
Where rougher means would merit an excuſe.

Rome being overcome by *Alaric*, *Victorinus*, with his army, was called home by *Honorius*, when immediately the *Britains* took up arms, and declin'd no danger that might purchaſe them ſafety, and reſcued their own ſtates from the barbarians, who waited all opportunities to over-run them. Their example was followed by the whole maritime tract of *America*, and the other provinces of *Gaul*, who alſo caſt the *Roman* governours, and form'd themſelves into diſtinct commonwealths, according to models of their own. This general revolt of *Britain*, together with the *French* provinces, happen'd in the time of *Conſtantine's* uſurpation, when the *Barbarians* taking the Advantage of his negligence, repoſſeſſed themſelves of their own territories. Nevertheleſs the *Britiſh* ſtates ſoon after ſolicited *Honorius* for aſſiſtance, who, without ſupplying them, adviſed them by letters to ſtand to their guard, and defend themſelves. The *Britains* encouraged hereat, obſerved his directions, but being unable to ſtem the torrent of oppoſition which pour'd in on every ſide, they repeated their intreaties to *Honorius*, and did obtain the reinforcement of a legion, with which they defeated a great number of the enemy, chaſed the reſt out of the borders, and caſt up an earthern rampier from *Edinburg* frith to the *Cluid*, which yet afforded them very little ſafety. For, no ſooner was the legion recall'd in defence of *Gaul*, but the barbarians came, and eaſily broke through this frontier, and with great outrage plunder'd and deſtroy'd all before them. Again, they ſent their ambaſſadors, with cloaths rent, and ſand upon their bare heads, to crave aſſiſtance of the

Romans.

Romans. At this requeſt three regiments of ſoldiers, under the conduct of *Gallio* of *Ravenna*, were by the command of *Valentinian* the third appointed to their relief; who bravely overcome the barbarians and comforted the diſtreſſed province. " They alſo raiſed a Wall in a ſtreight line (not unlike the other) " but of Stone, at the publick charge of the ſtate, and private contributi- " ons; which the inhabitants built after the uſual manner, quite croſs the coun- " try from Sea to Sea, between thoſe cities which had been caſually built " there againſt the enemy: The fearful they exhorted to courage, and left them " patterns to make them armour and weapons by. Upon the ſea coaſt alſo, " along the ſouthern tract where their ſhips lay, they built turrets and redoubts " at convenient ſpaces from each other, commanding an extenſive proſpect of " the ſea, becauſe even from that ſide they apprehended alſo the invaſion of " thoſe barbarians; and then the *Romans* took their laſt farewel, as intending " to viſit them no more" †.

Now was the ſtate of affairs every where in a miſerable and deſperate condition: The empire like a lame and decripit body, drooping under the weight of age; the church likewiſe grievouſly peſter'd with Hereticks whoſe venomous Infections ſpread ſucceſsfully amidſt the broils of war. One of theſe was named *Pelagius*, a native of this iſland; who in derogation of Gods *Grace*, taught among the *Britains*, *That perfect righteouſneſs might be attained by our own works.* One *Timothy* alſo impiouſly diſputed againſt the *divinity* and *incarnation* of our Saviour.

Now alſo did the *Roman* empire in *Britain*, arrive at its final period, in the *four hundred and ſeventy ſixth* year from the entrance of *Julius Cæſar*. And now in the reign of *Valentinian* the third, the *Roman* forces being tranſported by that *Gallio* before mention'd, for the defence of *France*, having buried their treaſures under ground, and drained *Britain* of its ſerviceable young men by frequent muſters and levies, he left her defenceleſs and to the cruel rage of *Picts* and *Scots*. Whence *Proſper Aquitanus* truly obſerves, *The ſtrength of* Britain, *was at this time totally exhauſted by reaſon of the* Roman *weakneſs*. And thus, our own hiſtorian of *Malmsbury*. " When the tyrants had left none but half- " foreigners in our fields, none but gluttons and debauchees in our cities; " *Britain* depriv'd of all protection by her vigorous young men, and the be- " nefit of the liberal arts, became expoſed for a long time to the ravenous na- " tions confining upon her: For multitudes ſoon after loſt their lives by the " inundation of *Picts* and *Scots* who burnt villages, demoliſh'd cities, and " waſted all wherever they came with fire and ſword. The iſlanders in this ex- " tremity thinking any means ſafer than a tryal by battle, partly fled for ſafety " to the mountainous countries, and partly to *Rome* for aſſiſtance, having firſt " buried their treaſures, whereof no ſmall quantity has been dug up in our age."

† *Gildas.*

But as *Nicephorus* rightly obſerv'd. " *Valentinian* the third was not only unable " to recover *Britain*, *Spain* and *France*, Provinces already rent from his Empire, " but alſo loſt *Africa* beſides." It was not without reaſon therefore *Gildas* then exclaim'd. " That *Britain* was robb'd of her military forces, her rulers " (cruel as they were) and her abundance of ſtout and couragious youths." For beſides thoſe whom that uſurper *Maximus* and the laſt *Conſtantine* detach'd away, it appears evidently by antique Inſcriptions, and the Book called *Notitia Provinciarum*, that the following companies were in the *Roman* ſervice, diſperſed over the Provinces and recruited from time to time out of *Britain*.

Ala Britannica Milliaria.
Alla IIII. Britonum in Ægypto.
Cohors prima Ælia Britonum.
Cohors III. Britonum
Cohors VII. Britonum.
Cohors XXVI. Britonum in Armenia.
Britanniciani ſub Magiſtro peditum
Invicti juniores Britanniciani } inter auxilia
Exculcatores jun. Britan: } Palatina.
Britones cum Magiſtro Equitum Galliarum.
Invicti juniores Britones intra Hiſpanias.
Britones Seniores in Illyrico.

Hence it will appear no wonder, that *Britain*, exhauſted daily with ſuch large and numerous levies, ſhou'd be expoſed to the barbarians; which confirms that obſervation of *Tacitus*. " There is no ſtrength in the *Roman* ar- " mies which they do not owe to foreign forces."

While I am writing of the *Roman* goverment in *Britain*, which continued as I ſaid, about *four* hundred ſixty ſix years; and conſider how many colonies of *Romans* muſt have been tranſplanted hither in ſo long a ſpace; what numbers of ſoldiers were continually ſhipp'd over to ſupply the garriſons; how many came over to negotiate the buſineſs of the empire or their own; and that theſe, by inter-marriages with the *Britains* ſettled themſelves here, and branched into families; *For wherever the* Roman *ſubdues*, ſays *Seneca*, *he ſeats himſelf*. I am often apt to draw concluſions; that the *Britains* might derive themſelves from the *Trojans* by theſe *Romans*, who undoubtedly deſcended from the *Trojans*, with more reaſon and right, than either the *Auvergnians*, who, from the *Trojan* blood, have claimed kindred with the *Romans*; or the *Mamertines*, *Burgundians*, and the reſt, who upon fabulous grounds have pretended the

ſame

ſame alliance. For that common mother (as one calls her) accounts all thoſe her Citizens.

Whom, conquer'd, ſhe in ſacred bands unites.

And reaſonable it is to believe that the *Britains* and *Romans*, by a mutual engraftment for ſo many ages have incorporated into one ſtock or nation; ſeeing that the *Ubii* in *Germany*, within twenty eight years after that colony was planted, where now ſtands *Colein*, reply'd, touching the *Roman* inhabitants there, "This is the proper country as well of thoſe, who being tranſported "hither or united to us by Marriage, as of their offspring. Therefore we "cannot think you ſo wicked or unreaſonable as to have us murder our own "parents, brethren and children." Now if the *Ubii* and *Romans* in ſo ſmall a time were grown to the relation of parents, brethren, and children, what ſhall we ſay of the *Britains* and *Romans* who aſſociated ſo many ages together? What alſo of the *Burgundians*, who becauſe they intermixed with the *Romans*, while they held the *Roman* provinces a little while, called themſelves their Offspring: Not to repeat what I before noted, that *Britain* has been called, the *Roman* iſland.

Thus much, clear of all Fables, have I compendiouſly gather'd, and deliver'd out of the monuments of antiquity, touching the *Roman* government in *Britain*, their lieutenants, propretors preſidents, deputies, and regents: But might more amply and accurately have perform'd it, had *Auſonius* kept his promiſe, and that devolved to us, of enumerating all thoſe who

In *Italy*, or *Britain*'s northern ſhore,
The honour'd name of *Præfects* ever bore.

But ſeeing it is agreed on by the learned, that ancient hiſtories are to be much illuſtrated out of ancient *Coins*, I have thought it proper to preſent my reader with certain pieces, as well of thoſe *Britiſh* princes who firſt ſubmitted to the *Roman* power, as of thoſe *Roman* Emperors who had a more immediate relation to this Iſland, out of the collections of that worthy Knight Sir *Robert Cotton* of *Conington*, who has gather'd them with great diligence and expence from all parts, and with no leſs courteſy and benevolence communicated them to me.

Conjectures on the BRITISH *Coins.*

SOME Remarks upon the *British* Coins here represented, will probably be expected from me; but truly what to say of things so antiquated, so obscur'd by the rust of Oblivion, I frankly declare I am at a loss. And when my reader, shall peruse these doubtful surmises, he will agree with me, that I have been groping in the dark

That the ancient *Britains* used brass money, or rings, or plates, of iron, of certain weight, I have before observed out of *Cæsar*; and there are not wanting some persons who affirm that they have seen such, dug up in little urns: Besides these, there are *Coins* of gold, silver, and brass, of different size and weight, also found in this island; most of them hollow on one side, some without inscriptions, others with them curiously impress'd; of which sort I cou'd never hear that any had been dug up elsewhere, till *Nicholas Faber de Peiresk*, a young nobleman of *Province* in *France* † greatly skill'd in the Knowledge of these antiquities, lately shewed me some of the same kind that had been found in *France*: But to come to those I have here specified.

The first is of *Cunobeline*, who flouriſh'd in the days of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*; on which, if I mistake not, is stamp'd the two-fac'd *Janus*; perhaps because even then this island began to shake off its barbarous rudeness: For we read that *Janus* was the first who reformed barbarity to a civiliz'd behaviour, and therefore was painted with two Faces, as having in effect changed one into another.

The second also is a *Cunobeline*; having his face and name on one side, and the mint-master on the other, with this inscription, TASCIA, signifying among the *Britains*, a *Tribute Penny*, as *David Powell*, excellently skill'd in their language, inform'd me; and is perhaps derived from the Latin, *Taxatio*: For the *Britains* make no use of the Letter X. and for the same reason we often see *Moneta*, upon some pieces of *Roman* money.

† More of Mr. *Camden*'s correspondence with this noble antiquary and virtuoso, may be read in the volume of his life, which was writen by *P. Gassendus*, and translated into english by Dr. *W. Rand.* 1657.

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The third is likewise of the same *Cunobeline*, with the impression of a horse, and CVNO under it; and on the reverse, an ear of corn, with the word CAMV: which seems to stand for *Camalodunum*, which was the royal seat of *Cunobeline*.

The fourth, shou'd seem by the inscription VER, to have been coin'd at *Verulam*.

The fifth again is one of *Cunobelines* Coins.

The sixth I know nothing of, being without an inscription.

The seventh is a coin of, the same *Cunobelin*'s, thus inscrib'd, TASC. NOVANEI, with a womans head one side, whether it shou'd imply a tribute-piece of the *Trinovants*, over whom he reign'd I cannot affirm: On the other side *Apollo*, with his Harp, and *Cunobelin*, reminds me of that I have elsewhere observ'd concerning the God *Belinus*, that the ancient *Gauls* worshipp'd *Apollo* under the name of *Belinus* which is confirm'd by *Dioscordes* who expresly says, that the Herb *Apollinaris* (or *Henbane*) in the juice of which the *Gauls* used to dip their arrows, was call'd by the *Gaulois*, *Belinuntia*. This encourages me to conjecture that the name of *Cunobelinus*, as also of *Cassibelinus* is originally derived from the worship of *Apollo*; as the names of *Phoebitius* and *Delphidius*; unless we shou'd rather think that as *Apollo*, for his yellow hair was called *Xanthos* in *Greek*, and *Flavus* in *Latin*, that is to say *yellow*, so he might be call'd by the *Britains* and *Gauls*, *Belin*; for that colour they call in *Welch*, *Melin*, *Belin*, and *Felin*: And for the same reason might *Belinus*, *Cunobelinus*, also named *Cassivelaunus*, be anciently so named; as much as to say *yellow princes*. For in *Wales* they tell you that *Cuno*, is a *title* of *honour*, and at this day they distinguish the quality of *principal* or *chief* by the name of *Cynoc*. And certainly that it has been a term of distinction is in a manner evident from *Cungetorix*, *Cunobelinus*, *Cuneglasus*, *Cuneda* and *Cunedagius*, the names of princes among the *Britains*, as *Cyngetorix Convictolitanus* and *Conetodunus* among the ancient *Gauls*. Nor am I ignorant that tho' *Cuneglasus* is translated by *Gildas* in Latin, *Lanio fulvus*, or *furvus*, that is a tawney or swarthy butcher whom others have interpreted a blewish or wood-colour'd prince; as they construe *Cuneda*, to signify a good prince. But that the german *Koning* and our king were derived from this word *Cuno*, I have not as yet ground enough to believe. It is sufficient for me to have sported thus far only in various conjectures, that I might not, by positive assertions, make my self the sport of others.

The eighth with a chariot-horse, and a wheel underneath, is on the reverse inscribed BODVO; and may perhaps be a coin of the nation called *Boduni* (†) or else of Queen *Bodicia*, who is otherwise called *Voadicia* and *Bunduica*.

(†) Or *Dobuni*, *Glocestershire* and *Oxfordshire*.

The

The ninth, whereon is repreſented a horſeman, with a ſpear and ſhield, and theſe Letters in a diſperſed manner, CAERATIC I ſhould imagine to be a Coin of that warlike prince *Caratacus*, ſo highly extoll'd by *Tacitus*.

The tenth having a man on Horſeback on one ſide, and under it this inſcription REX; with the word COM on the other ſide, I have fanced with ſome of my friends to be a coin of *Comius* of *Arras*, who is mention'd by *Cæſar*.

The eleventh which repreſents a little creſſent with this inſcription REX CALLE, is not much unlike the name of that moſt famous and frequented city CALLENA. (†)

The twelfth has a winged head with the word ATEVLA. And on the reverſe a lion, with this inſcription VALATOS: what the meaning of theſe words is I have ſought in vain. I have already obſerved that they named *Victory*, *Andate*, out of *Dion*, but whether that was the ſame with ANDARTA, worſhipped by the *Vocontii* in *Gaul* I leave to the judgment of others.

The thirteenth you alſo here behold, with the word DIAS, in an *Octagon*, and a horſe on the reverſe.

The fourteenth with a hog, and this inſcription VANOC. on the reverſe is the head of a goddeſs, poſſibly that of *Venus*; or elſe of *Venutius* of whom *Tacitus* ſpeaks.

The fifteenth with a head in a helmet, and this inſcription DURNACO, and whether that might be *Dumnacus* a prince of the *Anaes* whom *Cæſar* mentions I cannot reſolve.

The ſixteenth with a horſe and this word ORCETI.

The ſeventeenth with the impreſſion of *Auguſtus*, and the word TASCIA, and on the reverſe, a bull butting with his horns.

The eighteenth inſcrib'd with the word CUNO in a chaplet of Lawrel; and on the reverſe, a Horſe with the inſcription TASCE.

We have beſides ſeen another coin with a flying *Pegaſus*, and the word CAMV. and on the reverſe a mans head with a helmet, and a ſhield between ſome ears of corn; the inſcription CVNO. Another with an ill ſhaped horſe, and the word EISV. perhaps ISVRIVS, and on the back ſide an ear of corn. Alſo another repreſenting a ſoldier with a ſpear; and on the reverſe between a wreath or chain the word SOLIDV. I do not believe it is the ſame with that coin called *Solidus*, becauſe this piece was in that age always coin'd of gold, whereas this is of ſilver. Therefore it may more probably be referr'd to the *Solidurii*; for ſo the ancient *French* called thoſe who had reſolved to live and die together. The terms were theſe, that with thoſe whom they en-

(†) Or *Gallena*, *Wallingford*.

ter'd

ter'd into the league of amity, they were to participate the benefits of life in common; and if any disaster befel them, they were either to share the same fortune, or kill themselves: Nor was there any one of them who refused to die after the party was slain to whose friendship he had devoted himself. Now whether from these, those soldiers took their name, who being sworn stipendaries to any prince or state, and are call'd in most european nations, almost by the same name *soldiers, soldats, soldados*, &c. I had rather submit to the opinion of others than deliver my own; tho' I might rather conjecture, that they were in more modern times called *solidarii*, to distinguish them from such as by reason of their feudal tenures served in the wars without *pay*.

But whether all these coins passed as current money from one to another, or were at first set apart from ordinary traffick and exchange, as stamp'd on some special occasion, is a controversy among the learned: If I may interpose my opinion in a few words, 'tis this; considering *Cæsar* had settled yearly assessments upon the *Britains*, and they were farther oppressed under *Augustus*, with the payment of customs both for exporting and importing of commodities, as also that other tributes and imposts were by degrees saddled upon them; namely for *corn-ground, nurseries, groves, pasturage* of greater and lesser *cattle*; they being now in the condition of subjects and not of slaves; I have inclined to believe that those coins were at first stamp'd for these several purposes; for larger cattle with a *horse*, for smaller with a *hog*, for woods with a *tree*, and for corn-grounds with an *ear* of *corn*; as in that coin of *Verulam*, which bears the inscription VERV. As for those with the head of a man or woman, they seem to have been stamp'd for *poll-money*, which was personal, or laid upon the head of every individual subject; of women from the twelfth, and on men from the fourteenth year of their age. Which imposition *Bonduica* queen of the *Britains*, complains of to her subjects in this manner: *Ye graze and ye plough for the* Romans; *nay ye pay a yearly tax for your very bodies.* And I have thought that anciently there was a coin stamp'd peculiarly for this duty, seeing it is expressly call'd in scripture *tribute money*; and *Hesychius* interprets it, *a certain piece of money paid for every head.* And I more firmly believe this, because upon some of these coins the mintmaster himself is represented stamping them, with TASCIA, which among the *Britains* signifies a *tribute penny*. Not but I grant these came afterwards into common use. But I cannot agree with those who wou'd have the *swine*, the *horse*, the *ear*, the *Janus*, &c. to have been the distinct badges or arms of particular states, families, or princes; since we observe in the foregoing examples that one and the same prince and people, used several of them, as *Cunobeline*, who stamped his money with the horse, hog, corn, and other things.

And

And whether these tribute pieces were coined by the *Romans*, the provincials, or their kings, when the whole world was taxed by *Augustus*, I cannot readily resolve: we may suppose they were stamp'd by the *British* kings, since from *Julius Cæsar* to the reign of *Claudius*, the *Britains* used their own laws, and lived under the government of their own kings, as *Dion* tells us; and seeing withal that these coins bear the impressions and the titles of the *British* princes. For it was a received policy of state among the *Romans*, to have kings in their provinces, as the most specious instruments to betray the people into slavery; who being thus, in some measure the allies of the *Romans* conformed gradually, as a conquer'd people usually do, with their fashions, so begun, it seems, after the *Roman* manner, both to stamp coins of certain weight, and also with their names upon them: But on the contrary, in *Judea*, they were stamp'd with the emperors *image* and *inscription*, as may be gather'd from our Saviour's answer; and therefore were probably coin'd there by the *Romans* themselves; which cardinal *Baronius* a most elaborate church historian takes notice of in these words. "It was customary among the *Romans* for money to be coin'd by "the emperors according to the tribute or tax, and it was not always kept to "one valuation but rose and fell in proportion to the revenue of the said taxes, "so that these tribute pieces differ'd from the current coin, in that the value "of this was fix'd, but the tribute money increas'd or decrea'd with the tri-"bute itself." But divers learned men differ herein from that author.

Conjectures on the ROMAN *Coins.*

CLaudius was the first emperor after *Julius Cæsar* who apply'd himself in earnest to the conquest of *Britain*; and he having crossed the seas with an army reduced the southern parts of the island into a province; about which time the first piece (in this table of the *Roman* coins) seems to have been stamp'd, bearing this contracted inscription TI CLAVD. CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. VIII. IMP XVI. that is to say; *Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate* 8. *Imperator* 16. calling him, *The high priest, who had held the tribunes authority eight times, and been saluted,* Imperator, *sixteen.* But to explain these titles once for all, know that after *Julius Cæsar* who laid the foundation of the *Roman* empire; and *Octavius*, who was honour'd with the name of *Augustus*, all their successors, in honour of them assumed the title of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, as if they were above the level of human nature, for things that are sacred were called *August*. They were also called *high priest*, because they were consecrated to all degrees of the priesthood, and had the supervisal of all religious ceremonies. They

took upon them alſo the *tribunitian* authority every year, tho' they would not take the name, that their perſons might be preſerved more inviolable; for being inveſted with this authority, any one who gave either opprobious language or offered other violence to them, might without proofs be ſlain as a ſacrilegious perſon: And this tribunitian power they renewed *triennially*; and thereby alſo computed the years of their reign. Laſtly, they were ſtiled *imperatores* from the extenſiveneſs of their authority; that name comprehending both the power of kings and dictators: And this title was renewed to them, as often as they atchieved any gallant exploit either in perſon or by their generals. But as there is on the reverſe of this coin a triumphal arch, with a horſeman thereon, between two trophies and this title DE BRITAN. I ſhould judge that thereby 'tis to be underſtood two victories obtain'd in the ninth year of *Claudius*, according to the number that ſhews the renewal of his *tribunitian* authority.

In the ſecond piece which is alſo a coin of *Claudius* the emperor we learn, from this inſcription, TI. CLAVD. CAES. AVG. GER. TR. P. XII. IMP. XIIX. That, in the twelfth year of his reign he was, for his ſucceſs in *Britain*, ſaluted imperator the eighteenth time. And the husbandman with the Cow and the bull, inform us at the ſame time, that a colony was planted in *Camalodunum*. "The *Romans* (ſays *Servius*) when they were about to build a "city being clad after the *Gabine* faſhion (with one part of their gown co-"vering the head, and the other tuck'd up) yoked on the right hand a "bull and a cow on the inner ſide, ſo, guiding the crooked Plough tail, that "all the earth might fall inwards and having drawn the furrow, ſet out the "places for walls, lifting up the Plough-ſhare, and diſcontinuing the tract "where the gates were to be erected."

The third coin, with *Greek* characters is of *Claudius* his Son, who by an act of the ſenate was honoured with the name of BRITANNICUS, as peculiar to himſelf in reſpect to his Fathers proſperous wars. It was he, for whom *Seneca* "prayed. That he might appeaſe *Germany*, make a full diſcovery of *Bri-*"*tain*, maintain his fathers triumphs, and encreaſe them with new ones of "his own." But I cannot reſolve what ſhould be the meaning of a half ſhip in this coin, with this inſcription. *The metropolis of king* Etiminius: For I cannot affirm who this king was, unleſs we ſhould ſuppoſe him to be that *Adiminius* the ſon of king *Cunobeline*, who revolted to *Caligula*, according to the teſtimony of *Suetonius*.

The fourth piece is *Adrian*'s, with this inſcription HADRIANVS. AVG. CONSEL III. PATER PATRIAE. And on the reverſe EXERCITVS BRITANNICVS, the *Britiſh army*; repreſented by three ſoldiers, by which I imagine were ſignified the three legions, named *ſecunda Auguſta*, *Sexta*

victrix, and *Viceſima victrix*, which ſerved in *Britain* in the hundred and twentieth year of Chriſt; for then he was third time conſul.

The fifth and ſixth which are the coins of *Antonius Pius*; with this inſcription, ANTONIUS AVG. PIVS. P. P. TR. P. COS. III. On the reverſe of the one is *Britain* ſitting upon Rocks with a banner, ſpear and ſhield: On the reverſe of the other, is the ſame *Britain* ſitting on a globe. Theſe ſeem to have been ſtamp'd by the province of *Britain* in honour of *Antonius Pius*, when he began his reign in the year of Chriſt one hundred forty, as for that military habit in which the province of *Britain* is attir'd it ſignifies that at that time it flouriſh'd in martial diſcipline; like that piece of money which *Italy* at the ſame time ſtamped in honour of him; which has ſuch another figure ſitting upon a globe with a *Cornucopia*, betokening plenty of all things. That which was coined alſo in *Sicily*, has the like figure, with an ear of corn, in token of fruitfulneſs. In the ſame manner that ſtamp'd at *Mauritania* has a perſon holding two ſpears, with a horſe to ſhew the glory of that Province in chivalry. Hitherto alſo is to be referr'd the ninth, which is a piece of the ſame *Antonius*, but not ſet in its due place.

The ſeventh, which is of *Commodus*, imports no more than that for a victory of his over the *Britains*, he aſſumed the title of BRITANNICUS, for on the reverſe is to be ſeen *Victory*, with a branch of the palm-tree, holding a ſhield, and ſitting upon the ſhield of the vanquiſh'd *Britains*, with this inſcription VICTORI A. BRITANNICA.

The eighth, which is a coin of *Caracalla*, and here miſplac'd, ſhews more expreſly by the numerical figures, that he conquer'd his *Britiſh* enemies in the year of Chriſt two hundred fourteen. And this alſo appears by the trophy which *Virgil* has in theſe verſes better delineated than any engraver can do.

He bar'd an ancient oak of all her Boughs:
Then on a riſing ground the trunk he plac'd,
Which with the ſpoils of his dead foe he grac'd:
The coat of arms by proud *Mezentius* worn,
Now on a naked ſnag in triumph borne
Was hung on high; and glitter'd from afar,
A Trophy ſacred to the God of war:
Above, his arms, fix'd on the leafleſs wood,
Appear'd his plumy creſt, beſmear'd with blood:
His brazen buckler on the left was ſeen;
Trunchions of ſhiver'd Lances hung between.

DRYDEN.

The ſame obſervations may be made of the twelfth; which is alſo a coin of the ſame *Caracolla's*.

In the two preceeding coins of *Severus* and *Geta*, there is no obſcurity.

But (who in the thirteenth,) that *Ælian* was, I am not yet reſolv'd. Some believe him to be *A. Pomponius Ælianus*, one of the thirty tyrants; others will have him to be *Cl. Ælianus*, one of the ſix tyrants under *Dioclesian*, and there are alſo thoſe who think him to be that ſame tyrant or uſurper in *Britain* under the emperor *Probus*, whom *Zoſimus* mentions, but without any name, and of whom I have before ſpoken. But whenever he flouriſh'd, I think we may ſuppoſe that he was called *Auguſtus* in *Britain*, ſince his coins are found only in this iſland, and thus inſcrib'd IMPERATOR CL. AELIANVS PIUS FOELIX AGVSTVS. In the reverſe may be read VICTORIA AVGVSTI, implying his conqueſt over ſome barbarians.

The fourteenth coin, of *Carauſius*, with this inſcription IMPERATOR CAIVS CARAVSIVS PIVS FOELIX AVGVSTVS, and on the reverſe PAX AVGVSTI, ſeems to have been ſtamp'd after he had clear'd the *Britiſh* ſeas of pirates.

The fifteenth, was ſtamped by *Allectus*, who having put *Carauſius* to death, aſſumed the imperial purple, and fought valiantly againſt the *Britains*. 'Tis inſcribed VIRTVS AVGVSTI, as for the Letters *Q. L.* Some would have them to ſignify a kind of coin ſtamp'd, at *London*, call'd *Quartarius*; others a *Quæſtor*, or treaſurer of *London*.

The ſixteenth was coin'd in honour to the memory of *Conſtantius Chlorus*, who died at *York*, and was ſolemnly deified after the pagan manner; which is manifeſt from the inſcription, and the temple (or altar) between two eagles. The letters underneath, P. LON ſhew that the money was ſtamp'd at *London*.

The ſeventeenth was coin'd at *Triers*, as appears by the letters, S. TR. in honour of *Flavia Helena*, a *Britiſh* Lady, as our hiſtorians atteſt, and the excellent *Baronius* confirms; after her ſon *Conſtantine* the great had routed the emperor *Maxentius*, and been ſtiled the *founder of peace*, and *deliverer of the world*.

The eighteenth was ſtamp'd at *Conſtantinople*, by *Flavius Conſtantinus Maximus Auguſtus*, the great ornament of *Britain*, as we are taught by theſe characters underneath CONSA. and GLORIA EXERCITVS: *The glory of the army*, in order to ingratiate himſelf therewith, in whom, and not in the Emperor, was the diſpoſal of the empire in thoſe days.

The nineteenth was ſtamp'd by *Conſtantine* the younger, ſon of that *Conſtantine* the great, to whom *Britain* fell among other Provinces; his father was then alive; for he is only ſtiled *Nobilis Cæſar*, a title given to the Heirs apparent of the empire, we may gather from the building repreſented thereon and the words PROVIDENTIAE CAES, that he and his brother built ſome public edefice; as, alſo that, from P. LON that it was coin'd at *London*.

The twentieth, inſcrib'd with DOMINUS NOSTER MAGNENTIUS PIUS FOELIX AUGUSTUS, ſeems to have been coin'd by *Magnentius* who was the ſon of a *Britain*, to win the favour of *Conſtantine* after he had diſpers'd ſome publick enemy: For theſe characters D.D. N.N. AVGG. ſignifying *our* LORDS AUGUSTI, argue there were then two emperors, and as for that inſcription VOTIS V. MULTIS X. it imports that the people in thoſe times ſolemnly pray'd, *That the emperor might flouriſh five years*; and multiplying that number with great acclamations wiſh'd him many *ten years*. And this is further explain'd by that paſſage in the panegyrick of *Nazarus*. "The "*Quinquennial* feaſts and ſolemnities of the moſt happy *Cæſar* wholly poſ- "ſeſs our hearts with joy; but in the appointed revolution of ten years our "eager vows, and hopes are at a ſtand." The letters P.AR. denote that this *Denier* was coined at *Arelate*.

The twenty firſt was coined by *Conſtantius*, upon his defeat of *Magnentius*, and recovery of *Britain*, in honour of his army. The Letter *R.* in the baſis, probably ſhews it came out of the mint at *Rome*.

The twenty ſecond was coin'd at *Antioch*, as may be gather'd out of the ſmall characters underneath in honour of *Valentinian*, after he had reſtored the ruinous State of *Britain*, and called the part he recover'd from his own name, *Valentia*.

To the twenty third coin of *Gratians* I can recollect nothing more to ſay, but that which I lately ſaid on that of *Magnentius*.

The twenty fourth and twenty fifth, were coin'd to grace and honour the ſoldiers when *Magnus Maximus* was created *Auguſtus* by the *Britiſh* army, and when his ſon *Flavius Victor* was likewiſe named *Cæſar*. And the next was ſtamp'd by *Theodoſius*, with VIRTVTE EXERCITVS, after he had diſpatch'd thoſe two out of the way.

In the twenty ſeventh, which as a golden piece of *Honorius*, there is nothing obſervable, but that from AVGGG. there were three emperors at the ſame time; which was after the year four hundred and twenty, when *Honorius* reign'd as emperor in the weſt, *Theodoſius* the younger in the eaſt, and *Conſtantius* who had vanquiſh'd our *Conſtantine*, and was nominated emperor by *Honorius*, for the ſake of his propitious name. As for the inſcription CONOB; it ſignifies that it was pure gold, ſtamp'd at *Conſtantinople*: For that inſcription is never read upon any coins, as far as my curioſity has led me, but ſuch as are of gold.

I could add a great many other *Roman* coins; for infinite numbers there are to be met with here in the ruins of demoliſh'd cities, coffers and vaults, vaſes and funeral urns: And how they ſhould remain in this plenty at this time of day has been a matter of ſome ſurpriſe to me; till I read that the melting down of ſuch ancient monies was prohibited by the *imperial conſtitutions*.

Having

Having thus repreſented theſe antique pieces in their proper figures, it may further redound to the readers inſtruction, a chronographical table or map of *Britain*, according to its diviſion while it was a *Roman* province and the ſeveral parts diſtinguiſh'd by *Roman* names: And tho' ſuch a repreſentation now muſt needs be imperfect, for who is now able to make one compleat? yet ſuch a one, as may inſtruct mankind, if nothing more at leaſt that in this orb of matter, there are daily great mutations and viciſſitudes; new foundations of cities laid, new names to nations given, and the old ones totally buried. So that, as the Poet ſays,

Why ſhou'd vain man repine at fates decree?
Since towns and cities die as well as he.



The

The Deſtruction of BRITAIN.

BRITAIN being now abandon'd by the *Roman* forces, the whole ſtate fell into utter confuſion and calamity, partly thro' the invaſions of barbarous nations on one ſide, and partly thro' the inteſtine tumults on the other; whilſt every one was uſurping the ſupream government. " In this dreadful condition as *Ni-*
" *nius* obſerves, they lived about forty years. For *Vortigern*
" their king, was under apprehenſions of expulſions from the *Picts* and *Scots*;
" under much vexation from the remaining *Romans*, and no leſs in fear of *Am-*
" *broſius Aurelius*, or *Aurelianus*, who ſurvived the turbulent conflicts, in
" which his royal parents were ſlain." Hereupon the *Saxons*, whom *Vortigern* had called out of *Germany* to his aid, who inſtead of auxiliaries became invaders, and after the various events of a tedious war, wholly diſpoſeſs'd the wretched *Britains* of the moſt fruitful part of the Iſland, their ancient inheritance.

But this lamentable downfall of *Britain* ſhall be deſcribed, or rather deplored in the melancholy colours of *Gildas* the *Britain*, who lived but a little while after. (†) " The *Romans* being return'd into their own country, there
" poured out of their *carroghs* or leathern boats, from the *Iriſh* ſea, a hide-
" ous ſhoal of *Picts* and *Scots*, like a dusky ſwarm of vermin out of their neſts,
" to overſpread the land; differing in manners and conditions ſomething from
" each other, but alike thirſty after blood. Theſe finding the *Romans* their
" old confederates, departed, and reſolved to return no more, grew more au-
" dacious, and ſeiz'd upon all the northern and remoter parts of the Iſland to
" the very wall, as their own native country. In oppoſition to them, the Towers
" along the wall were garriſon'd, but by idle, undiſciplin'd, and cowardly forces,
" to withſtand ſuch an invaſion. In the mean time the naked enemy approach'd
" the wall, with their hooked weapons and engines, tearing down the miſerable
" and unactive guards of it, and daſhing them againſt the ground. Yet they who
" were thus ſuddenly ſlain had the advantage of eſcaping the lingering tor-
" tures which befel their brethren and children. For in ſhort, quitting their
" forts and walls, they betook themſelves to flight and were diſpers'd into a

(†) This *Gildas* is in ſome M. S. Copies in *France* called *Qurculus*, as our author had it from the famous *Barnaby Briſon*.

more

more deſperate diſorder than ever; the enemy ſtill purſuing and cruelly encreaſing with their ſteps, mangling and quartering the woeful inhabitants, with all the bloody butchery of the ſhambles and their abode, among them might be compar'd to the ravage of wild beaſts. For the wretched inhabitants themſelves, were driven to plunder one another for preſent ſuſtenance; whereby domeſtic diſſentions were made to enhance their ſufferings from abroad, and the whole country was reduced to ſuch extremity that the common ſupports of life failing, they had no other means left than the precarious and penurious relief of hunting. Hereupon the diſtreſſed *Britains* ſent once more their miſſive letters to *Ætius*, a powerful man in the *Roman* ſtate to this effect.

To ÆTIUS, *thrice Conſul.*

THE GROANS OF THE BRITAINS.

The barbarians drive us to the ſea, the ſea again to the barbarians: Thus between two deaths, we periſh; either by ſword, or by water.

" Notwithſtanding this addreſs they obtained no relief, but in the mean time a raging famine aggravated the afflictions of this diſconſolate People, in their wandering and forlorn condition which compell'd them to ſurrender themſelves to their cruel enemy, in hopes of a little food to refreſh nature; tho' ſome among them, the meagre face of that terrible tyrant could not frighten to compliance, but they maintained an undaunted reſiſtance againſt them, wherever they met, from mountains, caves and thickets. In theſe beginnings repoſing their truſt, not in man, but in God, according to that ſaying of *Philo. The help of God is at hand, when man's fail*; they repulſed the enemy with great ſlaughter and ſucceſs for many years together, while they were here ſpoiling and plundering the land, ſo that the inſolence of our enemies ceaſed for ſome time, but the wickedneſs which took place in our country was without end: The enemy I ſay retired from the people, but the people did not relinquiſh their vices. *For it was ever uſual with this nation, as it is at this day, to ſhew our ſelves leſs valiant and invincible againſt our enemies than in civil diſcords, againſt one another; and to bear the burden of foreign iniquities with leſs reluctance than of our own.* Well then, theſe ſhameleſs and ravenous *Iriſh* robbers retire home, with intention ſhortly to return: The *Picts* in the remoteſt parts of the Iſland, henceforth began to remain unmoleſted; And in this ceſſation of hoſtilities, the wounds of famine among the deſolate *Britains*, began to heal up while

" thoſe of a more dangerous nature broke out and lay feſtering in the whole bo-
" dy of the community; for during the forbearance of theſe inrodes, the kingdom
" grew to ſuch exceſſive plenty as was never known before; and that is ever
" attended with debauchery, which grew to ſuch a head, that it might be truly
" ſaid: Here is certainly ſuch fornication as is not to be heard of among the
" *Gentiles*: Nor was this the only prevailing ſin, but all other vices reigned in
" them which are incident to human nature, and eſpecially, (what at this very
" day overturns all goodneſs) an antipathy to truth and its teachers, an affe-
" ction for lies and the forgers of them, an inclination to evil inſtead of good,
" a veneration for vice inſtead of virtue, deſire of darkneſs rather than the
" day, and a reception of Satan rather than an angel of light. Their kings
" were not anointed by God, but choſen from ſuch as were moſt inhuman a-
" mong men; and ſoon after deſtroy'd by their own electors without trial, and
" others more unworthy elected in their room. If any one of theſe kings diſco-
" ver'd more clemency or juſtice than others in his government, all the darts of
" their malice were levell'd at him, as the ſubverter of his country. They made
" no difference where they took diſpleaſure; and all things were weight in the
" ſame ſcale; only, laudable proceedings ever wrought diſcontent; ſo that the
" prophecy denounced of old againſt *Iſrael*, might well be apply'd to them.
" *Ah! ſinful nation ye have forſaken the Lord, ye have provoked the holy one of*
" *Iſrael to anger: why ſhou'd you be ſmitten any more; ye will revolt more and*
" *more, the whole head is ſick, and the whole heart faint: From the ſole of the foot,*
" *even to the head there is no ſoundneſs in it.* Thus did they act in oppoſition to
" their own ſafety as if no cure was beſtow'd upon the world by the mighty phy-
" ſician of us all. Nor was this the demeanor of the laity only, but of the clergy
" and paſtors! Whoſe examples ſhould be a guide to others. Multitudes of
" of them perfect ſots, ſwoln with pride, and obſtinacy, full of contention, envy
" and acrimony, and incompetent judges of good and evil: So that, as in
" theſe days, the princes were diſpis'd and the people left to the ſeduction of
" their own vanities and errors; till at laſt God, intending to purge his Fa-
" mily, and cure it of theſe corruptions, by the winged progreſs, as one might
" ſay, of a headleſs rumour, pierced the apprehenſive ears of all men, with
" an alarm of their old enemy returning, after their wonted manner, to deſtroy
" them, and poſſeſs themſelves of their country from end to end. But even at
" this, they remained impenitent; and like mad horſes refuſing the rein of rea-
" ſon, they ran wild up and down the high-way of wickedneſs, and ſhun'd
" the narrow road that leads to ſalvation. Wherefore, as *Solomon* ſays, when
" the ſtubborn ſervant is not reformed with words, he is whipp'd for a fool,
" and feels not the correction. For lo, a plague fell ſo heavily upon this fool-
" iſh

" iſh people that it brought a great mortality among them, and without the
" help of the ſword, ſwept ſuch multitudes away, that the living were not a-
" ble to bury the dead. Nor yet did this judgment convert them; ſo that
" the ſaying of the prophet *Iſaiah*, might be alſo fulfill'd in them. *And God*
" *call'd them to weeping and mourning, to baldneſs and ſackcloath; but be-*
" *hold they fell to the killing of calves and ſlaying of Rams; behold, to eating*
" *of fleſh, and drinking of wine; and ſaying, let us eat and drink, for to*
" *morrow we die.* For the time drew near wherein the meaſure of their ini-
" quities, like thoſe of the *Amorites* was to be full. They took counſel, for
" the beſt expedients to repreſs the invaſions of their enemies aforeſaid, and how
" the Booties they took ſhou'd be diſpos'd of; then the whole council, toge-
" ther with the proud tyrant himſelf, being infatuated, reſolved upon this
" protection or rather diſtruction of their country: That the cruel and execra-
" ble *Saxons*, deteſtable to God and man, ſhould be invited over into the
" iſland, as if they were to let ſo many wolves into a ſheepfold, to repel truc-
" ly the northern enemy; than which a project more pernicious was never
" put into practice in this nation. Oh! clouded underſtandings! Oh! in-
" ſtupidity! Thoſe, whom even at a diſtance they dreaded more than death,
" theſe fooliſh *Egyptian* princes, as I may ſay, voluntarily harbour'd under
" their very roof; giving mad counſel to *Pharaoh*.

" Then ruſh'd out, as from the den of a hungry lioneſs, a kennel of whelps,
" in three veſſels upon us, called in their language *Cyules*, or long gallies un-
" der full ſail, ſwell'd out with auſpicious auguries, whereby they preſaged to
" themſelves a three hundred years poſſeſſion of this land, as their own; and
" that for half that ſpace, they ſhould batten in the ravage and ſpoil of it.
" Theſe firſt landing in the eaſtern parts of the iſland, by the direction of this
" unhappy tyrant, ſtuck faſt there, pretending the defence, but deſigning the
" deſtruction thereof. The *German* Dam aforeſaid, hearing that her firſt
" litter thriv'd, pour'd in a larger herd of theſe ravenous animals; which ar-
" riving united with the former miſchievous brood. From hence the ſeeds of
" iniquity, the *tap-root* of our affliction, thoſe plaguy, but juſt rewards of our
" impieties, bud, leaf and branch, throughout our ſoil, with ſuch horrible
" encreaſe. Theſe barbarous foreigners thus admitted into the iſland obtain'd
" allowance of proviſions and pay, as ſuch who came for the guard and
" defence, as it was treacherouſly pretended, of a people that gave them
" ſuch hoſpitable quarters. And this favour did ſtop the curs mouth, as
" we ſay, for a while: But it was not long before they complain'd as a
" colour or a quarrel, of the retrenchment, or deficiency of their monthly wa-
" ges, and threatned that unleſs they diſtinguiſh'd them with a more liberal
" ſubſiſtance, they would ſtrain upon the league, and help themſelves; ſo with-

" out tarrying for an anſwer, made their words good, (for the cauſes which
" had drawn down vengeance upon us were encreas'd.) As far as the ſea would
" ſuffer it, this poor land was ſet a blazing by that eaſtern rabble, who ceaſed
" not to conſume the cities and country around them, till the whole ſurface
" of the iſland as far as the weſtern ocean was laid in aſhes by the ſpreading
" deſtruction. In this devaſtation, not inferior to that of the *Aſſyrians* here-
" tofore, againſt *Juda*, was fulfill'd (according to the hiſtory) that which
" the prophet by way of lamentation ſays. *They have burnt the ſanctuary*
" *with fire, they have polluted the tabernacle of thy name in the land.* And
" again, *O! God the heathen are come into thine inheritance, thy holy temple*
" *hath been defil'd*, &c. ſo that all the colonies were overturn'd with engines,
" and all the inhabitants, together with the biſhops prieſts and people, fell by
" fire on one ſide, or ſword on the other. In this deplorable proſpect one
" might behold the ruins of towers pull'd down in the ſtreets, with their
" ſtately gates; alſo of high walls rent from their ſacred altars, and the
" limbs of human carcaſſes and clods of blood, cruſh'd as it were in a wine-
" preſs, and huddled together in one promiſcuous ruin; for there was no o-
" other ſepulture of the dead bodies, than what the fall of lofty build-
" ings, or the bowels of hungry animals gave them.

In reading over this narration, let us not be diſpleaſed with honeſt *Gildas* for inveighing with ſuch ſeverity either againſt the vices of his countrymen the *Britains*; againſt the inhuman outrages of the *Picts* and *Scots*, or the inſatiable cruelty of our *Saxon* anceſtors: But ſince ſo many ages ſucceſſively we have, by engraftings and commixtures, become one nation, and been civiliz'd by religion and the ſtudies of humanity, let us reflect upon what they were, and what our ſelves ought to be; leſt God inſenced likewiſe by our ſins, ſhould either root us out, and reſign our country wholly to Foreigners, or by incorporating them with, ſuffer them to enſlave us.

Britain

Britains of ARMORICA.

IN theſe miſerable and mournful times, " ſome of the poor re-
" maining *Britains*, who were found in the mountains were
" maſſacreed in great numbers: Some, almoſt devour'd by fa-
" mine, ſurrender'd themſelves to perpetual bondage, on con-
" dition they might not be kill'd out of hand, which was to
" be taken for a ſpecial grace: Others fled over ſeas, ſinging
" under ſail, in *plaintive* notes, (inſtead of the mariners joyful *ſhout*) *thou*
" *haſt given us, O Lord, as ſheep to the ſlaughter, and ſcatter'd us among the*
" *heathen*. Others again, continued in their native country, but in continual
" fear, betaking themſelves to the intrenchments of mountains and precipices
" to the coverts of woods, and cavities of rocks" (*). Among thoſe who paſ-
" ſed the ſeas, were doubtleſs thoſe who for their ſafety went over in great
" numbers to *Armorica* (†) in *France*, and were amicably received by thoſe
people. This is ſufficiently proved, not only from the community of language with that of the *Welch*, and the concurrent teſtimony of other authors, but more particularly from that writer of St. *Wingualoſ*, the confeſſor's life; who lived neareſt that age, and was an *Armorican* by birth; and who ſays, " That
" a race of *Britains*, embark'd in little boats, and tranſported themſelves o-
" ver the *Britiſh* ſea to this land; their native country being poſſeſſed by the
" rude and barbarous *Saxons*: Then this dear offspring concealed themſelves
" in this ſecret corner, where after having been wearied and worried by their
" enemies they continued in peace and quietneſs." Not but according to our hiſtorians, the *Britains*, had been ſeated on that coaſt long before: For *Malmsbury* informs us, " *Conſtantine* the Great, having been ſaluted emperor
" by the army, and proclaimed an expedition into the upper lands, brought
" away with him many *Britiſh* ſoldiers, thro' whoſe gallant ſervices having
" obtain'd the empire after many notible victories, he planted ſuch as were
" paſt ſervice, in that part of *Gaul*, which lies weſtward upon the very ſea
" ſhore, whoſe poſterity at this day remaining incorporated with the natives
" are grown very populous, and but little alter'd in manners and language
" from other *Britains*." And this was an order of *Conſtantine* the emperor:

(*) *Gildas.* (†) *Bretagne* or little *Britain.*

" That the *Veterans* ſhould enter upon the untenanted lands, and hold them free " for ever. (†)" And *Ninnius* alſo to this purpoſe. *Maximus* the emperor " who ſlew *Gratian*, would not ſend home theſe ſoldiers which he had levied " out of *Britain*, but divided many countries among them, from the lake a- " bove mount *Jovis*, to the city of *Cantguic*, and to the weſtern worlds of " *Cruc-Occhidient.*" And the author of the brief annotations upon *Ninnius* fabulouſly adds." " That the *Armorican Britains* beyond ſea, accompany- " ing *Maximus* the tyrant in his expedition, when they could not return, " laid waſte their weſtern parts of *France*; and taking their wives and " daughters to marriage, cut out all their tongues, leſt the ſucceeding gene- " ration ſhould learn their language, whereupon we alſo call them in our " tongue *Lhet-vydion*, that is, half ſilent, or tongue-tied, becauſe they ſpeak " confuſedly." I cannot confute the authority of theſe writers; nay, am even of opinion that the progeny of thoſe veterans were thoſe who received the *Britains* that fled out of that country. Nevertheleſs the very name of *Britain*, in this tract, does not appear in all the writers of that age, before ſuch time as the *Saxons* came into our *Britain*, except thoſe whom *Pliny* ſeems to place in *Picardy*, and who in ſome copies are call'd *Brinani*: For if any ſhould fancy with *Volaterranus* out of the fourth Book of *Strabo*'s geography, that *Britain* was a city of *Gaul*, let him but examine this authors original *Greek*, and he will ſoon perceive that he ſpeaks of the iſland of *Britain*, and not of a city. As for that verſe out of *Dionyſius Afer*, which I have already recited, ſome would rather underſtand it with *Stephanus* of our *Britains*, than with *Euſtathius*, of the *Armoricans*, eſpecially ſince it has been tranſlated by *Feſtus*, a writer of good antiquity, in this manner.

Where *Britain*, the north wind, too near, offends;
And fair hair'd *German*'s coaſt her front extends.

Nor ſhould any one think that *Britanniciani* mention'd in the Book called *Notitia* came from hence; they being only certain troops of ſoldiers who were muſter'd out of *Britain*.

Before our *Britains* arrived there, this country was called *Armorica*, that is, *bordering upon the ſea*; and from thence, afterwards to the ſame ſenſe, in our *Britiſh* tongue *Llydaw*; and thence in *Latin*, by our writers living in the middle age *Letavia*: From whence I ſuppoſe theſe to be the *Leti*, whom *Zoſimus* ſpeaks of in *Gaul*, when he obſerves that *Magnentius* the tyrant was born among the *Leti* in that country, and that he was the ſon of a *Britain*

(†) *Theod. lib.* 7. *Tit.* 20.

Theſe

Theſe *Armoricans*, in the reign of *Conſtantine*, who was choſen for the omen of his name, and when the barbarians, overrunning *France*, expell'd the *Roman* garriſon; ſettled themſelves into a commonwealth. But the younger *Valentius*, by the aſſiſtance of *Ætius*, and the ſollicitation of St. *German*, reduced them to ſubjection. At which very time it ſeems they were govern'd by that *Exuperantius* of whom *Claudius Rutilius* has thus written.

Where the ſea coaſt *Exuperantius* ſways,
Who after wars, the charms of peace diſplays
Reſtores the laws, ſweet liberty retrives,
And ſuffers none to be his ſervants ſlaves.

From which verſes I know not but *Ægidius Maſerius* might conclude, that the *Britains* were in a ſtate of ſervitude under the *Armoricans*, and retrieved their freedom by force. The firſt notice that I have met with of the *Britains* in *Armorica*, was in the year four hundred ſixty one, about thirty years after the *Anglo-Saxons*, were call'd out of *Germany* into this iſland; for then *Mianſuetus* a *Britiſh* prelate, among other biſhops of *France* and *Armorica*, ſubſcrib'd the firſt councel of *Tours*. Nine years after, theſe new inhabitants of *France*, ſeeing the weſt *Goths* ſeize upon the moſt fruitful territories of *Anjou* and *Poictu*, oppoſed them, and prevented the *Goths* from poſſeſſing themſelves of *France*. For they ſided with *Anthemius*, the *Roman* emperor, againſt the *Goths*, inſomuch that *Arvandus* was condemn'd of high treaſon, becauſe in his letters to the king of the *Goths*, he had given counſel to attack the *Britains*, ſeated upon the river *Loire*, and to divide *France* between the *Goths* and *Burgundians*. Theſe *Britains* were a kind of people witty and ſubtil, warlike, ſeditious, and obſtinate by reaſon of their valour, number and allies; as *Sidonius Appollinaris* complains of them to his friend *Riothimus*, for ſo himſelf names him, (tho' *Jornandes* calls him king of the *Britains*) who being afterwards ſent for by *Anthemius*, came with a power of twelve thouſand men to aid the *Romans*, but before they joyn'd he was with his ſaid forces vanquiſh'd in open field by the *Goths*, and fled to the *Burgundians*, who were in confederacy with the *Romans*. From that time the *Armoricans* being gradually ſubdued, the name of the *Britains*, in thoſe parts, where they were newly ſeated, grew ſo prevalent, that the generality of the inhabitants came by little and little to be ſo called; thus came alſo the whole tract itſelf, to be called *Britannia Armorica*; and by the *Franks*, *Britannia Ciſmarina* or *Britain, on the ſea ſide*, hence *J. Scaliger*.

Bold *Britain* the *Armoricans* o'ercame;
And with her yoke, impos'd her ancient name.

For

For that they turn'd their weapons upon the friends who had given them ſanctuary, is evident among other authorities, from theſe words of *Regalis* biſhop of *Vennes*, concerning himſelf, and countrymen; *We are captives to the* Britains, *and live under a grievous yoke.* In after times they courageouſly maintain'd their lives and liberties againſt the *Franks*; firſt under the petty princes, afterwards under Counts and Dukes. However, *Glaber Rodolphus* writes, " Their whole wealth conſiſted in their immunities from tribute, and their " plenty of milk." And hereupon *William* of *Malmsbury*, who wrote five hundred years ago, ſpeaks thus of them. " A very indigent people they are " at *home*, therefore live upon foreign contributions, and the ſweat of their " brow. For good pay, they refuſe not to ſerve in civil wars, even againſt " one another, without either regard to the juſtice of the cauſe, or natural " diſſwaſion of conſanguinity, but are ſo mercinary as to be ſway'd wholly by " intereſt, and won over to any ſide by the faireſt offer."

Britains of WALES *and* CORNWALL.

THE remainder of theſe miſerable *Britains*, who were driven to ſeek a country in that which was native to them, were overwhelmed with ſuch calamities as are not to be deſcrib'd; being not only externally haraſſed by the *Saxons*, *Picts*, and *Scots*, but oppreſs'd beſides in every part, with *Domeſtic* tyrants. Now, who, and what theſe tyrants were about the year five hundred, you ſhall ſuccinctly hear out of *Gildas*, who lived at that time and was himſelf an eye witneſs of them.

" *Conſtantine*, a tyrant among the *Devonians*, tho' he had ſolemnly ſworn " before God and his ſaints, that he wou'd execute the office of a juſt prince: " Yet ſlew two children of the blood royal with their preceptors, two brave " men, in two ſeveral churches under the ſacred *Amphibulus* (†) of an Ab- " bot; having many years before put away his lawful wife, and defiled himſelf " with many foul adulteries."

" *Aurelius Conanus*, wallowing in the mire of *Parricides* and adulteries, and " hating the peace of his country, was contemptibly abandon'd, as a wither'd " tree, that could give no ſhelter, his father and brothers, borne away by the " hurricanes of their own wild and whimſical follies were ſurpriſed by untime- " ly death.

" *Vortiporius* a tyrant of *South-wales*, the unworthy ſon of a virtuous fa- " ther: Savage as the panther in his manners, and as variably ſtain'd and " ſpotted with his ſins; reigning in his gray heirs full of craft and deceit, and

(†) *Amphibulus* was a ſacred robe or veſture, hairy on both ſides, as an old Gloſſ[illegible] our author had ſeen interprets it.

" polluted with parricides and adulteries caſt off his wife, raviſh'd her daugh-
" ter, then took away her Life.

" *Cunneglaſus*, in the *Roman* tongue ſignifying a *tawny butcher*: was both
" a bear, riding upon many, and the driver of the chariot it is in: A ſcorner
" of God, a ſcourge to the clergy: fighting againſt God with wickedneſs,
" againſt men with weapons: He turn'd off his wife, and perſecuted the ſaints,
" He centred his conceit in his own wiſdom, and his confidence in his own
" riches.

" *Maglocunus*, that dragon of the iſles, who had depoſed kings both of
" their crowns and their lives; as he was the foremoſt, ſo the moſt forward
" and effectual in miſchief; he gave moſt prodigally, ſinned moſt enormouſly,
" fought moſt ſtoutly; was moſt eminent of all the *Britiſh* potentates as in
" extent of dominion, ſo in ſtature and graceſulneſs of perſon. In his youth-
" ful days, he brought his royal uncle to deſtruction by fire and ſword,
" with many of his valiant attendants. After that violent, thirſt of ſove-
" reignty was allay'd, he was ſtruck with ſuch a qualm of conſcience, that
" he took upon him the profeſſion of a monk, but relapſing, he broke
" his monaſtic vow, as well as that of his firſt marriage, and fell in love with
" his nephew's wife while he was living. This nephew and his own wife after
" he had cohabited ſome time with her, he diſpatch'd both out of the way
" then married his widow, on whom he had before ſettled his affection."

" But I muſt leave the rehearſal of theſe matters to the general hiſtorians (who
" by the way) have hitherto erroniouſly repreſented theſe tyrants to have
" reigned ſucceſſively, or after one another; whereas it appears from *Gildas*,
" who ſpeaks to them all diſtinctly, that they all at one time uſurped the
" government in ſeveral parts of this iſland.

Therefore to return, the few ſurviving *Britains*, withdrew to the weſtern parts of the iſland, which is naturally fenced with mountains and inlets of the ſea; thoſe parts I mean which now we call *Wales* and *Cornwall*. The inhabitants of the former were named by the *Saxons Britweales*, and of the other *Cornweales*, as thoſe in *Gaul* were ſtiled *Galweales*: For any thing that was foreign or outlandiſh they called *Walſh*; whence alſo the *wallons* in the low countries, and *Wallachians* upon the river *Danube* were originally named.

The *Britweales* or welſhmen, were a very warlike nation, and for many years defended their liberties under petty kings; and tho' they were divided from the engliſh *Saxons*, by an extraordinary ditch or trench made by king *Offa*, yet by intervals they ſpoiled their cities with fire and ſword, and were often paid in their own coin by the *Saxons*. At laſt in the reign of king *Edward* I. as he writes himſelf. " The divine providence which is ever juſt in its
" own diſpenſations, among other mercies vouchſafed to our kingdom of *Eng-*

" *land*

" *land*, hath now ſubjected the kingdom of *Wales* with its inhabitants (who " were before but feudataries to us) abſolutely to our dominion, and without " any limitation annexed it to our ſaid realm as a member of the ſame body." However in ſucceeding age, nought could induce them to continue in the ſame ſubjection, no accommodation could be made, nor could the animoſity between the two nations, be extinguiſhed, till king *Henry* VII. who was born among them, exerted his gracious power, in behalf of his ſaid countrymen of *Wales*, and king *Henry* VIII. admitted them to the ſame laws and liberties with the *Engliſh*. Since which, and indeed often before, the kings of *England*, have had ſubſtantial trials of their incorruptible loyalty: But the *Cornwalli*, tho' they reſolutely beſet themſelves to the defence of their country, yet were ſoon brought to ſubmiſſion by the *Saxons*, being both inferior in number, and unfortified in their country to reſiſt them.

Thus much may be ſufficient touching the *Britains* and the *Romans*. But ſince I am treating of the inhabitants, I muſt not here omit (tho' already mention'd) what *Zoſimus* remarks, that *Probus* the emperor tranſplanted the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*, he had vanquiſh'd into *Britain*, and that being ſeated here, they were very ſerviceable to the *Romans* in quelling all Inſurrection. But in what part they were planted I know not, unleſs it were *Cambridgeſhire*. For *Gervaſe* of *Tilbury*, mentions an old fortification in that ſhire which he calls *Vandelsburg*, and ſays it was the work of the *Vandals*.

Nor ſhould it be ſurmis'd that in the days of *Conſtantius*, the *Poeni* or *Carthaginians* were alſo ſeated here, from the words of *Eumenius*, the *rhetorician*, who ſays, " Unleſs perhaps no greater ruin had befall'n *Britain*, than " if it had been overwhelm'd by the ocean; but now being deliver'd from " the deep gulph *Poenorum*, ſhe lifts up her head at the ſight of the *Roman* " ſplendor." For there is an old copy of that author, which belong'd to *Humphrey* duke of *Glouceſter*, and afterwards to the right honourable Baron *Burghley* lord high treaſurer of *England*, wherein we read *Pænarum gurgitibus*, that is the gulphs of puniſhments, and he ſeems to treat of thoſe grievances and calamities wherewith the *Britains* were diſtreſſed under *Caraufius*.

And whereas *Agathias* in the ſecond book of his hiſtory has been quoted for this expreſſion, *The* Britains *are a nation of the* Hunns, I would not have any from thence miſled to the derogation of our countrymen, as if they were the offſpring of that ſavage people. For in the *Greek* copy it is read *Bittones*, and not *Britones*, as I have been long ſince aſſured by the learned *Francis Pithou*, and as that late excellent hiſtorian, *J. Lewenclaius*, has lately ſet forth in print.

The

The PICTS.

NOW we come to the other inhabitants of *Britain*, and first to the *Picts*, who in order of antiquity are ranged by historians next to the *Britains*. They are derived by *Hector Boetius* from the *Agathyrsi*, but from the *Germans* by *Pomponius Lætus*, *Aventinus*, and others. Some again draw them from the *Pictones* in *France*, and *Bede* from the *Scythians*. "It hap-"pen'd says he, that the *Picts* sail'd over in a few long gallies out of *Scy-*"*thia*, as is reported, into *Ireland*, and having in vain besought the *Scots* for a "settlement there, went over by their persuasion into *Britain*, and pitch'd their "habitation in the northern parts thereof, about the year seventy eight, ac-"cording to the general opinion." In this variety of conjectures I see not whom to follow, (†) however will deliver my own sentiment of what seems probable to me. And were it not that the authority of venerable *Bede*, over ballanc'd all conjectures of other authors, I should incline to think the *Picts* were not transplanted from any other country, but were originally *Britains*; I mean those very *Britains* who before the entrance of the *Romans* were seated in the northern parts of the island; those, who afterwards casting off the yoke of bondage, (being a people most impatient of servitude) united with these in the north: And as when the *Saxons* over run the isle, those *Britains* who would not give up their liberty, retir'd to the western parts of the island, full of steep and craggy hills, which *Wales* and *Cornwall* do afford; so, doubtless the *Britains* in the heat of the *Roman* war dreading the like bondage (the bitterest of all miseries) shifted to these northern parts defended by the igidity of the air, the rugged mountains, seas, lakes, and bogs: Where being secur'd, not so much by the sharpness of their weapons, as of the weather, they grew up by degrees with the natives to a very populous nation. For *Tacitus* relates that the enemies of the *Romans* were driven by his father in law *Agricola* into these parts as into another island. For can we fancy that those *Britains* who were at war with the *Romans*, and led thirty thousand armed men against *Agricola*; who gave *Severus* such overthrows that he lost of his own countrymen and confederates, in one expedition, seventy thousand men, were every soul destroy'd, and none left to support the breed, so that the place must needs be peopled with a race so foreign as out of *Scythia* and *Thrace*? I am so far from thinking this probable however *Bede* may have comply'd with the reports of others, that I would rather maintain, they so

(†) See *Bishop* Usher's *Antiq.* Brit Eccles. cap. 15. *and Dr.* Stillingfleet's *Orig* Brit. *p.* 246.

over ſtock'd thoſe parts, that they were forced to disburden into the *Roman* provinces; as afterwards they certainly did when the *Scots* joyn'd in among them. But becauſe *Bede* ſays it, from the reports of thoſe times, I may give way to think that ſome alſo out of *Scandia* (formerly, with all that northern tract, called *Scythia)* might fall in among theſe northern *Britains*, as they paſſed along that chain of iſlands which leads unto them. But leſt any one ſhould imagine I am fond of giving countenance to a ſpecious error, I ſhall ſhew from the manners, name, and language, of the *Picts*, in all which they agree with the *Britains*, that they were true *Britains* themſelves.

To omit among other conformities that neither the *Picts*, according to *Bede*, nor the *Britains* according to *Tacitus*, made any diſtinction of ſex in the ſupream government, or excluded women from the ſovereign power; that cuſtom of painting or ſtaining themſelves with colours was common to both nations; of the *Britains*, we have prov'd it already, and *Claudian* proves the ſame among the *Picts*.

——— He tam'd
The *Picts*, with great propriety ſo nam'd

And in another place.

And oft the branded figures they ſurvey'd
On the pale limbs of dying *Picts* diſplay'd.

Which *Iſidore* more particularly deſcribes, where he ſays. "The *Picts* "are a people that derive their name from their bodies; for pricking "their skins artfully over in little holes with a needle, they ſqueeze the juice "of green herbs therein, ſo that their ſpotted nobility bear theſe ſcars in "their painted limbs as badges of honour." Now, ſhall we think that theſe *Picts* were *Germans*, who never uſed this manner of painting themſelves? Or the *Agathyrſi* of *Thrace* ſo remote from us? And not rather *Britains* themſelves? Seeing they were in the ſame iſland, and had the ſame faſhion of painting.

Nor are thoſe barbarians mention'd by any other name in ancient authors, as *Dio*, *Herodian*, *Vopiſcus*, &c. than that of *Britains*, who ſo long moleſted the *Romans* with incurſions from the *Caledonian* woods, and the moſt northern parts thereabouts. Nor does *Tacitus*, who deſcribes ſo diſtinctly the wars of his father in law *Agricola* in this furtheſt part of *Britain*, call the inhabitants by any other name than *Britains* and *Caledonian Britains*, whereas theſe new comers the *Picts* had been here ten years before, according to modern writers, which deſerves our obſervation ſince *Tacitus* was ignorant thereof in his time. Nor is it likely thoſe *Roman* emperors, who warred ſucceſsfully againſt them, as *Commodus*, and *Severus*, with his ſons *Baſſianus* and *Geta*, would have aſſumed in their title that addition of BRITANNICVS, unleſs

unleſs they had been *Britains*. Certainly if the *Romans*, who depended ſo much upon their foreign acquiſitions for their aggrandizement, had ſubdued any other nation there, beſides the *Britains*, that were new and unknown, whether by the diſtinction of *Picts* or *Scots*, they would have been remember'd by the titles of PICTICVS and SCOTICUS in the inſcription of their coins. *Tacitus* ſuppoſes from their yellow hair, and large limbs, that they came firſt out of *Germany*, but ſoon after more adviſedly attributes it all to the climate which molds the bodies and mingles the complexions of men, wherefore *Vitruvius* alſo writes. "The nations near the north pole produce men of large "and tall bodies, brown complexion and lank red hair." Beſides thatthe *Caledonians* (doubtleſs a *Britiſh* race) were the ſame people with the *Picts* is further intimated to us by the *Panegyriſt* in theſe words. "The woods of "the *Caledonians* and *other Picts*, &c." As if they were but one people, and that theſe *Caledonians* were of *Britiſh* extract may be gather'd out of this verſe in *martial*.

You *Quintus Ovid*, who by voyage bold,
The *Britiſh Caledonians* would behold.

And ſo *Auſonius*, who ſhews us at the ſame time how they were painted, where he informs us their skins look like green moſs diverſified with little paths of gravel.

Green moſſy beds, with gravel walks between
As *Britiſh Caledonian Hides* are ſeen.

But as theſe for a conſiderable time were no otherwiſe known than by the name of *Britains*, and this was given them for their painted bodies: So afterwards about the time of *Maximian* and *Dioclesian*, (before whom we find not the name of *Picts* in any writer) and when *Britain* had ſo long been a a Provence that the inhabitants had learned the provincial *Latin*; then theſe ſeem to have been firſt called *Picts*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe who were in alliance with the *Romans*, and called *Britains*: And whence ſhould they be called *Picts*, if not from the painting? Now if any will believe our *Britains* did not uſe the provincial *Latin*, he muſt be very ignorant how earneſtly the *Romans* labour'd to naturalize their language in the provinces, and obſerves not what a number of *Latin* words is crept into the *Britiſh* tongue. Not to urge the authority of *Tacitus*, who ſays that in *Domitians* time, the *Britains* affected the very eloquence of the *Roman* tongue. But as for this name of *Picts*, the authority of *Flavius Vegetius*, will clear all doubts about it, for he demonſtrates in a manner that the *Britains* uſed the word *Pict* for any thing that was colour'd, as the *Latins* do; where he writes that the *Britains* called thoſe light ſcout-veſſels PICTAS, the ſails and tackling whereof, as

well as the ſailors jackets were of a blew or watchet colour. And ſurely if the *Britains* called ſhips ſo colour'd by that name, what ſhould hinder them from giving it alſo to the people who painted their bodies with ſeveral colours, and eſpecially with blew which is the dye that *woad* gives.

It makes alſo for our purpoſe that the northern *Picts* whom St. *Columbane* by his pious doctrines and exemplary life, converted to chriſtianity, are called in the old *Saxon* annals *Brittas Pehotas*, that is *Britiſh Picts*.

The reaſon why we produce not more examples out of the language of the *Picts*, is becauſe there is ſcarcely a word of it remaining in any author; nevertheleſs it ſeems to be the ſame with the *Britiſh*. *Bede* notes that the wall was begun at a place which in the *Picts* language is called *Penuahel*; and *Pengwall* among the *Britains*, expreſly ſignifies the beginning or *head of a wall*. Moreover throughout all that tract of the iſland which the *Picts* held longeſt (which was the eaſt part of *Scotland*) many local names border much upon the *Britiſh*; as for example, *Morria* and *Marnia*, from the *Britiſh* word *Mor* the *Sea*, becauſe of their contiguity therewith. So *Aberden*, *Aberlothnet*, *Aberdore*, *Aberneith*; that is the *mouth* of *Den*, of *Lothnet*, of *Dur* and *Neith*; from the *Britiſh* word *Aber*, which ſignifies the mouth of a river. Thus *Strathbolgi*, *Strathdee*, *Strathearn*, that is the *vale* of *Bolgi*, *Dee*, and *Earne*, coming from *Strath*, which ſignifies in the *Britiſh* tongue a *valley*. Nay, the very metropolis of the *Picts* has a name that is evidently of the *Britiſh* original. I mean *Edenburgh* which is call'd by *Ptolomy* the *winged caſtle*, for *Aden* in *Britiſh* is a *wing*. Nor will I wreſt to this purpoſe the calling ſome of our petty *Britiſh* kings by the name of *Bridis*, which as I have often obſerv'd is as much in the *Britiſh* language as to ſay *painted*. But from theſe premiſſes we may ſurely without any abſurdity conclude, that betwixt the *Picts* language and that of the *Britains* there was no difference, and therefore that there was none between the nations; however *Bede* inſinuates as if in language they did vary from one another; in which place as he delivers himſelf it may be underſtood of the ſundry dialects.

Nor is there cauſe to wonder why the *Picts* wrought ſo much miſchief, and by their incurſions, ſuch dreadful overthrows among their countrymen the *Britains*, ſince at this day we ſee in *Ireland*, that thoſe within the *Engliſh* pale have no ſuch mortal enemies as their own countrymen the wild *Iriſh*: For as we read in *Paulus Diaconus*, the *Goths*, *Hypogoths*, *Gepidans* and *Vandals* varying only in name, and ſpeaking the ſame language, were frequently at open wars with one another; ſo were the *Picts* and *Britains* eſpecially after the *Britains* became confederate with the *Romans*. Theſe were the motives that induced or rather obliged me to think the *Picts* a remnant of the *Britains*: But perhaps, the authority of *Bede* may overballance all, and if it ſways with the reader, I am content that a tradition handed down by ſo venerable a man ſhould preſide over theſe conjectures.

Ann

Ammianus Marcellinus divides these *Picts* into *Dicalidonii* and *Vecturiones*. I would rather read the former *Deucalidonii*, supposing them to have inhabited the western coasts of *Scotland* where the *Deucaladonian* sea breaks in. Indeed I formerly believed them to be so call'd as if one were to say *black Caladonians*, for *Dee* in the *British* tongue, signifies black) just as the *Irish* now call the *Scots* of that place *Duf Allibawn* that is black *Scots*, and as the welsh called the Pirates who infested them from that coast *Ylly du*, the *black army*: But now I think it more probable that they took their name from their situation. For *Debu Caledonii* signifies the *Caledonians* on the right hand, that is westward as the other *Picts* dwelling to the left or eastward, which *Ninnius* calls the *left hand* quarter, were named *victuriones*, probably from the word *Chwithic*, which in the *British* tongue signifies left; and these are thought to be corruptly called in *Ptolomy Vernicones*. These seem to be called in an old *Saxon* manuscript *Pegwehorn* for so they term a nation at variance with the *Britains*; whereas the ancient *Saxons* called the *Picts*, *Pehits* and *Peohtas*; whence it is that we read in *Whitkindus*, *Pehiti* every where, for *Picti*.

The manners of these ancient and barbarous *Britains*, who afterwards came to be called *Picts*, I have before describ'd out of *Dio* and *Herodian*: All that remains here, is to continue the history of them. Upon the declension of the empire when the *Romans* unadvisedly raised these troops of barbarians some of the *Picts* were added in time of Peace, by *Honorius*; and thence called *Honoriaci*; who under that tirant *Constantine* (he who was elected for the sake of his propitious name) having laid open the fortified passages of the *Pyrenean* hills, let the barbarians into *Spain*. At length having first by themselves, and afterwards in confederacy with the *Scots*, distressed this province of the *Romans*, they fell into some order and civility. Those of the south were by *Ninias* or *Ninianus* the *Britain*, a religious man, converted to christianity in the year four hundred and thirty; but they of the north, who were divided from the south by a continued ridge of high craggy mountains, were converted by *Columbanus* an *Irish Scot*, and a monk of extraordinary sanctity in the year five hundred sixty five, who taught them, wherever he learn'd it, to celebrate the feast of *Easter*, between the fourteenth and the twentieth of *March*, but always upon *Sunday*; as also to use a form of tonsure or shaving of their heads, different from the *Romans*, namely that which had some resemblance of a crown. Much contention there was about these ceremonies, and long the dispute lasted, till *Naitanus* a king of the *Picts* with much difficulty brought his own subjects to a conformity with the *Roman* custom. In this age many of the *Picts* according to the manner of those times, made pilgrimages to the chapels and shrines of the Saints at *Rome*; and among others: He who is mention'd in the antiquities of St. *Peters* church there, in these words: Alterius,

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account of the Picts *and* Syra, *with their family, performed their vows.* At last they were so overpower'd by the *Scots* out of *Ireland*, that being vanquish'd in a most bloody battle, about the year seven hundred forty, they were utterly extirpated, or sunk away by degrees into the *Scotish* name and nation: Just as it befell the most powerful nation of the *Gauls*, who being subdued by the *Franks*, came, by little and little to be called after their name.

But whereas the *Panegyrist* intimates that the *Britains* before *Cæsars* time, were often assaulted by their half naked enemies the *Picts* and *Irish*, he seems rather to speak in the language of his own age; for surely in the times he speaks of, there were no people in *Britain* known by the name of *Picts*.

And when *Sidonius Apollinaris* says, in his *Panegyrick* to his father in law,

Tho' *Cæsar* with victorious arms, as far
As *Caledonian Britains*, urg'd the war:
Tho' *Scots* and *Picts*, with *Saxons* he subdu'd, &c.

I cannot but exclaim in the words of another Poet.

No faith in justice should those Poets find,
Who soar so high they leave all truth behind.

For *Cæsar*, who is lavish enough in his own commendation, would never have stifled these exploits, if any such he had ever atchiev'd: But these writers are like some well-meaning authors in our age, who patching up their histories of *Cæsar*, tell us truly that he conquer'd the *French* in *Gaul*, and the *English* in *Britain*; whereas in his time there were no such names in being; neither *English* in one country, nor *French* in the other; it being many ages later that the people so called inhabited those counties.

And that the *Pictones* in *Gaul* were the same people with our *Picts*, I dare not with *Joannes Picardus*, affirm; seeing the name of *Pictones* was very familiar in *Gaul*, even in *Cæsars* time, and that our *Picts* were never called *Pictones*: Yet I know very well that in one only place of the *Panegyrist*, the word *Pictonum* is written instead of *Pictorum*, thro' the negligence of the transcriber.

The

The SCOTS.

THE next in order among the *Britiſh* nations after the *Picts*, are the *Scots*; concerning whom, before I proceed, leſt any ſpiteful or petulent cavellers, ſhould ſlanderouſly miſconſtrue what I have with the utmoſt ſincerity collected out of ancient writers, I muſt pre-admoniſh the reader, that every particular relates only to the true old genuine *Scots*, whoſe deſcendants are thoſe who ſpeak the *Iriſh* tongue, and inhabit all that weſtern tract of *Scotland*, now ſo called with the adjacent iſlands, and who at this day are called *Highlanders*: For the reſt who are civiliz'd and ſeated in the eaſtern parts, tho' they alſo now bear the name of ſcots-men are not properly ſuch, but of the ſame *German* extraction with us engliſhmen; thus much they muſt needs confeſs, and we acknowledge; they being, as well as we, called by thoſe highlanders aforeſaid, *Saſſones*; and uſing the ſame language, however varying a little in dialect; which is an undeniable proof of the ſame original. And herein I am ſo far from deſigning any thing to their diſcredit, that I have always reſpected them the more, as a nation of the ſame blood and extraction: Yea, and highly honour'd them for it, even when the kingdoms were divided; but now more, ſince by the Almighty providence we are united into one body under one ſovereign head of *England* and *Scotland*. Which union I heartily pray that God may bleſs to the peace and proſperity of both nations.

The beginning of the *Scots* nation and the etymology of its name, like thoſe of the neighbouring countries about it, are ſo full of obſcurity that even the ſagacious *Buchanan* either did not diſcover it, or kept the diſcovery to himſelf, having failed the expectations of the world in this particular. This has long been no ſmall diſcouragement to me, leſt I ſhould betray the ſame folly which others have done, in admiring of fables; for a man may with as much probability derive the original of the *Scots*, from the god's as from *Scota*, that imiginary and fictitious daughter of the *Aegyptian* king *Pharaoh*; and married forſooth to *Gaithelus* the ſon of *Cecrops* founder of *Athens*: But as this conceit, ariſing from the ignorance of antiquity, is rejected by the ingenious among the *Scots* themſelves, ſo that other opinion of more mordern ſtamp, moſt abſurdly drawn from a *Greek* fountain, as if they were called from *Scotoi*, that is, *obſcure*, is utterly to be exploded, as enviouſly deviſed to the defamation of a renowned and warlike people. Nor is the derivation of

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our *Florilegus* universally received, that would have the *Scots* so called, as if they were a mungril breed, or sprung from a confused medly of all nations. But it raises some wonder in me, to think where *Isidore* should get his original, who says. "That the *Scots* take their name in their own native tongue, "from their painted bodies, because they have the marks of various figures "prick'd into their flesh with needles." which is also alledged in the same words by *Rabanus Maurus* in his geography, to the emperor *Lodovicus Pius*, which is to be seen in the library of *Trinity-College*, *Oxford*.

But since *Scotland* has among its own natives, men of such learning and abilities, as may sufficiently qualify them to trace her original from the remotest antiquity, and advance the glory of their own country, if they would but diligently apply themselves to this argument, I will only point out the fountains from whence I apprehend those truths are to be drawn, and lay before them certain observations for their more effectual investigation; for as to my own part, I shall advance nothing positively but in this matter profess myself a sceptick. First then I shall speak of their original, and next of the place whence they removed into *Ireland*. For it is well known that out of *Ireland*, which was antiently inhabited by the *Britains*, as will appear in its proper place, the *Scots* passed into *Britain*; and that they were seated there, when they first became known to writers by that name. For their irruptions into *Britain* are thus described by *Claudian*.

When *Scots* came thund'ring from the *Irish* shores,
And the sea foam'd with strokes of hostile oars.

Also in another place,

And icy *Ireland* thaw'd with tears of woe,
To see her *Scots* in heaps the plains bestrew.

Orosius likewise writes that, Ireland is *peopled with* Scotch *nations*: Agreeable to which is that of *Isidore*; Scotland *and* Ireland *are the same, only was called* Scotland, *because it is peopled with the nations of the* Scots. Gildas also calls them Irish *robbers*. And *Bede* mentions, *the* Scots *to inhabit* Ireland, *an island next to* Britain. So elsewhere we find *Eginhart* who lived in the days of *Charles* the great, expressly calls *Ireland* the *island of the* Scots. Thus also *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *That the* Scots *nation is descended out of* Ireland, *is sufficiently proved by the resemblance of language and apparel, as well as of arms and customs, even to this day.* But now to come to those particulars which I would offer to the more deliberate consideration of the *Scots*.

Since

Since they who are the true genuine *Scots* acknowledge not the name of *Scots*, but call themſelves *Gaothal*, *Gael*, and *Albin*; ſince many alſo are otherwiſe call'd by their neighbours, than they call themſelves; which often gives light to the riſe of nations; as, for example, the lower *Pannonians* ſtyling themſelves *Magier*, are named in dutch *Hungari*, becauſe they were originally *Huns*: The borderers on the forreſt *Hercynia* call one another *Czechi*, but others call'd them *Bohæmi* becauſe they deſcended from the *Boii* in *Gaul*: The inhabitants of *Africa*, who have alſo a name peculiar to themſelves are called by the *Spaniards*, *Alarbes* becauſe they are *Arabs*: The *Iriſh* who call themſelves *Erinach* are named by our welſhmen, *Gwidhil*: And ſince alſo as well thoſe *Iriſh*, as theſe our welſh give no other name to us *Engliſh* than *Saſſons*, becauſe we are derived from the *Saxons*; I would have the learned *Scots* firſt conſider whether they might not be ſo called by their neighbours from the *Scythæ*: For as the *Flemings* and other *Netherlanders* call both *Scythians* and *Scots* by that one name *Scutten*, ſo it may be obſerved from our *Britiſh* writers, that our *Britains* named by *Scythians* and *Scots*, *Y-Scot*. *Ninnius* alſo expreſly calls the *Britiſh* inhabitants of *Ireland*, *Scythæ*; and *Gildas* calls the narrow ſea over which they paſſed from *Ireland* into *Britain*, *Vallis Scythica*, or the *Scythian Vale*, as the *Paris* edition reads it, but others, without any ſenſe at all read it *Styticha Vallis*. Moreover king *Alfred* who ſeven hundred years paſt tranſlated the hiſtory of *Oroſius*, into the *Saxon* tongue, uſed the word *Scyttan* for *Scots*; and our own countrymen who dwell neareſt to *Scotland* are not wont to call them *Scots* but *Scyttes* and *Scettes*. For as the ſame People, according to *Walſingham*, are called *Gete*, *Getici*, *Gothi*, *Gothici*; ſo from the ſame original, proceed *Scythæ*, *Scitici*, *Scoti*, *Scotici*.

But whether theſe people had this name given them by their neighbours, in regard to the manners of the *Scythians*, or their removal into this country, what I would recommend to their conſideration, certainly both *Diodorus Siculus*, (*) and *Stralo*, (†) compare the firſt *Britains* who inhabited *Ireland*, (the native country of the wild *Iriſh* or true *Scots*) with the *Scythians* in point of barbarity. Beſides, they ſuck'd the blood of the ſlain; ratify'd their leagues by mutual draughts of their own blood; and accounted thoſe moſt honourable who had committed the greateſt ſlaughters; as the *Scythians* heretofore did. And here we may alſo obſerve that the chief weapons among theſe *Scots* as well as among the *Scythians*, were bows and arrows. For *Orpheus*, as well as *Ælian* and *Julius Pollux*, call the *Scythians Archers*, hence ſome learned men have thought that both nations received their name

(*) Lib 6. (†) Lib. 4.

from their skill in *shooting*. Nor is it ſtrange that different nations ſho bear the ſame name, who are conformable in their manners; ſince the *A rican* travellers aſſure us, that all the warlike people who bear bows and rows, are called throughout thoſe *Indies* and the adjacent iſlands, by common name of *Carribes*, tho' they be of divers nations.

Now that theſe *Scots* came out of *Scythia*, the *Iriſh* hiſtorians themſel report: For *Memethus* the *Scythian*, and long after him *Delas* of the *methian* lineage or *Scythian* extract they reckon among the inhabitants *Ireland*. And *Ninnius* the diſciple of *Eluodugus* has plainly written, *in the fourth of the world* (which was between the building of Sol temple, and the captivity of *Babylon*) *the* Scythians *poſſeſs'd themſelv* Ireland. So alſo later writers, as *Ciſnerus*, in his preface to *Crantzius*; *Reinerus Reineciuſus*, who writes that, *There remains ſtill the nation of* Scots Britain, *who are ſprung from the* Scythians, &c. and yet I am in doubt, the *Getæ* were a *Scythick* nation, whether *Propertius* means our *Iriſh* w he ſays.

> Both *Iriſh Getes* and *Britiſh* foes that guide
> The painted cars in which they gaily ride.

But the *Scots* would perhaps loſe part of their honour unleſs they w brought out of *Spain*, into *Ireland*. For this derivation both themſelves and hiſtorians ſtrenuouſly inſiſt on, and indeed, not without reaſon; ſo that unleſs can find the *Scythians* in *Spain* we have labour'd to no purpoſe. But that were *Scythians* in *Spain* (not to mention the promontary among the *tabri* called *Scythicum*, next to *Ireland*, nor what *Strabo* obſerves that *Cantabri* called *Scythians* agreed in manner and cuſtoms) is manifeſt who *Silius Italicus*, who was a *Spaniard* born; for he ſhews that the *Concani* people of *Cantabria* were the offspring of the *Maſſagetæ* or *Scythians*, theſe verſes.

> *Concans*, who prove themſelves of *Scythian* ſtrain,
> And horſes blood drink from the recking vein.

And a little further the ſame poet proves that the *Sarmatæ* (who all authors allow'd to be *Scythians*,) built the the city of *Suſana* in S where he deſcribes.

> *Suſana*, rearing high *Sarmatian* walls.

Now the *Luceni*, whom *Oroſius* places in *Ireland*, ſeem to be derived theſe *Sarmatians* or *Scythians*; becauſe the *Spaniards* themſelves *Suſana* among the *Lucenſians* of *Spain*; as the *Gangani* of *Ireland* in *Ca*

Concani: For tho' *Lucenſii* and *Concani* were neighbour nations, as were the *Lucenſi* and *Gangani*, in that part of *Ireland* oppoſite to *Spain*. If any one queſtion what *Scythians* they were who came into *Spain*? I can't diſtinguiſh them, unleſs they may be allowed to have been *Germans*; therefore I wiſh the *Scots* would more deeply examine this point. But that the *Germans* did long ago enter into *Spain*, not only *Pliny*, who calls the *Orcani* in *Spain* *Germans*, but *Seneca* alſo who was a *Spaniard* born, informs us, alſo ſays, *The Pyrenees*, did not obſtruct the paſſage of the *Germans*, but human activity has forced itſelf through ways almoſt impoſſible and unknown: And that the *Germans* were called *Scythians*, we gather not only out of *Euphorus* and *Strabo*, who term'd all the northern nations *Scythians*, but who out of *Pliny*, who informs us, the name of *Scythians* extends itſelf far and wide, even to the *Sarmathians* and *Germans*. *Aventinus*, alſo teſtifies that the *Hungarians* called the *Germans Scythæ* and *Sythuliæ*. Nor can a *Scythian* deſcent be deemed any ways diſhonourable, ſince the *Scythians* are not only a moſt ancient people, but have been victorious over moſt nations, yet continued invincible themſelves, and never ſubject to foreign dominion, neither muſt we here omit that the *Cauci* and *Menapii*, who were rank'd among the moſt renowned *Germans*, are ſeated by *Ptolomy* in *Ireland*; under the ſame names and at the ſame diſtance in *Ireland*, ſo that they probably drew from the ſame *Germans* both their name and original.

Now if the *Scots* are not hence deſcended I would have them reflect whether they may not be the iſſue of thoſe barbarians who were driven out of *Gallæcia* in *Spain*, by *Conſtantine* the *Great*, according to the chronicle of king *Alphonſus*. For it is from that quarter they will needs have themſelves tranſplanted into *Ireland*. And if they demand who thoſe barbarians were? I doubt not but they will be of my opinion that they were *Germans*: For during the reign of the emperor *Gallienus*, the *Germans* inhabiting *the remoteſt parts of* Germany (ſays *Oroſius*) *waſted* Spain *and held it in ſubjection*. And who ſhould theſe remote *Germans* be, but mere *Scythians*? But *Aurelius Victor*, of whom *Andrew Schottus* has given us an edition, calls thoſe *Germans*, *Franks*. Yet ſeeing theſe *Franks* and remoter *Germans*, ſailing out of *Germany*, were driven out far into the ocean, and as *Nazarius* ſays to *Conſtantine* much infeſted the *Spaniards*; along theſe our ſeas, who can believe they prefer'd the dry and barren ſoil of *Biſcay* before *Ireland*, a moſt plentiful iſland and ſo commodiouſly ſituated for their deſcent upon *Spain*? Nay, rather as in the time of *Charles* the great, and afterwards, the *Norwegians* out of *Scandia*, often invaded *Ireland* and took poſſeſſion thereof; ſo we may very probably conjecture that the *Franks* did the ſame before, and that they paſſed from hence into *Spain*, whence after they were expell'd by *Conſtantine* the great, they are turn'd again to *Ireland*. It is alſo probable that

more of them afterwards flock'd thither as well when *Spain* was depopulated by the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and the barbarians were at war among themselves, plundering and destroying one another; as when the invasions of the Sara*cens* oppress'd the *Spaniards*, and drove many of them into *Gallitia* and *Cantabria*. But leaving these conjectures to the deeper penetration of others, 'tis enough for me to have shewn my willingness to remove the obstructions which might lie in their way.

I would next recommend to the enquiry of the learned *Scots*, whence it proceed, That the *Irish*, who were the progenitors of the *Scots*, and the *Scots* themselves who glory so much in this relation should be called *Gael* and *Gothelc*? And why they named that part of *Britain*, where they first settled *Argathel*? Whence I say would they derive these names? Come they from the *Gallæci* in *Spain*, whence many doubtless flew over into *Ireland*, whose original is drawn from the *Gallatæ* or *Gauls*? Or from the *Goths*, as late writers conjecture, who would draw this word *Gaiothel* from the *Goths*, as *Cathalonia* is in *Spain*? There they should naturally deduce their arguments from parallels between the *Gothick* and *Irish* language, which nevertheless, as far as I can find, has no resemblance with any other language in *Europe*. Besides, the *British* and the *German*. How truly *Henry* of *Huntingdon* may affirm, "That the *Scots* came in the fourth age out of *Spain* into *Ireland*; "that part who continued there, still using the same language are called *Nivarrians*;" how true I say, this may be, let others decide. I pass over all the information which *David Chambers* received of the Jesuites, "That the "*Scots* language is spoken in the *East Indies*, being apprehensive the distance "of that country might prompt the credulous man, tho' not to devise an "untruth, yet to disperse one."

But if arguments may be drawn from a coherence of habits we shall at this day, find the same garb or attire among the wild *Scots* or *Highlanders*, which was anciently used by the *Goths*, as may appear in *Sidonius Apollinaris*, whose following description of a *Goth*, is the very picture of a *Scots Highlander*. "Their bodies shine with the deep saffron, die upon their "they buckle sandals or brogues of hairy and untann'd leather up to "ancles, their knees legs and calves are all bare; their garments high "lour'd, close bodied and of divers colours reaching down to their "their sleeves come no lower than the brawn of their arm; their inner "is green edg'd with red fringe; their belts hang down from their "the lappets of their ears are cover'd with the glibbs or tresses of their "hanging over them," (for so are the many separate twists which the *Rob-shanks* wear, properly call'd.) They use also hooked spears which *Gildas* calls *Uncinata tela*, and Hatchets to fling from them. *Porphyry* also says they wore strait-bodied Coats without girdles. Now whether this is not the very

apparel of the *Iriſh Scots* I appeal to themſelves. I would further have them conſider theſe words of *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, in his firſt book of the inſtitution of a prince, " When *Maximus*, ſays he, paſſed out of *Britain* into *Gaul*, " with the whole ſtrength of his men and arms to poſſeſs himſelf of the " empire, *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, brothers and partners in the empire, " ſhipp'd over the *Goths*, (a hardy and valiant people alſo confederate with, " or otherwiſe ſubject and obliged to them) from the borders of *Scythia*, to " the north parts of *Britain*, both to diſtreſs the *Britains* and make them re- " call the ſaid uſurper and his forces: But being too powerful for them thro' " the natural valour of the *Goths*, and weakneſs of the iſland, thus drain'd " of thoſe who ſhould defend it, they grew from invaders to inhabitants, ſet- " ling themſelves in the ſaid northern parts, and held by force no ſmall part " of that territory as their own." Now who theſe *Goths* were unleſs *Scots*, I ſubmit to the determination of others, and perhaps *Procopius* may give them ſome light therein, in whom we read, That when the *Goths* expoſtulated with *Beliſarius*, for ſurrendering *Sicily* to the *Romans*, he anſwer'd, " we likewiſe " the *Goths* to have *Britain*, a far better country than *Sicily* and anciently " ſubject to the *Romans*. For reaſonable it is that they who have beſtowed favours ſhould receive equal thanks or retaliation. To this head alſo we may refer what the *Scots* write of *Fergus* the *Scot*, " who accompanied *Alla-* " *rick* the *Goth* in the ſacking of *Rome*." And what *Irenicus* alſo relates, " How *Genſerick* king of the *Vandals* came over into *Scotland* and *Britain*." With that alſo delive'd by *Cambrenſis* wherever he had it, namely, how the *Gadeli* or *Scots* drew both their deſcent and their name from the *Vandals*, whowere the ſame with the *Goths* as *Paulus Diaconus* makes appear. Neither can it be any diſparagement to the name and nation of the *Scots*, to acknowledge themſelves of *Gothick* extract, ſince the moſt powerful kings of *Spain* think it an honour to derive their pedigree from the ſame ſtem; and the nobleſt houſes in all *Italy*, either do really or fictiouſly draw their pedigree from the *Goths*. The emperor *Charles* V. himſelf would often affirm ſeriouſly: *That all the nobility of* Europe, *came from* Scandia *and the* Goths. But yet theſe reaſons are not of that weight with me, as to make me determine that the *Scots* were the offspring of the *Goths*.

In ſhort, I would have the learned *Scots* ſeriouſly conſider whether they are not deſcended from the old *Britiſh* inhabitants of *Ireland*, (for it is certain that *Ireland* was formerly inhabited by *Britains*,) and whether they were not called *Scythæ* or *Scoti*, becauſe they reſembled the *Scythians* ſo much in manners, or rather were real *Scythians* that came out of *Scandia* or *Scythia*, and to whom the *Gallœci*, *Franks*, or *Germans* driven out of *Spain*, as alſo the *Goths* or *Vandals* joyned themſelves, when *Spain* was imbroil'd in a bloody war: Or elſe a medley of ſundry nations which throng'd into *Ireland*, and therefore

therefore had that name given them by their neighbours; For, "The lan-
"guage of the *Iriſh*, ſays *Giraldus*, is call'd *Gaidelach*, which ſignifies a *com-*
"*pound* out of all tongues." And *Florilegus* (wherever he gather'd it) ſays,
"That from the *Picts* and *Iriſh* the *Scots* have their original, as being a
"people of *ſeveral* nations: For that is call'd *Scot* which is a mixture of ſe-
"veral things." Thus the *Almains*, according to the teſtimony of *Aſinius Quadratus*, went by that name becauſe they are a conjunction of divers nations. Neither ſhould it ſeem ſtrange that ſo many nations ſhould formerly flock into *Ireland*, conſidering that iſland lies in the center between *Britain* and *Spain*, and ſo conveniently open to the *French* ſea; and ſeeing, alſo, it appears ſo evidently upon record, in the moſt approved annals, that within theſe laſt eight hundred years the *Norwegians* and *Oſtmans*, or *Eaſterlings*, from *Germany*, with *Engliſh*, *Welſh*, and *Scots*, out of *Britain*, have ſettled themſelves there. Theſe are the heads I wou'd recommend to the diligent enquiry of the *Scots*. In the mean time, let them remember, I have deliver'd nothing affirmatively, but only hinted ſome particulars which may be material to that purpoſe; from which, if the original of the *Scots* can receive no light, they have liberty to ſeek it elſewhere; for I am perfectly in the dark, and have purſued truth, which ſtill flies me, with much pains, and to little purpoſe. However, with ſuch circumſpection, I hope, as not to have given offence on any ſide.

Now as to the time when the name of *Scots* became firſt known, that alſo will admit of ſome diſpute; and *Buchanan*, an excellent poet, has, upon this queſtion, oppoſed *Humfrey Lhuid*, as able an antiquary: For the ſaid *Lhuid* having ſaid that the name of *Scoti* was not to be found in any author before *Conſtantine the Great*, *Buchanan* flies upon him with all the fury imaginable, and with two trifling arguments thinks to demoliſh him beyond all recovery; the one out of a *Panegyriſt*, the other from a bare conjecture: Becauſe an old panegyriſt ſays that *Britain* in *Cæſar*'s time was infeſted with enemies out of *Ireland*. Therefore the *Scots*, forſooth, muſt then conſequently be ſeated in *Britain*. But no author, before this, ever ſaid that thoſe *Iriſh* had then any ſettled place, much leſs that they were *Scots*; and without doubt that panegyriſt, after the uſual manner of writers, ſpoke with reference to his own time, and not to *Cæſar*'s. Then as to the conjecture, it is none of *Buchanan*'s own, but the learned *Joſeph Scaliger*'s, who, in his notes on *Propertius*, reſtoring (by the way) theſe verſe of *Seneca*,

Ille Britannos
Ultra noti
Littora ponti
Et cæruleos

Scula

Scuta Brigantes
Dare Romulæs
Colla Catenis
Juſſit, &c. †

Subſtitutes in one place *Scoto-Brigantes*; and then cries out that the *Scots* are now beholden to him for the diſcovery of their original. But, for my part, I am ſorry I cannot ſubſcribe to this opinion, having ever honour'd his perſon, and, in many reſpects, admir'd his learning. But this alteration is not founded upon any various reading in copies, being only the product of his own fancy; and the ſenſe will bear reading it either *Cæruleos ſcuta Brigantes*, as all copies have it, that is, *Brigantes* with *blue Bucklers*; or *Cæruleos cute Brigantes*, that is, *Brigantes* with *blue Skins*, as the learned *Adrian Junius* reads it. But *Buchanan*, led rather to divert himſelf with his own conceit, and other men's inventions, than reſt ſatisfied with a ſenſe that is right, in a common and eſtabliſhed reading, is mighty fond of his own conjecture; and that becauſe, firſt, we are not informed by authors that the *Britains* painted their ſhields: ſecondly, that *ever* called them *Scoto-Brigantes*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Brigantes* of *Spain* and *Ireland*: laſtly, becauſe in theſe verſes he mentions the *Britains* and *Brigantes* as ſeparate nations. But if we might a little more cloſely canvas this matter, what ſhould render the painting of ſhields an improbability in thoſe who painted both their bodies and their chariots? What need was there to coin a new word *Scoto Brigantes*, merely for a new diſtinction? Does it not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh them from the other *Brigantes*, when he calls them *blue*, and mentions the conqueſt of them by *Claudius*; then his obſervation of the *Britains* and *Brigantes* to be different nations, favours little of his poetical qualifications, which muſt needs have acquainted him with the figurative liberties of expreſſing a *part* for the *whole*. Since theſe arguments, therefore, are of ſuch invalidity, I will recruit *Buchanan* with a freſh ſupply out of *Hegeſippus*, who is commonly accounted an ancient writer. For where he is deſcribing the greatneſs of the *Romans*, he ſays, "*Scotland**, which owes nothing to other countries, is ter-"rified by them; and *Saxony*, inacceſſible by reaſon of its bogs, trembles at "their power." But hold a little, this will not ſerve the turn; and even this author muſt ſtand in the rear, for he lived after *Conſtantine*'s days, as may be gathered out of his own writings. Neither can it be better proved out of him that the *Scots* dwelt in *Britain*, than out of *Sidonius* his verſe before quoted. But a more weighty reaſon ſtill, is that which the learned and famous *J. Craigs*, after a very nice enquiry, has ſtarted out of *Joſephus Ben-*

† *See before, pag.* 69. * i. e. Ireland, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15.

Gorions'

Gorion's deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. For in the *Hebrew* copy of this author they are expreſly called *Scots*, which *Munſter*, in his *Latin* tranſlation, has changed for *Britains*. Now in what age that *Ben-Gorion* lived, I can find no certainty, but am pretty ſure he was after *Flavius Joſephus*; becauſe he makes mention of the *Franks*, a name not in uſe till long after his time.

But if among the opinions of ſo many great ſcholars, I may interpoſe what I have obſerved. The firſt time that ever the *Scots* nation was named in authors, was in the reign of *Aurelian* the emperor: For *Porphyry*, who then wrote againſt the chriſtians, as St. *Jerome* informs us, mentions them in theſe words. "When *Nellus* the great reigned in *Ireland*, the ſons of "*Mured* king of *Ulſter*, ſeized upon the north parts of *Britain*. From "theſe ſprung a nation, which by a peculiar name called *Scots* inhabit "thoſe parts even to this day." And that this happened about that time that the *Roman* empire was in its decay, may be inferr'd from what follows. While *Lagerius* the ſon of that *Nellus* reigned in *Ireland*, *Patrick* the *Iriſh* apoſtle came into that kingdom, which was much about the year of Chriſt 430, which appears to be near the time of *Honorius* the emperor; for then they ſeem to have ſettled themſelves in *Britain*, who before lived after a rambling manner as *Ammianus* records, infeſting this iſland and the parts appointed for the boundaries thereof. But they themſelves will have it that they did but return then out of *Ireland* whether they had withdrawn when diſperſed by the *Britains* and *Romans*. And accordingly to this very time refer that paſſage in *Gildas*, *The* Iriſh *plunderers return home, with intention ſpeedily to come back again*. And much about this time ſome think that *Reuda*, mentioned by *Bede*, planted himſelf either by force or favour in *Britain*, northward upon an arm of the river *Cluid*. From this captain, ſays he, the *Dalreudini*, even to this day, take their name. For in their tongue, *Dal*, ſignifies *a part*; and others think that from this *Reuda* we called the *Iriſh-Scots Red-ſhanks*. It is alſo conceived that *Simon Brech* whom the *Scots* affirm to be the founder of their nation, flouriſhed in theſe days; but his true name was *Sinbrech* which is as much as to ſay *Sin* with the *freckled-face*, as we learn from *Fordon*; perhaps the very ſame *Brichus* who about the time of St. *Patrick*, infeſted *Britain* in company with thoſe other *Scots*, *Thuibaius*, *Macleius*, and *Auſpacus*, as we read in the life of St. *Carantoc*.

But why the high-land *Scots* living in *Britain* call that country they reſide in by the name of *Alban* and *Albin*; and why the *Iriſh* call it *Allabany* were a queſtion might exerciſe the learned; and particularly whether this word *Allabany* may not be ſome remains of the old *Albion*; or whether it may not be from *Albedo* ſignifying *whiteneſs* which they call *Ban*, and ſo *Ellan-ban* may in *Scotch* be the *White-Iſland*; or whether it might not come

another Ireland, or ſecond *Ireland*: For hiſtorians were wont to call *Ireland*, the *greater Scotland* and the kingdom of the *Scots* in *Britain* the leſſer *Scotland* Further ſince theſe *Scots* term themſelves in their own language *Albin* whence *Blondus* calls them *Albienſes*, or *Abinenſes* and *Buchanan*, *Albini*; let criticks conſider whether in that paſſage of St. *Jerom*, where he inveighs againſt a certain *Pelagian* who was a *Scot* by birth, it ſhould not be read *Albinum* for *Alpinum* when he calls him a great corpulent *Alpine* dog, able to do more miſchief with his heels than his teeth; for he is deriv'd from the *Scots* nation, bordering upon *Britain*. And ſays of the ſame perſon in another place, that he was over ſtuff'd with *Scotch* broth and breweſs. Now I never can remember to have read of *Alpine* dogs; but that *Scotch* dogs were in much requeſt at *Rome* in thoſe days we are inform'd by *Symmachus*, who ſays, that ſeven *Scotch* dogs were ſo admir'd at *Rome*, the day before the games, that they thought they muſt needs be brought over in cages.

After the *Scots* were come over into *Britain* and joyned the *Picts*, tho' they continually allarm'd the *Britains* with skirmiſhes and encrochments, yet they ſprung not ſpeedily up to a flouriſhing ſtate, but continued long in the corner where they firſt pitch'd; not daring to take the field as *Bede* writes againſt the petty princes of *Northumberland*, till they had ſo deſtroy'd the *Picts*, that few were left alive, and the kingdom of *Northumberland* with inteſtine broils, and invaſions by the *Danes*, was totally ruin'd. Then all the northern tract of *Britain* fell under their government and name, together with the hithermoſt country on this ſide *Cluid*, and *Edenburgh Frith*: For that it was part of the kingdom of *Northumberland*, and poſſeſs'd by the *Saxons* no man denies. Hence it is that all the inhabitants in the eaſt of *Scotland*, called *Lowland-men*, as lying in the lower country are originally *Saxons* and ſpeak the *Engliſh* tongue: But the weſtern inhabitants named *Highlanders*; being of the upper country are mere *Scots*, and ſpeak *Iriſh*, as I before obſerved; and none are more mortal enemies than they to the *Lowlanders*, who ſpeak *Engliſh*.

We are inform'd by *Ammianus Marcellinus* that beſides the *Scots*, there are a warlike people named the *Attacotti* who did much miſchief in *Britain*; and theſe are ſuppoſed by *Humphrey Lhuid*, how truly I know not, to have been alſo of the *Scots* nation. St. *Jerom* tells us plainly they were a *Britiſh* people, where he ſays, "That when he was young (in the reign of *Julian* the "emperor it ſeems) he ſaw in *Gaul* the *Attacoti*, a *Britiſh* people feeding "upon mans fleſh; for that when they found in the woods herds of ſwine, "droves of oxen or flocks of ſheep, neglecting them they would rather cut "off the buttocks of their herdsmen, and the breaſts of any women they "met with, and account theſe the daintieſt of all other fare." For ſo according to the moſt authentic copies are we to read in this place *Attacotti*,

and not *Scotti*, with *Eraſmus*, who yet own the text in this place corrupted: though I muſt alſo confeſs, that in one manuſcript we read *Attigotti*, in another *Catacotti*, and in a third *Cattiti*. Neither can this paſſage but reaſonably be underſtood as vulgarly taken of the *Scots*, conſidering that St. *Jerom* there ſpeaking of the different manners of various nations, begins the ſentence immediately following with theſe words: "The *Scots* men have no wives par-" ticularly of their own." And in another place where *Jerom* mentions the *Attacotti*, *Eraſmus* ſubſtitutes *Azoti*. Theſe *Attacotti*, as it appears in the *Notitia*, were ſtipendaries in the declenſion of the *Roman* empire. For they are diſtinguiſhed among the palatine auxiliaries of *Gaul*, into *Attacotti juniores Gallicani*, and *Attacotti Honoriani ſeniores*; and in *Italy*, *Attacotti Honoriani juniores*: by which addition of *Honoriani*, they ſeem to have been ſome of thoſe barbarians who were entertain'd by *Honorius* the emperor, and with great detriment to the empire enroll'd as ſoldiers to ſerve in his wars.

Among theſe nations, alſo, which made irruptions into *Britain*, the *Ambrones* are reckon'd by *John Caius*, an author who has employ'd his time in the moſt excellent ſtudies, and to whom the republick of letters is ſingularly indebted. He derives his authority from that paſſage in *Gildas* where he writes of the *Picts* and *Scots*, "That thoſe former enemies, like ſo many "wolfiſh *Ambrones*, enraged with hunger and thirſt, leaping over the ſheep-"fold in the abſence of the ſheppard, convey'd with the wings of oars, the "arms of rowers, and ſails driven forward by the winds, break through all "bounds, and tear to pieces all they meet with." There this well-meaning old man (Dr. *Caius*) thinking he had read in *Feſtus* how the *Ambrones*, together with the *Cimbri*, pour'd into *Italy*, did not heed that *Ambro* ſignifies of it ſelf a *Devourer*, according to the interpretation of *Iſidore*. And in no other ſenſe is the word uſed either by *Gildas* or *Geffery* of *Monmouth*, who call the *Saxons* alſo *Ambrones*; nor any other *Ambrones* could my ſelf hitherto ever find in ancient writers, to have invaded *Britain*.

The

The ENGLISH SAXONS.

WHEN the *Roman* empire was ſinking under *Valentinian* the younger and *Britain*, both exhauſted by numerous levies of her ableſt men, and abandon'd to the *Roman* garriſons, was unable longer to oppoſe the *Scots* and *Picts*. *Vortigern*, whom the *Britains* had made their chief ſovereign, or, as others think, who had uſurped the crown, " being much awed, as *Ninnius* has it, by the " *Picts* and *Scots*, and terrified both by the *Romans* and *Aurelius Ambroſius*," ſent for *Saxon* forces to his aid out of *Germany*, in order to confirm his government, and recover the ſinking ſtate. Upon which, they forthwith flock'd over into *Britain* under the conduct of *Hengeſt* and *Horſa*, in their *Ciules*, as they call'd their flat-bottom boats, or pinnaces; and by a victory or two they gain'd over the *Picts* and *Scots*, acquir'd great renown. And obſerving the *Britains* ſtill to rely upon their courage, they ſent for freſh recruits out of *Germany*, which were to guard the borders, and diſtreſs the enemy, both by ſea and land. " *Guortigern*, ſays *Ninnius*, at the requeſt " of *Hengeſt*, ſummoned *Octha* and *Ebiſſa* to his aſſiſtance, who embarking in forty of their *Ciules*, or pinnaces, and cruizing about the *Pict*'s coaſts, laid the *Orcades* waſte, and took many iſlands and countries beyond the *Frith*, to the utmoſt confines of the *Picts*. At length, being delighted with the ſoil, civility and riches of the people, and preſuming upon the weakneſs of the inhabitants, under pretence of not paying their tax, and not being duly ſupplied with proviſions, made a league with the *Picts*; they waged, for a long time, war with the *Britains*, who had given them entertainment, ſlaying the frightened inhabitants, waſhing their lands, demoliſhing their cities; and after many ſore and doubtful battles fought againſt thoſe two bulwarks of the war, *Aurelius Ambroſius*, who had aſſumed the government wherein his parents were killed, and againſt the warlike king *Arthur* *, they diſpoſſeſs'd the *Britains* of the greateſt part of the iſle, and expell'd them from their ancient patrimony. In ſhort, the miſerable inhabitants ſuffered whatever either the conquerors might dare, or the conquer'd fear; for freſh troops ſwarmed daily out of *Germany* to the enemy, and continually renewed the war upon the harraſs'd *Britains*. Theſe conſiſted of *Saxons*, *Jutes*. (inſtead of *Vites*) and *Angles*; for properly ſpeaking they were ſo diſtinguiſh'd from one another, tho commonly, no otherwiſe than by *Angles* and *Saxons*. But let us now

* *Of this renowned King* Arthur, *and how far his ſtory may be admitted, ſee* Milton's Hiſt. of Brit. Stillingfleet's Orig. Britan. fol. 335. *and* Bp. Uſher's Primord. p. 60.

treat ſeparately and ſummarily of each that we may retrieve a ſight as it were of our own cradles.

Nevertheleſs I would firſt ſubjoin what is related by *Witichindus* who was himſelf a *Saxon* by birth, and alſo a writer of good antiquity, concerning the introduction of the *Saxons*. " *Britain*, ſays he, being by *Veſpaſian* " the emperor long ſince reduced to a province, and long to their honour " in ſubjection to the *Romans* was upon their withdrawing their pro- " tection abandon'd to the invaſions of the neighbouring nations. For the " *Romans* after *Martian* the emperor was murder'd by his ſoldiers, being " ſorely burthen'd with foreign wars could not afford to relieve their allies " with their accuſtomed aids. However before the *Romans* left the nation " they built a mighty ſtrong wall for its defence, extending between the " confines from ſea to ſea, where the invaſion of their enemy were moſt to " be expected. But after a weak and unreſiſting people were left to the " aſſaults of a reſolute, and well diſciplin'd enemy, that great work was " deſtroyed with little difficulty. Therefore they ſent humble embaſſies " to the *Saxons*, who were now grown famous for their brave and proſpe- " rous atchievements, requeſting that they would ſend them ſome aſſiſtance " and the embaſſadors being admitted to audience, addreſſed them after " this manner." Moſt noble *Saxons* the poor diſtreſſed *Britains* wearied and worn out with the continual invaſions of their enemies, upon the fame of your many glorious victories, have ſent us in their extremity as humble ſuppliants for your friendſhip and ſuccour. A country they enjoy, ſpacious and plentiful in all kinds of proviſion; and this they are ready to ſurrender to your government. Hitherto we have lived happily under the protection of the *Romans*. After them we know not a more valiant people than yourſelves, therefore in your courage we ſeek refuge. And if under your banners we can but prevail againſt our enemies, we will refuſe no ſervice you ſhall be willing to require of us. " To this ſpeech, the *Saxon* " nobles returned this ſhort anſwer." Aſſure yourſelves the *Saxons* will be ever friends to the *Britains*, and ready at all times both to relieve their neceſſities and advance their intereſt. " The embaſſadors returned joyful " home, and with theſe welcome tidings alſo rejoice their countrymen " accordingly the promis'd forces were ſent over; were gladly received by " the *Britains*; cleared in a ſhort time the land of invaders and repoſſeſſed " the natives of their own country. And indeed all this was no very " difficult task, ſince the renown of the *Saxon* bravery had terrified the " *Britains* to ſuch a degree, that they become fugitives at the very pre- " ſence of the *Saxons*. The people who thus moleſted the *Britains* were " *Scots* and *Picts*, and the *Saxons* were ſupply'd with all proviſions

ſupp

" ſupport the war againſt them. Hereupon they reſided in the country " ſome time, and held a very amicable intercourſe with the *Britains*, 'till " the commanders finding the iſland ſpacious and fruitful, and the inha- " bitants indiſpoſed to any military diſcipline for their own defence; con- " ſidering withal that the greateſt part of the *Saxons* had no ſettled ſitua- " tion; they ſent over for a larger body of their forces, then having ratifi- " ed a peace with the *Scots* and *Picts*, they made a general inſurrection " againſt the *Britains*, drove them out of the nation, and divided the coun- " try among themſelves. Thus far *Witichindus*.

" The original and etymology of the *Saxons* as of other nations, have, not " only by monks ignorant in antiquity but later pretenders to the ſtudy of " it, though men of ſome judgment, been much involved and obſcur'd with " fictions. Some derive them from *Saxo* the ſon of *Negnon*, and brother of " *Vandalus*: Others from their *Stony* or hardy diſpoſition; ſome from the " reliques of the *Macedonian* army; and others again, from a certain kind " of knives they wore, whence that *Rhyme* in *Engelhuſius*.

As *Sax*, and *ſhort-ſword*, ſignify the ſame,
'Tis thought from thence the *Saxons* had their name.

But *Crantzius* derives them from the *German Catti*, and the learned *Cappo* from the *Phrygians*. Of theſe, let every man take his choice, for I ſhall ſhall not labour to contradict ſuch fancies. Yet may that conjecture of the moſt learned *Germans* bid fair for our preference: who ſuppoſe that the *Saxons* deſcended from the *Sacæ* the moſt eminent people in *Aſia*, and ſo called as if one ſhould ſay *Sacaſones* or *Sons of the Sacæ*; and that they came out of *Scythia* or *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, by degrees in little companies, together with the *Getæ*, *Suevi*, *Daci*, and others into *Europe*. Nor is there any improbability in this opinion which derives the *Saxons* from *Aſia*, where mankind was firſt created and multiplied, for beſides, that *Strabo* writes how theſe *Sacæ* (as the *Cimærij* had done) invaded remote countries and named part of *Armenia* from themſelves *Sacacena*; the *Saſſones*, *Suevians*, *Maſſagetes* and *Danhi*, are placed alſo by *Ptolomy* in that part of *Scythia*; and thoſe nations are remarked by *Ciſner* to retain in great meaſure the ſame neighbourhood in *Europe* which was between them antiently in *Aſia*.

Nor is it leſs probable, that our *Saxons* were extracted from theſe *Sacæ* or *Saſſones* in *Aſia*, (call them what you will, then the *Germans* from thoſe *Germani* in *Perſia*, who are taken notice of by *Herodotus*, which they themſelves affirm from the affinity of their language: For that excellent

ſcholar

ſcholar *Joſeph Scaliger* demonſtrates that theſe words *Fader*, *Moder*, *Brader*, *Tutchter*, *Band*, and ſuch like, are at this day found in the *Perſian* tongue, and bear the ſame ſenſe with our *Father*, *Mother*, *Brother*, *Daughter*, and *Bond*. But when the *Saxons* firſt grew notable in the world, they reſided in *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, which we now call *Denmark*; and *Ptolomy* places them there; who is the firſt author occuring to me, that mentions them. For we ſhould not in truth read *Saxones*, as it is in ſome books, but more properly, *Axones*, in that verſe of *Lucan*,

And *Axons* nimble in unwieldy arms.

In the reign of *Diocleſian* they came out of *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus* with their neighbours the *Franks* and grievouſly annoy'd our coaſt and ſeas with piracies inſomuch that the *Romans*, in order to their expulſion made *Carauſius* general againſt them. They afterwards paſſed the river *Elbe*, and by degrees got footing in the *Suevian* territories, where the dukedom of *Saxony* now lies; and part of them divided into *Frieſland* and *Holland*, now totally forſaken by the *Franks*. For the *Franks* who had heretofore inhabited the inmoſt fens of *Friſeland*, (ſome whereof by floods are now joyned to that ſea called the *Zuider* ſea) and poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Holland*, then called *Batavia*, under *Conſtantius Chlorus*, *Conſtantine* the great and his ſons, being received as ſubjects, and thence tranſlated, to cultivate the deſerts of *Gaul*, either made their way by force of arms into more plentiful countries, or elſe, as *Zoſimus* writes, being driven out by the *Saxons*, left *Holland*. From that time all the *German* coaſters who liv'd by piracy, were now called *Saxons*, as they had been by the name of *Franks* before. Thoſe I mean who inhabit *Jutland*, *Sleſwick*, *Holſatia*, *Ditmarſe*, the biſhoprick of *Breme*, the country of *Oldenberg*, eaſt and weſt *Friſeland* and *Holland*, for the *Saxon* nation (as *Fabius Queſtor Ethelward* deſcended of the *Saxon's* royal blood, himſelf obſerves) included all the ſea coaſt between the *Rhine* and the city *Donia*, now commonly call'd *Dane-Marc*. Which author among others, (that I may acknowledge to whom I am beholded for them) was firſt diſcover'd and courteouſly communicated to me, by Mr. *Thomas Allen*, of *Oxford*, who is endow'd with many rare accompliſhments.

From this *Maritims* tract it was that the *Saxons*, emboldend by their many ſlaughters of the *Romans*, made frequent incurſions upon their provinces, and for a long time peſter'd this iſland, till at laſt *Hengerſt* himſelf came over. That he ſet ſail from *Holland* into *Britain*, and built the caſtle of *Leyden*, there is not only teſtified by the *Belgic* annals, but alſo by the noble *Janus Douſa*, a man of excellent parts and learning, who has wrote theſe verſes thereon.

Brave

Brave *Hengiſt* rais'd this ſtately pile,
On arches, if we credit fame;
When from the *Britains* conquer'd iſle,
He o'er their ſeas triumphant came.

The *Jutes*, who took their name as many think from the *Gutes*, *Getes*, or *Goths*, for a manuſcript copy reads it *Geatun*, were undoubtedly ſituated in the upper part of *Cimbria Cherſoneſus*, which is ſtill called by the *Danes*, *Jutland*; and were probably deſcended of thoſe *Gutte*, placed in *Scandia* by *Ptolomy*, and whoſe preſent ſeat is called *Gothland*. But we muſt be careful not to miſtake with *Jornandes*, this, for the native country of thoſe *Goths*, who victoriouſly overrun all *Europe*, for the moſt antient and approved writers have informed us that they dwelt beyond the *Iſter* near the *Euxine* ſea, and were more antiently called *Getes*.

But in what place the angles were ſeated is doubtful and variouſly conjectur'd. The generality of authors fix them in *Weſtphalia*, where now ſtands *Engern*, and where the *Suevians* live, of whom we read in *Tacity* and *Ptolomy*. I am willing to agree in this opinion, if we are hereby to underſtand thoſe who lived in the age of *Tacitus*, but I ſuppoſe they came down afterwards to the ſea coaſts. Others look for them in *Pomerania*, where the town of *Angloen* is ſeated. But obſerving that theſe extend to the more inland parts of *Germany*, remote from our ſeas, we muſt ſurely ſeek ſome other ſeat of our angles or engliſhmen; which *Bede* induces me to do between the *Saxons* and *Jutes*. The angles ſays he is come out of the country which is called *Angulus*, and is reported from that time to have lain waſte between the countries of the *Jutes* and *Saxons*. Now ſince between *Jutland* and *Holſatia*, the antient country of the *Saxons*, there is a little province in the kingdom of *Denmark*, below the city of *Flemsberg*, called *Angle*, which *Lindebergius* in his epiſtles calls *little England*. I dare affirm after all, that I have found the true ſeat of our anceſtors, and that it was from thence the angels came into our iſland. And to authorize me more confidently therein, I have the teſtimony of that antient writer *Ethelwardus*, who ſays that old *Anglia* is ſituate between the *Saxons* and the *Giots*, having a capital town which with *Saxon* tongue is named *Sleſwic*; but the *Danes* call it *Haithy*. In which very place alſo, *Ptolomy* ſeems to ſettle the *Saxons*, ſo that a poet of the middle age, ſeems not to have ſung improperly in this manner.

Their riſe to *Saxons*, that the *Engliſh* owe,
Their fair complexions, and their language ſhow.

Some

Some of theſe angles have advanced into the heart at *Germany*; and mi
ing with the *Longobards* and *Suevians*, they made way into *Italy*, and a
alſo thought to have got footing in *Engelheim*, the native country of *Cha*
the great, *Ingoldſtad*, *Engleburg*, *Englerute* in *Germany*, and *Angleria*
Italy. But what the elymology of the name is I dare not undertake to d
cide: However, utterly reject that *Angelus* ſon of *Humblus*, and his que
Angela who are fooliſhly feigned to be the founders of our nation. Nor c
I think its name was given it from *Angulus* a corner, as if it were a corne
the world, as ſome, grounding upon that common diſtich, would infer

This nook which does from heaven ſuch ſtores receive,
Lies from the world, and can without it live.

Nor does *Goropius*'s notion deſerve ſo much attention as deriſion wh
derives *Anglos* or *Engliſhmen* from angle, that is a fiſhing rod or fiſh ho
becauſe, adds he, *they hook all to them*, and are as we commonly phra
good Anglers. But whoever diſcerns the elymology of *Engelbert Engelh*
and ſuch like *German* names, may probably alſo perceive the original of *A*
gli. It is manifeſt that the *Friſons* likewiſe came, among others, into *B*
tain, out of *Procopius*; and becauſe that hiſtorian is not publick, I ſhall
cite the paſſage from the tranſcript that was ſent me out of the kings libr
at *Paris*, by *Francis Pithou*, that courteous and compleat antiquary. "T
" iſland of *Britain* is inhabited by three moſt populous nations, each whe
" has their ſeveral kings: theſe nations are call'd *Angles*, *Friſons*, and *Brit*
" after the name of their iſland. Now theſe inhabitants ſeem ſo numero
" that every year vaſt numbers of them flock over with their families to
" *Franks*, who allot them that part of their own country which is moſt w
" and uncultivated. Hence 'tis reported they lay claim to the iſland as t
" own. And accordingly not long ſince, when the king of the *Franks* c
" patch'd ſome of his own miniſters, on an embaſſy to the emperor *Ju*
" *nian*, at *Conſtantinople*, he ſent along with them ſome of the *Angles* ou
" pure oſtentation, as if the Iſland were part of his dominion."

Theſe are the ſeveral people of *Germany*, who planted themſelves in *B*
tain, but that they were one only nation and called by one general nam
ſometimes *Saxons*, ſometimes *Angleo*, or *Anglo-Saxons*, to diſtinguiſh th
from theſe who were left in *Germany*, may be plainly gather'd from *Gil*
Bede, *Sr. Boniface Paulus Diaconus*, and others. Yet in latin they are m
frequently called *Angli*, *Gens Anglorum*, and in their tongue to the ſa
ſenſe *Engla-theod*.

Anci

Authors do not agree upon the time they were firſt invited into *Britain* by *Vortigern*; but to paſs over others, *Bede* and his followers make this computation of *thoſe moſt confuſed times.*

In the thirty firſt year of *Theodoſius* the younger, and the four hundred and thirtieth of Chriſt, the *Britains*, being grievouſly oppreſs'd by the *Picts* and *Scots*, craved aid but in vain of *Ætius*, then in his third conſulſhip.

Under *Valentinian* the third, St. *German* came over once or twice into *Britain*, againſt the *Pelagians*, and having implored divine aſſiſtance, led an army of *Britains* againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, and gained the victory.

In the firſt year of *Martian*, and that of our Lord four hundred forty nine, the nation of the *Engliſh Saxons*, arrived in *Britain.*

But whenſoever they came over, 'tis certain they diſtinguiſh'd themſelves with ſingular valour, and prudence: For in a ſhort time they became ſo eminent for number, government and extent of dominion, that they roſe to a powerful and proſperous ſtate and their conqueſt was in a manner abſolute. For all the vanquiſh'd except, a few, whom the weſtern tract by its unpaſſible ruggedneſs defended, became one nation under one name, uſed the ſame laws, and ſpoke the ſame language with the conquerors. For beſides *England*, a great part of *Scotland*, being poſſeſſed by theſe *Saxons* (who to this day are called by the wild natural Scots *Saſſones*) uſe the ſame tongue with our ſelves, with a little variation of the dialect. Which tongue with the land itſelf, both we and they for the ſpace of eleven hundred and fifty years, have kept uncorrupted, proving how falſe and frivolous, among other predictions of the like nature that of the *Saxon* prophets was, foretelling when they ſet ſail for this iſland, *That they ſhould be inhabitants of it for three hundred years only, and that half the time it would be moleſted with frequent deva ſtations.*

Now the ſubject and the place we are in, ſeem to require that ſomething ſhould be added touching the ancient manners and cuſtoms of our *Saxon* anceſtors: Therefore I ſhall ſubjoin my obſervations thereupon.

The *Saxons* were generally a warlike people, and, as *Zoſimus* informs us, were look'd upon for their magnamity, ſtrength of body, and vigour of conſtitution, as the braveſt of all the *Germans*, they were the greateſt terror to the *Romans*, becauſe of the ſurprizing ſuddeneſs of their invaſions, according to *Marcellinus*; and *Oroſius* repreſents them no leſs formidable for their courage and agility. *Saxony*, by reaſon of its marſhes, is an inacceſſible country, and border'd with unpaſſible ſituations; which tho' it greatly ſecur'd them from invaſions, and tho' the *Saxon* captives often adorn'd the *Roman* triumphs, yet are they accounted a moſt courageous people, and moſt expert of all others in *Maritime* depredations, which indeed they owe to the advantageous ſwiftneſs of their pinnaces, and more to their tackle than their weapons; as *Hegeſippus* has

obſerv'd; whence *Iſidore* remarks, that the *Saxon* nation ſeated upon the ſhore, and among unpaſſible fenns, being a *hardy* active people, from the took their name, which ſignifies things of a hard and impenetrable na they being moſt reſolute in their nature, and fam'd above all others for t Piracy; eminent for the tallneſs of their ſtature, proportion of their li and turn of their features. Whence *Witichindus* the monk writes, that *Franks* admir'd theſe people as well for the excellences of the body as mind; they wonder'd at their ſtrange habit, their armour and their hair o ſpreading their ſhoulders; but above all at their manhood and intrepi They were cloth'd in cloſe *jerkins*, their arms were long lances, they le upon their little targets and had a kind of *skeins* or long knives tuck'd u their ſides. At firſt they ſhav'd their hair cloſe to their ſcull except a the crown, and wore a boidering or filleting plate cloſe about their head *Sidonius Appollinaris* teaches us in theſe verſes.

Here, we the azure *Saxons* did behold,
Trimbling at land, who on the ſeas were bold:
The claſping Plates they round their temples wear,
Sliding, ſweeps up, into one turf, their hair:
Whilſt all the ſcalp beneaths, cloſe ſhav'd, their face
Appears ſtill larger, as their head looks leſs.

As for their apparel, we may conceive what it was from the obſerv made by *Paulus Diaconus* in this reſpect of the *Longobards*. "Their gar "were large and loſe and moſtly of linnen ſuch as the *Engliſh-Saxons* u "wear broadly trim'd or garded, and embroider'd with various colou having been long us'd to piracies, they were become dextrous marine having been ſo habituated to the ſea, they were (as it has been obſerved timerous in land adventures. But they diſtreſs'd the *Britiſh* coaſts and of *France*, to that degree even as far as *Spain*, that it was found ex to guard the ſhores of both kingdoms with officers and ſoldiers againſt invaſions. And theſe were therefore called *Counts or Earls of the* Saxon along *Britain* and *France*; notwithſtanding which, they often plunder *Marritime* towns, by the help of their little light boats, and hereto thoſe of *Sidonius Appollinaris* refer.

The *Saxon* pirates roving for their prey,
Fearing the forces of *Armorica*;
In leathern boats, the *Britiſh* ſeas explore
And plunder all along th' ungarded ſhore.

Nay, alſo in *France*, near the ſaid *Armorica* or little *Britain*, they poſſeſſed themſelves for a long time of the country, about *Baieux*, as appears in *Grégory Turonenſis*, who called them *Saxones Baiocaſſinos*, as they are vulgarly call'd *Saſnes Beſſins*.

But how barbarouſly they ſpoil'd our coaſts *Sidonius* himſelf will inform you; who ſays, (to his correſpondent) "The meſſenger with whom we diſcourſed ſometime while we detain'd him on your account conſtantly affirm'd, that you lately charged the enemy at ſea, and officiated in perſon "ſometimes as a ſoldier, ſometimes as a ſailor, and that you were eagerly chaſing the *Saxon* flyboats along the winding ſhores. And herein aſſure yourſelf to meet with as many arch-pirates as there are rowers. They are all at once both ſuch maſters and ſervants, ſuch teachers and learners of this trade of robbery that it behoves you now, more than ever, to be cautious, that you are not overreach'd by them in their way of dealing. There is not a more dangerous enemy: He attacks you unawares and retreats as inſenſibly: He regards no oppoſition and ſurely gets the advantage of thoſe who diſregard him. Thoſe whom he purſues he is ſure to overtake and thoſe from whom he flies he is ſure to eſcape: even ſhipwrecks which diſmay others do but ſtrengthen his reſolution. They do not only comprehend the dangers of the ſea, but are intimately familiar with them. A ſtorm is but a friendly ſecurity to them, helping them to eſcape from a purſuing enemy and from being diſcover'd when they are purſuing one. Rocks and billows are welcome to them, ſo they yield but the proſpect of a prize 'Tis a conſtant cuſtom with them upon returning from an enemies country to their own, to kill every tenth captive with equal and exquiſite torture the more to be lamented in that it proceeds from ſuperſtition; and among thoſe who are are thus ſelected to endure this barbarity, the pretended equity of lots is allow'd, to qualify the iniquity of putting them to death: With ſuch vows do they bind themſelves! With ſuch victims diſcharge them! Thus being not ſo much purified by ſacrifice as polluted by ſacriledge theſe bloody murderers think it a more religious act to put a priſoner to death by unhumane torture than ſet him free for a profitable ranſome." Hitherto may alſo be referr'd what we collect from the fragment of an ancient hiſtory in *Iſidore*, "The *Saxons* truſt to their fly-boats and not to their ſtrength, and are always better prepar'd for flying than fighting." Alſo, that teſtimony of *Salvian*, who lived in thoſe times and writes thus of the barbarous nations. "The *Alani* are indecent people but not perfidious, the *Franks* are liars but hoſpitable, the *Saxons* cruel but honour'd for their chaſtity." And indeed of ſo great reſolution and intrepidity they were, that they would rather chuſe to murder themſelves, than be expoſed to the contempt

of other, inſomuch that when *Symmachus* had provided a number of them to adorn the publick ſhows, "the very day they were to be led to the theatre "to fight the prizes againſt one another, they all ſtrangled themſelves, and "diſappointed the ſpectators of that bloody diverſion:" Of theſe, *Symmachus* himſelf thus writes. "The company of *Saxons* is diminiſh'd by death "for the private guards not watching theſe deſperate people cloſe enough "the firſt day of the prizes nine and twenty of them were diſcover'd ſtrangled "led without a halter."

Moreover, that the *Saxon* nation was very much addicted to ſuperſtition, appears in that when they were to conſult upon any matters of conſequence they obſerved, beſides the entrails of animals, according to the ſooth-ſayers, even the neighing of their horſes as portuitous. And hence perhaps we may account for the horſe which was given in arms of the antient dukes of *Saxony*. But why our primitive anceſtors, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, derived their names from this creature (for both their names in the *Saxon* tongue ſignify a *Horſe*) I cannot reſolve, unleſs it was for a lucky omen, and to foreſhew their martial bravery according to that of *Virgil*,

Our ſteeds are arm'd for war, and war preſage.

They were alſo very much addicted to the caſting of lots; for lopping a branch from ſome fruit-bearing tree, they cleft it into ſlips, and having diſtinguiſh'd them with certain marks, caſt them at a venture upon a white ſheet; then the prieſt, if the conſultation was upon a publick occaſion, or elſe the maſter of the family, if it was upon a private one, after pious addreſſes to their gods, took every lot three times up, and ſo gave interpretation according to the marks which appear'd.

To diſcover the events of war, they us'd to compel a priſoner of that nation againſt whom they had proclaim'd hoſtility, to fight one choſen out of their own country, ſo to judge of the fate of a battle by that ſingle combat. They worſhipp'd *Mercury* before all other gods, and him they called *Woden*: The ſacrifices they offered at his altar, were their own ſpecies, and the day they conſecrated to him was the fourth in the week, which is therefore at this day called *Wedneſday*. The ſixth day they conſecrated to *Venus*, whom they named *Frea*, or *Frico*, whence we name that day *Friday*, as we alſo do *Tueſday* from *Tuiſco*, the progenitors of the *Germans*. They had a goddeſs alſo called *Eoſter*, to whom they ſacrificed in the month of *April*; and hence, according to *Bede*, they called *April*, *Eoſter Month*, and we ſtill name the feaſt of the Reſurrection, *Eaſter*. "In general, ſays *Tacitus*, the *Angles*, and other "neighbouring nations, worſhipped *Herthus*, that is, their mother *Earth*,

" a goddess, believing that she concerned herself in human affairs". And that word signifies still the *Earth* in ours, tho' not in the *German* tongue, which instead of *Earth* uses the word *Arden*. Of these superstitions, the fore-mention'd *Ethelward* writes in this manner, with respect to his own times, " So grievously seduced are the *Northern* unbelievers, that to this day the *Danes*, " *Normans*, and *Suevians*, worship *Woodan* as their Lord". And in another place, " The barbarous people worshipped *Woodan* as their God, and the " *Pagans* offer'd sacrifices to him, that he might endow them with valour and " success in war".

But *Adam Bremensis* has been more copious upon this head. " In a temple (says " he) which they call *Ufsola*, all furnish'd with gold, the people worship the " images of three gods; *Thor*, who is supream among them, is in a throne " by himself, and on either the side of him stands *Woodan* and *Frico*; by which " they understand of *Thor*, the ruler of the air, and all the variations thereof, " by thunder, lightning, winds, fair and rainy weather, with the fruitfulness " upon earth; thence proceeding *Woodan* the second, by which they signify " a most valiant power has the conduct ascribed to him of all wars, and the " inspiration of armies against their enemies. *Frico* the third has the " distribution of peace and pleasure among men, whose image they distinguish " with a stout *Priapus*. *Woodan* they carve in armour, as we are wont to re- " present *Mars*; and *Thor* they seem to have honour'd with the sceptre of " *Jupiter*". But the truth of christianity seems to have dispers'd all these errors.

After the nations aforesaid had got sure footing in *Britain*, they divided it into seven kingdoms, and made it a *Heptarchy*: In which, however, the prince who had the greatest power was called, as we find in *Bede*, *King of the English nation*: So that in the *Heptarchy* itself, there seems to have always been a monarchy. After this *Augustine*, whom we commonly call the *English* apostle, being sent hither by *Gregory* the great, abolishing these heathen impieties, happily planted christianity in their room: And why this *Gregory* was so particularly careful for the conversion of the *English* nation, we are informed by venerable *Bede*, from the tradition of his ancestors, in this manner; " 'Tis reported, that one " day, when the merchants were newly arrived, and great variety of wares " were exposed to sale in the market-place, (at *Rome*) many chapmen flocked " together, and *Gregory* himself among the rest. He observed among other " things, certain boys to be sold, whose bodies were very fair, and their " aspects exceeding amiable; whom having deliberately survey'd, he ask'd " from what country they were brought? He was answered, they came out of " the island of *Britain*, and that the inhabitants thereof were as agreeable as " these he beheld; then he asked, whether those islanders were christians, or

" were

" were ſtill bewilder'd in the errors of paganiſm? To which being anſwer'd, " They were pagans; he reply'd, fetching a deep ſigh, Alas! what pity the " father of darkneſs ſhould have the aſcendant over ſuch bright faces; and " that they who were adorned with ſuch external grace, ſhould inwardly con- " tinue ſuch ſtrangers to it. Therefore, enquir'd one again, What nation they " were of? And being anſwer'd, They were *Angli*; Well may they be ſo " call'd, ſaid he, for they have moſt angelick faces, and moſt fitting it is they " ſhould be made coheirs with the angels in heaven: But what was the " name of that peculiar province from whence theſe youths were brought? " To which being anſwer'd, That the inhabitants thereof were call'd *Dieri*; " *Dieri* indeed, ſaid he, for they are *De ire eruti*, that is, *reſcued from* " *wrath*, and call'd to the mercy of Chriſt. Who call you the king of that " province, ſaid he? They anſwer'd, His name was *Aella*: Then, alluding " to that name, it is proper, ſaid he, That *Alleluia* ſhould be ſung in thoſe " parts to the praiſe of God the Creator. Go therefore to the pope (for he " was not as yet advanced to the papacy himſelf,) he entreated him to ſend " over ſome miniſters to the nation of the *Angles* in *Britain*, that by their " preaching, they might be converted to Chriſt; adding, that himſelf, by " God's aſſiſtance, was ready to undertake this great work, if it ſhould be " pleaſe the apoſtolick father."

Of this converſation, *Gregory the Great* writes thus: " Behold, it has in " a manner penetrated the hearts of all nations! how the utmoſt bounds of " eaſt and weſt are join'd in one common faith! Even the *Britiſh* tongue, " which could but rudely mutter barbarous ſounds, has, for ſome time, ec- " cho'd forth heavenly *Halleluia*'s in the *Hebrew* tongue." And, in his Epiſtle to *Auguſtine* himſelf, " Who is ſufficiently able to ſhew what exceeding " joy inſpires the hearts of the faithful, ſeeing the *Engliſh* nation, by God's " grace and your endeavours, ſurmounting the errors of darkneſs, is illumi- " nated with the glorious light of the heavenly faith; for now they ſincerely " ſpurn their idols under their feet, who heretofore ſuperſtitiouſly proſtrated " themſelves before them." In an old fragment of that age, we alſo find the following particulars: " *Auguſtine*, upon one day of Chriſt's nativity, to " the eternal glory of the *Engliſh* nation, baptized above ten thouſand men, " beſides women and children: But where ſhould there be a ſufficient num- " ber in holy orders to baptize ſo many people? Wherefore having conſe- " crated the river *Swale*, the Archbiſhop * commanded, by criers, the people

* *Bede* reports all theſe particulars of this great chriſtening in the river *Swale* in *Yorkſhire*, to be under the direction of *Paulinus*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and not of *Auſtin*.

" ſhould

" should with a steady faith enter the same by pairs, and in the name of " the Trinity baptize one another alternately. Thus were they all new born " with no less miracle than in times past, the people of *Israel* passed the " divided sea, and Jordan, when it was turned back: For in the same " manner they were transported to the opposite bank and notwithstand- " ing so great a current, such diversities of sex and age, not one person " (so wonderful it was) came to the least harm. A great miracle! but " what was still greater, the river became sovereign against all infirmities. " Whosoever is sick and deformed at their entrance returns out of it " sound and streight. O joyful sight for angels and men! When so many " thousands of a converted nation thing for grace came out of one channel " as out of their mother's womb, and one single pool qualified such a " number for the coelestial mansion. Hereupon Pope *Gregory*, with all the " companies of saints) could not restrain the joy, but he writ to St. *Eulo-* " *gius* the patriarch of *Alexandria*, most gladly to congratulate with him " for that so great a number had been baptized upon one christmas " day."

No sooner was the name of Christ preached about, but the *English* directly devoted themselves with such zeal to Christ, that they took incredible pains in propagating his gospel, in celebrating divine service, with all other duties of piety, building of churches, and endowing them with rich livings; insomuch that no country in all christendom could boast of more monasteries, or more richly endowed. Nay, even some of their kings preferr'd a monastick life before their crowns and kingdoms. And so many religious men did this land produce, who for their firm profession of the christian religion, constant perseverance therein, and unfeigned holiness, were canonized *Saints* that in this point it is second to no other country in the christian world. And as *Britain* was called by the prophane *Porphyry*, *a province plentiful in tyrants*; so *England* might as properly be called *and island most fruitful in saints.*

Further they apply'd themselves to the promotion of human learning, and by the help of *Winifrid*, *Willebrode* and others, dispersed the arts and sciences, together with the gospel, over *Germany*, as a *German* poet has inform'd us in these verses.

Let this to *Britain*'s lasting fame be said,
When barbr'ous troops the civil world o'erspread,
And persecuted arts to exile fled;
'Twas happy she did all those arts restore,
Which *Greece* or *Rome* had boasted of before:

Taught

Taught the rude world to climb the ſpangled ſpheres,
And trace the wand'ring motions of the ſtars,
Not learning only, but religion too,
Her riſe and growth to *Britain*'s virtues owe.
'Twas you, bleſt *Winifrid*, whoſe heavenly light
From our dull climate chas'd the fogs of night:
Our rites prophane, thy pious charms obey'd,
And ſuperſtition at thy doctrine fled.
Nor ſmaller tokens of eſteem from *France*
Alcuinus claims, who durſt himſelf advance
Single, againſt whole-hoſts of ignorance.
'Twas he tranſported *Britain*'s richeſt ware,
'Twas he firſt planted arts and ſcience there;
With him his maſter *Bede* ſhall ever live,
And all his learning ever ſhall ſurvive.

It is farther noted by *Peter Ramus*, that *Britain* was twice School-miſtreſs to *France*, that is to ſay, firſt by the *Druids*, and ſecondly by *Alcuine*, of whoſe knowledge and induſtry *Charles the Great* made principal uſe in his foundation of the univerſity of *Paris*.

Not only learning and religion, but military diſcipline alſo was tranſported by the *Saxons* into *Germany*. Nay, and what is more obſervable, if we may believe *Aginhart*, they were the progenitors of thoſe *Saxons*, who now inhabit the dukedom of *Saxony*. For he ſays, "That antiquaries affirm, the "*Saxon* nation leaving thoſe *Angles* which inhabit *Britain*, thro' deſire or "neceſſity of finding ſome new place of abode, ſail'd over the *German* "coaſt, and landed at *Haduloha*, about the time that *Theoderic* King of "the *Franks*, was at war with *Hirminfrid* Duke of *Thuringi*, his ſon-in-law, "and barbarouſly ſpoiled the land; when, after two battles, the victory was "dubious, tho' both ſides loſt much blood. Whereupon *Theodoric*, deſpair-"ing of conqueſt, ſent for *Saxon* aids. As ſoon as their duke, named *Ha-"dugato*, heard their meſſage, and overtures of a coalition in caſe of victory, "he joined them with an army; by whoſe valiant aſſiſtance, as if they had "been fighting their own cauſe, he overcame the enemy, plunder'd the coun-"try, ſlew the inhabitants, and, according to contract, deliver'd their land "up to the conquerring auxiliaries, who ſhar'd it by lot: And becauſe the "war had diminiſhed them to ſuch a number, that they could not people the "whole country, they let it out part of it, which lies eaſtward, to the pea-"ſantry, who paid rent in proportion to their lot. The reſt they culti-"vated themſelves. On their ſouth ſide lived the *Franks*, and a remnant "of

" of the *Thuringi*, whom the foregoing ſtorm of hoſtility had not diſpers'd " being divided from them by the river *Unſtrote*. Northward dwell the *Nor-* " *mans* a moſt fierce nation. On the eaſt, the *Obotriti*; and on the weſt, the " *Friſcians*; againſt whom they were inceſſantly defending their territories " and frontiers, either by faith of leagues or force of arms." But now to return to the *Engliſh Saxons*.

For a long while the *Saxons* flouriſh'd under the ſaid *Heptarchy*, till all the reſt of the ſtates waſted by civil wars, became in the end all ſubject to the *Weſt Saxons*. For *Egbert*, king of theſe *Weſt Saxons*, having already ſubdued four of theſe kingdoms, and indulged full hopes of the other two, that he might unite them in name as well as government, commanded, by proclamation, that the whole *Saxon Heptarchy*, ſhould be called *Englelond*, or the *land of the* Angles; whence came the Latins *Anglia* from the *Angles*, who of the three nations who came over were the moſt numerous and brave. For they were poſſeſs'd of the kingdom of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, two of the largeſt countries, as alſo, of the *Eaſt-Angles*, whereas the *Jutes* held only *Kent* and the iſle of *Wight*; and the *Saxons*, only eaſt, weſt, and *South-Sex*; narrow dominions, if compar'd with thoſe of the *Angles*: From whom they were long ſince, known, by the general name of the *Engliſh*, and in their own language *Englatheod*, *Anglcynne*, *Englcynne*, and *Engliſcmon*, tho' every kingdom had a proper name diſtinct to it ſelf, this is plain, among other writers, from *Bede*, who calls his work the *Hiſtory of the* Engliſh *nation*. So even in the *Heptarchy* thoſe princes who were moſt powerful, were called kings of the *Engliſh* nation, and then the name of *Britain* was quite out of uſe among the inhabitants of the iſland, as was preſerved more in books than common diſcourſe; hence *Boniface*, Biſhop of *Mentz*, an Engliſhman born, calls our country Saxony *beyond Sea*. Nevertheleſs King *Eadred*, about the year nine hundred forty eight, uſed in ſome of his charters and patents, the name and title of king of *Great Britain*, as *Edgar* in the year nine hundred ſeventy was ſtiled *the Monarch of all* Albion.

When it was called *Anglia* or *England*, it was in the height of its glory, and therefore (according to the fate of all things) ſoon haſtened to decay. For the *Danes* who continually infeſted our coaſt, at length broke in, and made moſt lamentable havock over all the country.

The Names of the ENGLISH SAXONS.

I HAD ſome intentions to have here inſerted a regular lift our *Engliſh Saxon* kings, as well in the time of their hepta chy as their monarchy; but conſidering they do not ſo prop ly belong to this place, and that the naked recital of name no great entertainment, to a reader, it may perhaps be m acceptable to annex a brief abſtract of my reading, and chie from *Alfric*, our ancient *Grammarian*, concerning the ſignification and etym of the ancient *Engliſh* names. Not that I will undertake to give an ex nation of every name which would be a task too laborious; beſides that barbarous names, wherein there is ſuch ſignificancy, ſuccinct brevity and ſo times ambiguity, are not without great difficulty render'd into another lan age. But becauſe the generality of them are compounds and that o ſimples; I will explain theſe ſimples, that the ſignification of the compou always bearing ſome auſpicious meaning, may be more evidently diſcove and that we may perfectly perceive there is among all nations that deriva of names which is taken notice of by *Plato*.

AEL. EAL. and AL. ſignifies in compound names, as *Pan* in the G compounds, *all* or *entirely*. Thus, AELWIN. is as much as to ſay, *pleat conqueror*; ALBERT, *all bright*; ALDRED, *all dreaded* or reve ALFRED *altogether peaceful*, whereto anſwers in ſome meaſure the G *Panmachius*, *Pancratius*, *Pamphilius*, &c.

AELF. which according to their various dialects is pronounced *Ulf*, *Wo Hulph*, *Hilp*, *Helfe*, as much as *help* or *aid*: For example implying A WIN or *victorious aid*; AELFWOLD, a *helpful governor*; AELFGIVA *lender* of *aid*; and agreeable to theſe are thoſe *Greek* names, *Boetius* machus *Epicurus*.

ARD. ſignifies a *natural diſpoſition*; as GODARD, is a *divine* REINARD, *ſincere inclination*; GIFFARD a *Frank* or *bountiful* BERNARD, a *filial affection*.

ATHEL. *Adel*, and *Ethel*, imply *noble*; thus ÆTHLRED, is noble council, ÆTHELABD, a noble diſpoſition; ÆTHELBERT, *illuſtr noble*; ETHELWARD, a *noble protector*.

BER

BERT, the ſame as our word *bright*; in the Latin *illuſtris* and *Clarus*. So ECBERT, for *ever ſhining*; SIGBERT, *illuſtrious conqueror*: And ſhe whom the *Germans* called BERTHA, was by the *Greeks* named EUDOXIA, as *Luitprandus* obſerves. Of this kind alſo was *Phædrus*, *Epiphanius Photius* and *Lampridius*, among the *Greeks*; *Fulgentius*, *Illuſtrius*, &c. among the *Romans*.

BALD, ſignifies in the north the ſame as *Audax* in *Latin*, that is *bold*, as we learn from *Jornandes*; and is not yet out of uſe: So *Baldwin* (and by inverſion *Winbald*) is a *bold conqueror*, ETHELBALD, *nobly bold*; EADBALD, *happily bold*; which are conſonant with *Thraſeas Thraſimachus*, and *Thraſibulus*, &c. in *Greek*.

CEN, and KIN, ſignify kindred; ſo CINULPH or KINULPH a *help* to his *kindred*, CINHELM or KINHELM, a *defender* of his *kin*: KINRIC *powerful* in or to ones *kindred*.

CVTH, implies skill or cunning: So CVTHWIN is a skilful or *politick conqueror*: CVTHRED, a *learned councellor*; CVTHBERT, *renowned* for his *skill*; much of the ſame kind are *Sophocles*, *Sophianus*, &c. in *Greek*.

EAD in compound, and EADIG, in the ſimple names ſignify *happineſs* or *Bleſſedneſs*. Thus EADWARD is the ſame as *happy Preſerver*; EADVLPH, *bleſſed help*; EADGAR, *happy power*; EADWEIN *fortunate conqueror*. Of which there is ſome reſemblance in the *Greek* names, *Macarius* and *Eupolemus*, and thoſe Latin ones, *Fauſtus*, *Fortunatus*, *Felicianus*, &c.

FRED, anſwers to our word *peace*; for ſo our anceſtors called *Sanctuaria Fredſtole*, that is, the ſeats of peace: This FREDERIC, is as much as powerful or *rich* in *peace*; WINFRED, victorious peace; REINFRED, *ſincere peace*.

GISLE among the *Engliſh Saxons*, betokens a *pledge* or *hoſtage*, as FREDGISLE, an *hoſtage of peace*; GISLEBERT a notable or *illuſtrious pledge*, as in *Greek*, *Homerus*.

HOLD in the old gloſſaries is interpreted as *Wold*, is a *governor* or *chief lieutenant*; tho' in other places it ſignifies *love*, as HOLDEIC, *lovely* or *amiable*.

HELM is as much as defence. Thus EADHELM, *happy defence*; SIGHELM, *victorious defence*; BERTHELM, notable or *illuſtrious defence*; and ſo the *Greek*, *Amyntas*, *Boetius*, &c.

HARE and *here*, as they are diverſly pronounc'd, ſignify both an *army* and a *Lord*: So HARHOLD, is the ruler or an *army*; HAREMAN, a principal or chief in an army; HERBERT, *excellent* in an *army*; HERWIN, a *victorious army* or *conqueror* or a *hoſt*: Not unlike thoſe *Greek* names *Stratocles*, *Polemarchus*, *Hegeſiſtratus*.

HILD, is expounded *lord* and *lady* in *Alfric's Grammar:* Thus HILDEBERT, ſignifies a famous or *renowned lord*; MATHILD a *virgin lady*; and in the ſame ſenſe is WIGA, to be underſtood.

LEOD, ſignifies as much as *people:* This LEODGAR is one *powerful* with the *people.*

LEOF, ſignifies *love:* Thus LEOFWIN, one who *wins love*; LEOFSTAN, *beſt beloved*; as in *Greek*, *Agapetus*, *Eraſmus*, *Eraſtus*; *Philo*; and in Latin *Amatus* and *Amandus.*

MVND, ſignfies *peace*, whence comes our law term, MVNBREACH, or *breach of peace:* So EADMVND is *happy peace:* ÆTHELMVND, *noble peace:* ÆLMVND *all peaceful*, or *peace maker:* Whereto approach thoſe *Greek* names, *Irenæus* and *Heſychius*; and *Lenis*, *Pacatus*, *Sedatus*, *Tranquillus* in *Latinæ.*

RAD, RED, and ROD, according to the different dialect imply *counſel:* As CONRAD, powerful, or skilful in council, ETHELDRED, a noble counſellor; RODBERT, notable for counſel, and not unlike in ſenſe to *Eubulus*, and *Thraſibulus* in *Greek.*

RIC. ſignifies *potent*, *rich and valiant*; as *fortunatus* has inſtructed us in theſe verſes.

Interprers, of HILPERIC's name decide,
That a *ſtrong helper* is thereby imply'd.

Thus ALFRIC, is *all-powerful*; ATHELRIC, *nobly valiant.* To which names allude thoſe in *Greek*, *Polycrates*, *Crato*, with *Plutarchus* and *Opimius* in *Latin.*

SIG, was uſed by them for victory; whence SIGBERT, *renowned* for victory; and to much the ſame ſenſe *Nicocleſe Nichomachus*, and *Nicander* with the *Greeks:* *victor*, *victorius*, *Vinrennius*, &c. among the *Latins.*

STAN, was a termination of old for the ſuperlative degree, as ATHELSTAN, that is *moſt noble:* BETSTAN, beſt; LEEFSTAN, moſt dear; WISTAN moſt wiſe; DVNSTAN, moſt high.

WI, the ſame with *holy*; as WIMVND, holy peace; WIBERT, *famous for holineſs*; ALWI, all holy: As in *Greek Hierocles*, *Hieronymus*, *Heſius*, &c.

WILLI and *Vili*, among the *Engliſh Saxons*, the ſame as billy at preſent; and among the *Germans* ſignified *many:* As WILLIELM, a *defender of many*; WILDRED, *honour'd* by *many*, WILFRED, *peace* to *many*; with which agree in ſenſe and ſignification *Polymachus*, *Polycrates*, *Polyphilus*, &c.

WOLD and *wald* signifies among them a ruler or governor; hence BERTWOLD, a *famous governor*; ETHEWOLD, a noble ruler; HERWALD and by inversion, WALDHER, the *ruler* of an *army*.

But here let us put a period lest others as well as my self should think I have labour'd sufficiently, if not superfluously, upon a subject in such little request.

Yet among these names, it may perhaps be more considerable to inform future ages (that is if these papers should have the fortune to descend to them) what has fall'n within the course of my observation: Which is, that as king *Egbert* commanded this hither part of *Britain*, which was in his own possession to be called *England*: So now after about eight hundred years, and at the very time we are reviling this work, king *James*, by the favour of heaven, and his own hereditary right, invested with the monarchy of this whole island, to the general satisfaction of all worthy men, That the said island, being but one, and compass'd with one ocean, now under one person and one crown, in one community of language, religion, laws, and judicial process, might, to the settlement of its lasting felicity and oblivion of all old disputes, be call'd also by one name; has in the second year of his reign, by proclamation assumed the stile and title of king of GREAT BRITAIN, in all cases whatever except instruments of law.

The DANES.

THE original of the *Danes* is not certainly known to the *Danes* themselves. The derivation from *Danus* a giant, who was the son of *Humblus*, and that also of *Goropius* from a *hen*, have been long since exploded by antiquaries *Andreas Vellejus*, a *Dane*, and a great scholar derives them from the *Dahæ*, a people of *Scythia*, and from *Marc*, which signifies rather a *country* than the *bounds* of one. Our countryman *Ethelward*, was persuaded the name was taken from the city *Donia*. But I always thought them sprung from the *Danciones*, (placed by *Ptolomy* in *Scandia*, who by the change of one letter in some copies are called *Dauciones*) and that they removed from thence into *Cimbrica Chersonesus* deserted by the *English*; till, that learned and judicious antiquary, *Jonas Jacobus Venusinus*, by his curious enquiry discover'd some evident remains in the *sinus Codanus*, *Codanonia*, that is the *Baltick* or *Oost-Sea*, which *Pomponius Mela* mentions to be in those very parts. These names being pronounced somewhat roughly by the northern people, *Cdan* and *Cdanonum*;

nonum; *Mela* reduced as above to the Latin *Idiom*; as ſucceeding ages have mollified *Gdanum*, into *Dansk*; *Clodovius*, into *Ludovic*, *Knute* into *Canutus*.

The name was not known before the reign of *Juſtinian*, about the year five hundred ſeventy: For then began they to rove upon the coaſts of *France* and *England*, and were called by the *Latin* writers of the engliſh hiſtory *Winccingi*, from their practice of piracy *Wiccingi*, ſignifying according to the teſtimony of *Alfric*, a pirate in the *Saxon* tongue. They alſo call them *Pagans*, they being as yet unconverted: But the *Angles*, in their language, called them *Deniſcan* and often *Heathon-mon*, as much as to ſay *Ethnics*. Of theſe *Danes* obſerve what is recorded by *Dudo*, of St. *Quintins*, an ancient author which I found in the library of *John Stow*, (that moſt ſtudious antiquary of *London*) whereunto I have never been denied acceſs. "The *Danes*, "ſays he, ſwarm'd out of *Scanza* (or *Scandia*) like bees out of a hive in a "confuſed and tumultous manner; after they had in the heat of their luſt, multiply'd themſelves to a burdenſom community, which as they grew up "would quarrel with their fathers and grandfathers, and often with one another about their goods and lands, being grown ſo populous that their diſtricts were too narrow for them, whereupon according to cuſtom, a number "of their youth were muſter'd by lot to cut themſelves out a living with "their ſwords. When they were ready to march off; their manner was to "ſacrifice to *Thur*, whom they anciently worſhipp'd as their God, and to "whom they offer'd not ſheep or other cattle but the blood of men, which "they accounted the moſt precious of all other ſacrifices, and the prieſt had "determin'd by lot who were to die, they were all at once knock'd on the "head with the yokes of oxen. Every one who was thus kill'd at a ſtroke, he "was extended on the ground and great ſearch was made after the left ventricle of his heart, whence having drawn the blood they ſprinkled it on the "heads of thoſe young adventurers; who thinking they were thereby "ſecur'd of the favour of their gods, apply'd themſelves with all ſpeed to "their ſails and oars." There was another manner of appeaſing their gods among the *Danes*, or rather of running into the fouleſt ſuperſtition, and this is deſcribed by *Ditmarus* the biſhop, an author ſomewhat more ancient than *Dudo*, in the following words, "becauſe I have heard ſome extraordinary "accounts of the ancient ſacrifices among the *Danes* and *Normans*, I will "not paſs them over. In the capital city of thoſe parts called *Lederum*, in "the province of *Selon*, they meet once every nine years in *January*, after "the nativity of our Saviour, and offer to their gods ninety nine men, alſo as "many horſes, with dogs and cocks, inſtead of Hawks, which the gods ſent "them

" them being fully perſuaded that ſuch offering would be moſt acceptable " to them."

About the time of *Egbert* in the year eight hundred they firſt landed on our ſea coaſts, afterwards having in the moſt tumultuous manner for many years ravag'd over all *England*, demoliſhing cities, firing churches, and waſting countries, they gave a looſe to all ſorts of barbarity, plundering, overthrowing, and deſtroying every thing in their way. After they had killed the kings of the *Mercians* and *Eaſt Angles*, they ſeized upon their kingdoms, with a great part of *Northumberland*. They next impoſed the tribute call'd *Dangelt* upon the poor people, in order to repreſs theſe outrages; and that you may know what manner of impoſition this was, I would recommend the following account of it, which is copied out of our ancient laws. " The payment of " *Dangelt*, was firſt impos'd for the ſuppreſſion of pirates, who by their un- " conſcionable robberies and invaſions did what they could to lay the coun- " try deſolate. To repreſs therefore theſe inſolencies the annual tribute of " *Dangelt*, was enacted, which was twelve pence upon every hide of land " throughout the realm, to ſuſtain thoſe forces which were raiſed to withſtand " their encroachments. All churches were exempt from this tax, and all " lands within the eccleſiaſtical *Demains*, becauſe they confided more in the " prayers of the church than in the ſtrength of their arms."

But when the *Danes* broke out againſt *Ælfred* king of the *Weſt Saxons*, he one while by retreats, another by advances, not only drove them out of his country, but having ſlain a *Daniſh* king of the *Mercians*, expell'd them in a manner quite out of that quarter; and his ſon *Edward* the elder following his fathers ſteps, having put the *Danes* to flight brought the *Eaſt Angles* to ſubjection as *Athelſtan* his natural ſon, with an expeditious march to crown their victories, ſubdued *Northumberland*, and ſo vigorouſly purſued the *Danes*, that ſuch as did not fly out of the kingdom were forced to ſurrender themſelves. By the valour of theſe princes *England* recover'd thoſe calamities, and had a reſpite from bloodſhed for about fifty years. But after *Æthelred*, a man of a ſluggiſh and cowardly ſpirit, came to the crown, the *Danes* encouraged thereby reſumed their inſolences, and having waſted the country, compell'd the *Engliſh* to redeem their peace with a yearly tribute, but grew to ſuch an intollerable pitch of tyrany that the *Engliſh* in general conſpir'd together, and in one night murder'd every *Dane* that could be found in the nation, thinking by this effuſion of blood to quench the flames of *Daniſh* war among them, which yet broke out into a more raging and deſtructive combuſtion. For *Sueno* king of the *Danes*, provoked with this ſlaughter his ſubjects, invaded *England* with a powerful army, and having with an unpacified fury made moſt extenſive ſpoil, he put *Ethelred* to flight, ſubdued the whole kingdom

and

and bequeathed it to his ſon *Canutus*; who, upon *Ethelred*'s return, after a long war with him, and his ſon *Edmund Ironſide*, was ſucceeded by his two ſons, *Harold* his natural ſon, and *Canutus* the *Hardy*. After they were dead, and the *Daniſh* yoke ſhaken off, the kingdom fell again to the *Engliſh*. For *Edward*, who, in reſpect to his holineſs, was ſurnam'd the *Confeſſor*, ſon of *Ethelred* by a ſecond wife, recover'd the Crown and royal dignity. Now began *England* to take breath again; but not long after, as the poet has it,

The load of fortune ſunk them into vice.

The clergy were idle, indolent, and ignorant; the people abandon'd to riot and debauchery; through reſt they grew lazy, had no diſcipline amongſt them, and the commonwealth, ſick, as it were, of a complication of diſtempers, was incurably languiſhing, and conſuming away. But pride, the harbinger of deſtruction, had, before all other vices, made the greateſt progreſs. And, as *Gervas of Canterbury* obſerves of thoſe times, "they fell ſo exceſſively into wickedneſs, that to be ignorant of what was "criminal, was held to be a crime." All which did evidently foreſhew their downfall.

The *Engliſh* in thoſe times, ſays *William of Malmsbury*, went ſo ſcantily cloathed, that their garments reached but half-way to their knees: They ſhaved their head and beards, but ſuffer'd the hair to grow on their upper lip: They wore maſſy bracelets of gold on their arms; and had figures cut in their skin, which they pounc'd or inlaid with divers colours: The clergy contenting themſelves with ſuch ſhallow acquiſitions of knowledge and learning, that they were ſorely put to it to hammer out the words of the ſacrament.

The NORMANS.

AS formerly the *Franks* and afterwards the *Saxons*, coming out of that eaſt coaſt of *Germany* (as it lies to us) which looks northwardly, infeſted *Gaul* and *Britain* with their piracies, till at laſt one became maſter of *France*, and the other of *Britain*; ſo afterwards the *Danes*, and then the *Normans*, took the ſame ſcheme from the ſame coaſt, and with the ſame ſucceſs:

ceſs as if providence had ſo ordain'd that thoſe parts ſhould be the neſt or nurſery to train up invaders of theſe.

These *Normans* were ſo call'd of the northern quarter from whence they came. For *Nordmans* ſignifie no more than *men of the north*; in which ſenſe they are named alſo *Nordlendi*, that is a northern people, for a mixture they were of the valiant *Norwigans*, *Swedes*, and *Danes*. In the reign of *Charles* the great, they practiſed roving and piracy in ſuch cruel manner about *Friſa*, *Belgia*, *England*, *Ireland* and *France*; that when the ſaid emperor beheld their veſſels in the mediterranian he wept and with a grievous ſigh ſaid: "I "am much troubled, that they ſhould venture upon this coaſt in my life time, "and I foreſee what miſchief they will bring hereafter upon my poſterity." Moreover in the publick litanies of the church, there was afterwards inſerted, *From the fury of the* Danes *good Lord deliver us.* They reduced the *Franks* to ſuch extremity that *Carolus Calvus*, was forced to purchaſe his peace of Haſtings a *Norman* commander of the pirates with the earldom of *Chartres*: and *Charles* the *Groſs* gave *Godfrey* the *Norman*, part of *Neuſtria*, with his daughter. Afterwards by force of arms, they ſettled near the mouth of the *Seine*, in a country which heretofore was called corruptly *Mewſtria*, as having been part of *Weſtraſia*, for ſo the writers of the middle age named that which the *Germans* uſed to call *Weſten-rijch*, that is the weſt kingdom, comprizing all the tract between the river *Loire* and the *Seine*. Afterwards they called it *Normandy* as being the region of *Norman men*, when *Charles* the *ſimple* had confirm'd it to their prince *Rollo*, (who had been his godfather) to be held in fee by homage; and withal beſtowed upon him his daughter in wedlock. "And when," as we read in an old manuſcript belonging to the mo- "naſtery of *Angier*, *Carolus Stulus*, conſigned *Normandy* to *Rollo*, and be- "ſtowed his daughter *Giſla* with it, the ſaid *Rollo*, not condeſcending to kiſs "*Charles*'s foot, was urged by his nobles by all means to pay that homage "for ſo great a bounty, he anſwer'd in the *Engliſh* tongue, Ne le by God, "or, not ſo by God; at which the king and his courters deriding him, and "corruptly repeating his anſwer, called him *Bigod*, from whence the *Normans* "are to this day called *Bigodi*." Hence poſſibly the *French* alſo at this "day call your ſuperſtitious ſort of people *Bigot*.

This *Rollo* being baptized was called by the name of *Robert*. Some have thought he did but diſſemble the profeſſion of chriſtianity while others contend that he ſeriouſly eſpouſed it, and that he was moved to it by divine inſpiration in a dream, which, (ſince I pay little regard myſelf to ſuch blind interludes of fancy) I hope I may relate without the cenſure of credulity, as I find it atteſted by the writers of thoſe days. The ſtory goes, that as he was aſleep in his voyage he ſaw himſelf moſt ſadly overſpread with the leproſy; but bathing in a clear ſtream at the foot of a high hill, he was perfectly cleanſed

cleanſed and afterwards climed to the top of it. This dream when he rep
ed, a chriſtian who was a captive in the ſame ſhip with him, thus intepreted
" That leproſy, ſaid he, is the abominable worſhip of idols wherewith yo
" are infected; the ſpring, is the holy font of regeneration; wherein bein
" once cleanſed, you may aſcend the ſublime mountain of honour, and ev
" heaven itſelf. "

This *Rollo* had a ſon called *William* ſurnamed *Long Eſpee*, from the lon
ſword he uſed to wear. *William* had a ſon called *Richard*, the firſt of th
who was ſucceeded in *Normandy* by his ſon and grandſon, both of the ſam
name. But *Richard* III. dying without iſſue he was ſucceeded by his broth
Robert, who by his concubine had that *William* we commonly name th
Conqueror and the *Baſtard*. All theſe by their gallant atchievements at hom
and abroad, became renowned princes. While this *William* now arrived
years of maturity rul'd in *Normandy*, that pious *Edward* ſurnamed the Co
feſſor, king of *England*, and the laſt of the *Saxon* line, departed this life t
the great grief of his ſubjects; who being the ſon of lady *Emma* couſin t
the ſaid *William*, and daughter to *Richard* I. duke of *Normandy* promiſ
him while he was an exile there, the reverſion of the *Engliſh* crown. Bu
Harold who was the ſon of earl *Godwin* and ſteward of the houſhold unde
Edward got poſſeſſion of the crown, whereof his brother *Toſto* on one ſide
and the *Normans* on the other did what they could to diſpoſſeſs him. Bu
when he had ſlain his brother *Toſto*, and *Harold* king of *Norway*, whom *Toſt*
had engaged to his aſſiſtance in a pitch battle near *Stamford Bridge* in *York*
ſhire, and gain'd a bloody victory; *William* ſurnamed the *Baſtard*, duke o
Normandy, preſuming upon the promiſes of the late king *Edward* deceas
as alſo upon his adoption, and near alliance, having levied a great army arr
ved in leſs than nine days in *England* among the *South Saxons*: *Harold* im
mediately advanced to encounter him, tho' his ſoldiers were much harraſſ
and their number much impair'd by the late battle. Not far from *Haſting*
they met and engag'd: *Harold* preſs'd into the heat of the throng, and fighti
valiantly loſt his life with a great number of *Engliſhmen* who were ſlain on t
place, but what number fell 'tis difficult to be exact. *William* thus conquer
march'd his army with colours flying thro' *Willingford* towards *London*, whe
being received he was ſolemnly inaugurated. " The kingdom (as himſelf e
" preſſes it) being by divine providence allotted him as by the favour of his lo
" and couſin king *Edward*, it was granted him.*" And a few lines after he g
on, " That the bounteous king *Edward* had by adoption made him h
" to the crown of *England*." Yet if we incline to credit the hiſtory of S

* *The Charter of* William *the* Conqueror.

Steph

Stephens abbey at *Caen* in *Normandy*: Theſe were the ſaid conquerors dying words. "The royal diadem which was never worn by any of my predeceſſors I gained by the grace of God only and by no right of inheritance." And a little further, "I nominate no heir to the kingdom of *England*, but commend it wholly to the eternal Creator, whoſe creature I am and in whoſe hands are all things: For I became not poſſeſs'd of ſo great honour by any heriditary right; but by a terrible conflict, and with great effuſion of blood, I took it from the perjur'd king *Harold*; and having ſlain or diſpers'd his fautors and followers, I brought it under my dominion."

But ſince I have here ſuperficially run over ſo great a revolution of the *Engliſh* ſtate, I ſhall preſent my reader, if he will not think it too tedious, with what I more amply, yet authentically, collected thereof, in my younger days, tho' perhaps therefore not altogether adviſedly, when I propoſed my ſelf ſo great a burden as to ſet forth our hiſtory in the *Latin* tongue.

"When *Edward* the *Confeſſor* died without iſſue, and the lords and commons in great deſtraction about chuſing a ſucceſſor, *Edgar*, ſurnamed *Ætheling*, great grandſon of *Edmund Ironſide*, was the only ſurviver of the *Saxon* line, and as ſuch the only lawful heir to the crown, but was for his minority thought uncapable of the government; beſides his affections were alienated, as being born in *Hungary*, and ſon of *Agatha*, daughter to the emperor *Henry* III. who was too remote to aſſiſt the young prince either with aid or counſel upon the accounts he was leſs affected by the *Engliſh* who valued themſelves upon nothing more than having a king that was of their own country. The generality had their eyes fix'd upon *Harold* the ſon of earl *Godwin*; a man renowned for his abilities both in war and peace: For tho' he was of noble parentage, but by one ſide, and his father for his treachery and treaſon, and alſo by polling and plundering the people, render'd himſelf eternally infamous; yet he by his courteous affibility genteel deportment, liberality and courage won great favour and eſteem. None were more forward in perillous enterprizes, none more profound in adviſed councils, his reſolution and ſucceſs were ſo eminent in the *Welſh* wars, which he had ſome time before happily concluded that he was reſpected as a moſt conſummate general and ſeem'd born to reſtore the decayed ſtate of the kingdom. Beſides, it was hoped the *Danes* who were at that time the only terror of the nation would be better pleas'd with him becauſe he was the ſon of *Githa* daughter of *Sueno* king of *Denmark*, and in caſe any other force ſhould ariſe againſt him either foreign or domeſtic he ſeem'd ſufficiently ſecur'd againſt them by the affections of the common people, and his alliance with the nobles. For he married the ſiſter of *Morcar* and *Edwin* men of extenſive power. And *Edric* ſurnamed the *Wild*, a man of high ſpirit

" and great authority was his near kinſman. Beſides, it fell luckily out for
" him that at the ſame time *Sueno* was engag'd in the *Swediſh* wars, and that
" there were ſome miſunderſtandings between *William* duke of *Normandy*
" and *Philip* king of *France*. For that, *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, while he lived
" under baniſhment in *Normandy*, had expreſly promiſed this *William* to be-
" queath his crown to him, in caſe himſelf died without iſſue, and *Harold* then
" priſoner in *Normandy*, was bound by oath as *Guarantee*, to ſee it performed
" but with this condition that he ſhould marry the dukes daughter. Where-
" upon moſt men thought it beſt policy to ſet the crown upon the ſaid *Will-*
" *iam's* head, that by performing the promiſe both the war that threatned, and
" deſtruction, the conſequence of perjury, might be averted; and withal by
" uniting *Normandy* to this crown, render *England* more powerful. But *Harold*
" quickly cut off all conſultations that looked this way: For finding that de-
" lays would be dangerous, he enter'd the very day that king *Edward* was
" buried, upon the government contrary to all mens expectations and with
" the approbation of his adherents who proclamed him king, without any
" formalities of inauguration he crowned himſelf with his own hands. By
" which action infringing upon the ancient ſolemnities, highly diſguſted the
" the clergy. But conſcious how hard it was for a new prince and a uſurper
" to maintain his ſovereignty without an opinion of ſanctity he beſet himſelf
" to obliterate that irregularity he had committed, and eſtabliſh himſelf more
" ſecurely on his throne, with all poſſible diligence to promote religion, and
" prefer the church-men, repair and beautify monaſteries and religious houſes.
" *Edgar Ætkling* earl of *Oxford*, and all the nobles he entertain'd with all
" imginable reſpect. He eaſed the people in their taxes was very charita-
" ble to the poor and in a word by his courteſy in converſation patience in
" hearing debates and equity in reconciling them he gain'd himſelf ſin-
" gular love as well as authority.

" No ſooner was *William* duke of *Normandy* acquainted with this news,
" but he ſeemed mighty diſconſolate at the death of king *Edward*, but what
" really griev'd his heart was to ſee himſelf ſupplanted in the kingdom of
" *England*, which in imagination he was already poſſeſs'd of. Therefore ac-
" cording to the advice of his counſel, he directly ſent ambaſſadors to *Ha-*
" *rold* with inſtructions to remind him of the promiſes and ſtipulations paſt
" and withal to lay claim to the crown in his name. *Harold*, after ſome deli-
" berations upon the matter anſwer'd, That as to the promiſes of king *Ed-*
" *ward*, *William* was to underſtand the crown of *England*, was not to be
" diſpoſed of by promiſe nor ought he to be tied to that promiſe ſince
" the kingdom was fall'n to him by election and not by right of inhe-
" ritance. And as for his own ſtipulation it was an extortion from a priſoner

" by

" by force, fraud, and fear of perpetual bondage to the prejudice of the *Eng-*
" *liſh* ſtate, and therefore void being what he neither could nor ought to make
" good ſince it was tranſlated without the kings privity or conſent of the
" people. And it was an unreaſonable demand that he ſhould ſurrender
" to a *Norman* prince a meer ſtranger, of foreign lineage that kingdom
" wherewith he was inveſted with ſuch univerſal ſuffrage.

" This reply was no ways palatable to the *Norman* duke, and look'd up-
" on *Harold*, thereby to deſign only ſome colourable evaſions of perjury:
" Therefore he diſpatch'd over other ambaſſadors more cloſely to remonſtrate
" how religiouſly he had bound himſelf by oath and that to be forſworne
" would certainly intail upon the damnation of God and the diſgrace of men:
" But becauſe *William*'s daughter (who being betroth'd to *Harold*, had been
" the ſtronger obligation upon him to keep his promiſe) was not dead theſe
" embaſſadors were very coldly received and could obtain no other anſwer
" than before ſo that now nothing but open wars ſeemed likely to enſue *Ha-*
" *rold*, riggs and mans out his navy, muſters and preſſes up ſoldiers, plants
" ſtrong garriſons along the ſea coaſts, and makes all needful preparations to
" meet and repel the *Norman* invader. However, the firſt tempeſt of war a-
" roſe from an unexpected quarter, even from *Harold*'s own brother *Toſto*; a
" man of high ſpirit and a cruel temper, who had rul'd great power in *Nor-*
" *thumberland* but growing inſolent to his inferiours, proud towards his ſo-
" vereign and hateful of his brothers had been out law'd by *Edward* the
" *Confeſſor*; ſo retir'd to *France*; and now by the advice of *Baldwin* earl of
" *Flanders* with the perſuation of *William* duke of *Normandy*, in all
" probality, (for *Toſto* and *William* married two daughters of the ſaid
" *Baldwin*'s) declares open war againſt his brother, who for a long time
" he had mortally hated. From *Flanders*, he ſet out with ſixty ſail of
" pirate-ſhips, weaſted the iſle of *Wight*, and did much damage along the
" the coaſt of *Kent*: But terrified at the approach of the kings fleet he ſteer'd
" about to the remote parts of *England*, and landed in *Lincolnſhire*, and
" worried the country. *Edwin* and *Morcar* encounter'd him, and being de-
" feated he flew into *Scotland*, in order to rally and return afreſh to the
" engagement. Thus the people were put in great apprehenſions of a war
" from various quarters; on one ſide, out of *Scotland*; on the other, from
" *Normandy*, and what increaſed their fears was a blazing ſtar, which at
" *Eaſter* glared forth in a horrible form for a week together. This, as is
" uſual in troubleſome times ſet the diſtracted minds of the populace to pre-
" ſaging what calamities might enſue. But *Harold* having a diligent regard
" to every part of the kingdom, fortified the ſouth coaſt with garriſons and

" feared

" feared leſs from *Scotland* and *Toſto*, becauſe *Malcolm* king of the *Scots*,
" was then much perplexed with civil wars.

" In the mean time *William* was continually thinking of a deſcent upon *Eng-*
" *land*, and conſulting his officers, upon the moſt probable means whom he found
" very forward to ſuch an enterpriſe. But all the difficulty was how to raiſe
" money for ſuch an expenſive undertaking: But when in a publick aſſembly of
" all the ſtates of *Normandy*, it was propounded to raiſe a ſubſidy, anſwer
" was made, that in the former war againſt the *French*, their treaſure was
" ſo much impair'd that if they ſhould be obliged to enter into a new war,
" they would be unable to defend what they had, that therefore they were ra-
" ther to regard the defenſe of their own poſſeſſions, than the invaſion of other
" princes territories. And as for the preſent intended war, tho' it were juſt,
" it ſeemed not convenient but rather very dangerous. Beſides the *Normans*
" were not bound by their alligiance to military ſervice in foreign parts. Nor
" could they by any means be brought to grant a levy of money for that ſer-
" vice tho' *William Fitzgoſbert*, a great favorite with the duke, and in great
" eſteem among the people, endeavour'd as much as lay in his power to effect
" it, and even to the inducement of others by his own example, promiſing to
" fit out forty tall ſhips at his own proper charge for this engagement.

" The duke finding himſelf diſappointed of this publick ſupply took other
" methods and ſending for the wealthieſt of them one by one ſpoke then very
" fair and deſir'd a contribution in the moſt particular manner from them: this
" rais'd a competition among them, who ſhould grant moſt liberally and when
" every mans tender was regiſtred in a book, it appear'd to be a ſum beyond
" expectation. The buſineſs being thus far advanced he ſolicited the neigh-
" bouring princes for their aſſiſtance ſuch as the earl *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Mayne*,
" and *Bulloigne* promiſing as a retaliation for the ſame fair poſſeſſions out of
" his *Engliſh* conqueſt. He alſo went and made the like intreaty to *Philip*
" king of *France*, and made a voluntary promiſe that for ſuch aid he would
" take an oath of fealty and hold *England* under him: But it being thought
" diſadvantageous for the ſtate of *France*, that the duke of *Normandy*, who
" was not now held ſo obedient to the *French* king as was expected, ſhould
" be ſtrengthned by the addition of *England* (for the power of neighbouring
" potentates is always ſuſpected by one another) *Philip* was ſo far from granting
" any aſſiſtance that he uſed all means to divert him from the enterpriſe.
" However nothing could diſſuade the duke being now eſpecially encouraged
" by the authority of Pope *Alexander*, the pope about that time beginning
" to uſurp juriſdiction over princes, approving the cauſe, and ſending him
" a conſecrated banner as a token of victory, and excommunicated all
" who ſhould oppoſe him. The duke therefore muſter'd all the forces he
" could

" could raiſe and gather'd a vaſt fleet to St. *Valeric*'s a town, at the mouth of
" of the river *Some*, where he lay a long time windbound, wherefore he
" ſpared neither prayers nor ſacrifices to St. *Valeric*, the ſaint of that place
" for a fair wind.

Harold who with his forces had waited a long time for his arrival determin'd to disband his army, withdraw his navy, and leave the ſea coaſt, being not only compell'd thereto thro' want of proviſions, but becauſe the earl of *Flanders* had written to him that *William* would not ſet ſail that year; whom he rather believed as thinking the time of the year made the ſeas unnavigable the *Æquinox* being at hand, whilſt he was thus deliberating, an unexpected invaſion drove him to a neceſſity of bringing his army together: For *Harold* ſurnamed the *Hardy*, and *Harfager* king of *Norway*, who had made many piratical excurſions upon the north *Britiſh* coaſt, and already ſubdued the iſles of *Orkney*, being inſtigated by *Toſto* in hopes of compaſſing the *Britiſh* dominions arrived in the mouth of the river *Tine*, with about five hundred pirate veſſels where *Toſto* alſo came and joyned his own fleet. When they had a good while foraged and plunder'd the country thereabouts, they weigh'd anchor and ſailing along the coaſt of *Yorkſhire* put into the *Humber*, and there committed all kinds of outrage. The two earls *Edwin* and *Morcar*, led forth a power of forces which they had raiſed in a haſty and confuſed manner to ſuppreſs them; but not able to ſuſtain the violent charge of the *Norwigans* the greateſt part took to flight and with the earls made ſhift to eſcape: However many of them, paſſing over the river *Ouſe*, were drowned therein. The *Norwigians* proceeded forthwith to lay ſeige to the city of *York*, but upon hoſtages being mutually given it was ſurrender'd. A few days after *Harold* having gather'd his whole army togethor, marched towards *York*, and from thence towards the *Norwigians*, who had very advantageouſly encamped themſelves. Behind they were ſecur'd by the ſea, they were flanked on the left with the *Humber*, where their fleet rid at anchor, and on the right as well as to the front they were defended by the river *Darwent*.
" Nevertheleſs *Harold* boldly attack'd them, and the firſt bloody encounter as
" at the bridge over the ſaid river, (†) where 'tis ſaid one ſingle *Norwigan*,
" withſtood for ſome time the whole *Engliſh* army, till he was at laſt ſhot
" through with a dart and died. After this the battle continued a conſide-
" rable time in the very camp, with equal valour and doubtful fortune, on
" both ſides. At laſt the *Norwigians* were put to flight, and in the heat

(†) Stanford *Bridge near* York.

" of

" of the engagement, *Harold* king of *Norway*, with *Tofto*, and the greateſt " part of their army, loſt their lives. The booty which *Harold* got by this " victory was very conſiderable. Gold and ſilver in great quantity, and " all thoſe ſhips of that large fleet, except twenty ſmall barks (which he " gave to *Paul* earl of *Orkney*, and *Olave* the ſon of *Harold*, who was ſlain) " to tranſport the wounded; firſt taking an oath of them, that they would " never more attempt any hoſtility againſt *England*. *Harold* was highly en- " couraged at this ſucceſs, and thought it would render him a terror to the " *Normans*; however, he had gained the hatred of his own ſoldiers, by " having refuſed to divide the ſpoil among them. Nevertheleſs, he em- " ploy'd himſelf diligently in ſettling the diſorder'd ſtate of the nation, " which in theſe parts lay much neglected.

" Mean while, duke *William*, finding a fit ſeaſon for his purpoſe, about " the end of *September* weighed anchor and launched forth, and by the help " of a proſperous gale, arrived with his whole navy at *Pemſey* in *Suſſex*; " where being landed, to cut off all hopes of return from his men, he fir'd " his ſhips; and having erected a fort for a retreat, he ſet forward to *Haſ-* " *tings*, where he fortified again, and lodged a garriſon. By this time, he " had alſo publiſhed a proclamation, declaring the cauſes of this war, and " that it was to revenge the death of *Alfred* his couſin, whom with many " *Normans*, *Godwin* the father of *Harold* had murder'd, and to take ſatis- " faction for the injuries *Harold* had offer'd in baniſhing *Robert* archbiſhop " of *Canterbury*, and accepting the crown of *England*, contrary to his own " expreſs oath. He alſo publiſhed a ſtrict order among his army, that they " ſhould not plunder the *Engliſh* people.

" Theſe tidings being brought, with all ſpeed, to king *Harold*, he con- " cluded it beſt, by way of prevention, to be as expeditious as poſſible in " meeting him: Therefore diſpatched Couriers on every ſide, exhorted his " ſubjects to continue their loyalty, muſter'd up all his troops, and with " great journeys haſten'd to *London*. Here an ambaſſador from *William* " required audience, but he ſo tediouſly harangued his maſter's right to the " crown, that *Harold*, provoked beyond all patience, could hardly be re- " ſtrained from offering him violence. So improper it was to think of ar- " guing a freſh victor out of his confidence in his good fortune. And there- " upon he ſent his ambaſſadors to *William* with very ſevere menaces of what " he might expect, unleſs he return'd immediately to his own country: " *William* diſmiſſed them with great command of temper and courteſy. " In the mean-time, *Harold*, making a general muſter of his forces in " *London*, found, by the late battle againſt the *Norwigans*, that they were " much diminiſhed; however, he raiſed a vaſt number out of the nobility,

" gentry,

" gentry and others whoſe concern for the publick ſafety, had incited them " to take up arms againſt the common enemy, and directly marched into " *Suſſex*, tho' much againſt the perſuaſions of his mother, and with a ſteady " reſolution encamp'd in a plain ſcarce ſeven miles diſtant from the *Normans*.

" *William* upon this advanced with his army, and ſpies were ſent out on " both-ſides. Thoſe ſent by the *Engliſh*, either thro' ignorance or deceit, reported " the *Normans* to be ſuch an incredible, ſo powerful in their proviſions, and ſo " orderly in their diſcipline, that *Gythus*, *Harolds* younger brother, and a fa- " mous ſoldier, thinking it no good policy to hazard all in the trial of one " battle, admoniſh'd the king that the events of war were doubtful, that " victories oftner depended on fortune than valour, and that therefore deli- " berate delays were the moſt politick point of military conduct. Alſo he " adviſed him, that in caſe he had made ſuch promiſe to *William* of the " realm, he ſhould for his own part retire from the field; for that all his forces " would not ſurely inſpire him with courage enough againſt his conſcience, " and God would certainly have ſome puniſhment in ſtore for the breach of " of faith and promiſe. Nor will any thing, added he, ſtrike greater terror " into the *Normans*, than for him to be making new recruits, ſo as to be e- " ver ſupplying the battle afreſh. Further he aſſur'd him as to his own part, " that if he would commit the fortune of the engagement to him he " would not fail to execute the part of a faithful brother, and a reſolute " commander; who as truſting upon the clearneſs of his own conſcience, might " more vigorouſly deſeat the enemy, or more chearfully lay down his life in " the defence of his country: The king did not reliſh theſe councils which " ſeem'd to reflect ſo much to his own diſhonour; for as he could willingly " abide the event of war, ſo he could not endure the leaſt inſinuation of " cowardiſe. As for the dreadful account they had brought of the *Norman* " power, he made light of them, nor thought it could conſiſt either with his " dignity, or the reputation of his former behaviour now to retreat, when his " whole kingdom lay at the utmoſt hazard, and incur the perpetual ſtain " of infamy. Thus are the underſtandings of thoſe infatuated who are " marked out for deſtruction.

" In this inte im, duke *William*, out of a pious care for the ſtate of chriſtendom, " and to ſave the effuſion of chriſtian blood, ſent a monk to meditate between " them who made this overture to *Harold*. Either that he would abſolutely " reſign his kingdom, or to own his holding it as tenant in fee from the *Norman*, " or to decide the diſpute in ſingle combat againſt duke *William*, or laſtly " ſtand to the determination of the pope. But he, as one having no com- " mand over himſelf, would accept of no conditions but re err'd his cauſe, " entirely to the tribunal of God; returning anſwer that the very next day,

" which was the 14th of *October*, he would give him battle, fondly promiſing
" himſelf ſucceſs becauſe it was his birth day. All the next night the *Eng-*
" *liſh* ſpent in riotous banquetting and clamorous revels, but the *Normans*
" in prayers and vows for the ſafety and victory of their army. Next morn-
" ning by break of day both armies drew up. *Harold* advanced the *Kentiſh-*
" *men* with their poll-axes in the front (that ſtation being their due by an-
" cient cuſtom), and in the rear was himſelf and his brother, with the midland
" *Engliſh* and the *Londoners*. In the *Norman* army, *Roger* of *Montgomery*,
" and *William Fitzosberne* led the van; being the cavalry of *Anjou*, *Perth*,
" *Maine*, and *Little Britain*, the greateſt part whereof had ſerved under *Ur-*
" *gentus* the *Briton*. The main body conſiſting of *Pictovins* and *Germans*,
" was commanded by *Jeffery Martel* a *German* perſioner. In the rear
" was the duke himſelf with a great body of *Normans*, and the flower of
" of his nobility and gentry: The archers were interſpers'd throughout the
" whole army.

" The *Normans* having with a diſtinct and regular ſhout, ſounded the a-
" larm, advance their battalions; and firſt charged with a volley of arrows
" from every quarter: A kind of engagement, which, as it was altogether
" ſtrange, was exceeding terrible to the *Engliſh*: For the danger was ſo
" ſudden, and ſo ſpreading, that they thought the enemy was got in the
" midſt of them, before they had a ſtruggle to break their ranks: They
" next charged the *Engliſh* front, who reſolved rather to fall upon the ſpot
" than give ground, kept their poſt with great reſolution, and drove back the
" enemy with great ſlaughter: the *Normans* recruiting attack'd again with great
" violence, and they oppos'd them with great bravery foot to foot, and man
" to man, for a conſierable time. The *Engliſh* keeping cloſe and impenitra-
" ble as if they had been cemented together, inſomuch, that after much
" bloodſhed the *Normans* were upon the point of recoiling, had not *William*,
" who acted the part of a common ſoldier no leſs than a general, by his au-
" thority reſtrain'd them. Thus the battle continued, when the *Norman* horſe
" broke in, while the ſhowers of arrows pour'd down upon the *Engliſh*, yet
" they maintain'd their ground. For *Harold* neglecting no duty that belong'd
" to a brave general was ready on all ſides with ſuccours, and *William* was
" no ways inferior on the other hand, who having a horſe or two ſlain un-
" der him, and ſeeing that force was unavailable had recourſe to ſtratagem.
" Therefore order'd his men to ſound a retreat, and give way, but in a re-
" gular manner. The *Engliſh* ſuppoſing them now flying, and that the day
" was their own, broke their ranks, and heedleſs of any order preſs'd for-
" ward upon the enemy, whereupon the *Normans*, caſting themſelves ſudden-
" ly again into array, wheel'd about, and charged the *Engliſh* afreſh, who in

" that

" that diſorder, being quite ſurrounded, and in doubt whether to fight or fly,
" were kill'd in great numbers. But the greater part having gain'd a riſing ground
" gather'd into a circle and encouraged one another, and made a very reſo-
" lute reſiſtance, as if they had determin'd in that place, only to purchaſe an
" honourable death, till at laſt *Harold* was ſhot through the head with an
" arrow, and on that ſpot, with his two brothers *Gythus* and *Leofwin*, loſt
" his life. Hereupon *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who with ſome few others that
" eſcaped by flight ſubmitted to the hand of providence, and the pre-
" ſent exigency, after they had fought without intermiſſion from ſeven in the
" morning to the duſk of the evening. About ſix thouſand *Normans* were
" loſt in this battle, but of the *Engliſh* many more. *William* now overjoy'd
" with his victory appointed a ſolemn thankſgiving to God, and after having
" pitch'd his pavilion amidſt the heaps of ſlain, he paſſed there that night.
" The next morning having buried his own dead, and permitted the *Engliſh*
" to do the like by theirs, he returned to *Haſtings* to conſult proper me-
" thods for the purſuit of his victory, and the refreſhment of his army.

" No ſooner was the news of this grievous overthrow brought to *London*,
" and the other cities, but the whole nation was aſtoniſhed and confounded,
" *Githa* the king's mother was ſo overcome with grief that ſhe would admit
" of no conſolation, but made earneſt requeſt to the conqueror for the dead
" bodies of her ſons, which ſhe buried in *Waltham Abbey*. *Edwin* ſent queen
" *Algitha* his ſiſter into the remote parts of the kingdom; the nobility of
" the realm exhorted the people not to be dejected but to conſult means for
" the ſettlement of the nation. The archbiſhop of *York*, with the citizens
" of *London* and the ſea-men, (commonly call'd *Beteſcarles*) were for crown-
" ing *Edgar*, and reviving the war againſt *William*. *Edwin* and *Morcar*,
" were ſecretly conſpiring to get the government to themſelves; but the pre-
" lacy and others upon whom the popes *Anathema*, made the deepeſt impreſ-
" ſion, thought beſt to yield, and not by the uncertainties of any further
" ſtruggle foment the conquerors indignation againſt them, nor further con-
" tend with God, who had thus for the provoking ſins of the people, delivered
" *England* into the hands of a ſtranger.

" *William* all this while fortifying the town of *Haſtings*, propoſed to march
" in warlike manner to *London*; but becauſe he would diſperſe the greater
" terror before him, and ſecure all behind, he divided his forces, and march-
" ed thro' part of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, *Hamſhire*, and *Berkſhire*, firing villa-
" ges and plundering them as he went, ſo paſſed over the *Thames* at *Walling-*
" *ford*, leaving all in terror and conſternation wherever he came. The no-
" bility all this while were in doubt what to conclude on: they could not
" be brought to relinquiſh private animoſities and unanimouſly conſult the
" publick good of the nation. The clergy, to obtain abſolution from the

" pope's curſes, (by which he then tyrannized over the conſciences of men as well " their countries) conſidering the ſtate of the realm was quite ruin'd, per- " ſiſted ſo immoveably in their reſolution to ſurrender, that many to ſave " themſelves, withdrew out of the city: But *Alfred* archbiſhop of *York*, *Wol-* " *ſtan* biſhop of *Worceſter*, and other prelates, together with *Edgar Etheling*, " *Edwin*, and *Morcar* met the *Norman* conqueror at *Barkhamſtead*: He " made them many and large promiſes, upon which hoſtages were given " and they ſubmitted to his protection. Then he haſtned to *London*, where " being received with acclamations he was ſaluted king. Next he made all " neceſſary preparations for the ſolemnity of his coronation, which he ap- " pointed to be on *Chriſtmas* day; in the mean while employ'd his whole " care and thoughts for the ſettlement of the nation."

" Thus was the period of the *Saxon* government in *Britain*, brought to " paſs in the compaſs of ſix hundred and ſeven years, which notable revo- " volution in the kingdom of *England*; was by ſome aſcrib'd to the avarice " of the magiſtrates and the indolent ſuperſtition of the clergy; by others " to the blazing ſtar which then appear'd, and to the influence of the hea- " venly bodies; and by a third ſort to the ſecret but juſt judgment of God in " the diſpoſition of kingdoms: Nor were there wanting others who looking " into the nearer cauſe, charged it upon the imprudence of king *Edward*, " who, under the plauſible poſſeſſion of a religious chaſtity, neglecting " to ſecure a ſucceſſion at home made his crown a prey to foreign ambi- " tion".

The monks who have deſcribed this conqueſt have declaimed at large how inſolent and bloody it was: Nor is it to be doubted but in this victory (as in others) cruelty and licentiouſneſs were predominant. *William*, in token of his conqueſt abrogated great part of the eſtabliſh'd laws of *England*, introduced the *cuſtoms* of *Normandy*, and decreed that all cauſes ſhould be pleaded in *French*. The native *Engliſh* he thruſt out of their ancient inheritances, and divided their lands among the ſoldiers, yet with this reſervation to himſelf that he ſhould ſtill remain chief lord, and they pay homage to him and his ſucceſſors, that is, they ſhould all hold their lands in fee immediately of the king and themſelves be *fendatory* lords, and in actual poſſeſſion. He cauſed a ſeal to be purpoſely made for himſelf, on one ſide whereof was engraven,

By this, the *Normans* own great *William Duke.*

And on the other ſide.

By this, the *Engliſh* own, the ſame their *King.*

And

And further, as we are informed by *William* of *Malmsbury*, " conformable to the policy of *Cæsar*, who expell'd the *Germans*, lurking in the wide " foreſt of *Ardenna*, whence they uſed to annoy his army) not by his " own *Roman* forces, but by the *Gauls* his confederates, that whilſt ſtrangers and allies butcher'd one another, he might triumph without bloodſhed: Conformable to this courſe, I ſay, was that which *William* took " with the *Engliſh*; for againſt ſome of them, who upon the firſt battle of " the unfortunate *Harold*, fled into *Denmark* and *Ireland*, and return'd with " a powerful army the third year after he oppos'd mere *Engliſh* forces and " an *Engliſh* general, and kept the *Normans* at eaſe and ſafety, conſidering twou'd be to his advantage, which ſide ſoever got the better. And " accordingly it fell out; for after the *Engliſh* had ſcuffled a while with one " another, the king had the victory without any trouble in gaining it". And in another place the ſame author ſays, " Having quite deſtroy'd the pow- " er of the laity he made a firm and irrevocable edict, incapacitating any " monk or clergy-man to hold any poſt of dignity in the government, contemning " the indulgence of king *Canute*, who continued the conquer'd party in the " full poſſeſſion of their honours. Hence it came to paſs that after his death " the natives of the country found ſo little difficulty in the expulſion of ſo- " reigners and the retrieval of their ancient freedom."

Affairs being in this poſture, his principal care was next to avert the ſtorm of *Daniſh* wars, then impending, and to purchaſe peace tho' at a great expence. To this purpoſe he made *Adalbert* archbiſhop of *Hamburgh* his agent: For *Adam Bremenſis* informs us, " That there was perpetual conten- " tion between *Sueno* and the *Baſtard* about *England*, although our biſhop " being brib'd by *William*, endeavour'd to ratify a peace between the two " kings". This peace ſeems alſo to have been confirm'd, for ſince that time *England* ſtood no longer in fear of the *Danes*, and *William* devoted himſelf entirely to the ſupport of his royal dignity, and to the government of the ſtate by wholſome laws. For ſays *Gervaſe* of *Tilbury*, " When the renowned " conqueror of *England* king *William*, had ſubdued the further coaſts of this " iſland, and terrified the rebels by ſevere examples, he reſolved to bring his " ſubjects under the obedience of *written* laws, that they ſhould not for the " future run into licentious tranſgreſſion. Cauſing therefore all the laws of " *England*, to be laid before him, according to the *Tripartite* diviſion, where- " by they were diſtinguiſhed; that is to ſay, *Merchenlage*, *Denelage* and " *Weſtſaxonlage*, he abrogated ſome, and allowed of others, then joyn'd to " them ſuch laws of *Neuſtria* or *Normandy*, as he found moſt cogent for the " peace of the kingdom". Afterwards as *Ingulphus* relates, who flouriſh'd in thoſe days, " He obliged all the inhabitants of *England* to do *Homage*,

" and

" and ſwear fealty to him againſt all other nations. Then he took a general
" *ſurvey* of the whole kingdom, ſo exactly, that there was not a ſingle hyde
" throughout the iſland, of which he did not know both the value and the
" owner. Neither water nor land but was ſpecified in the king's *roll*, with the
" rent, revenue, tenure, and tenant thereof, according to the report of certain
" commiſſioners appointed in every deviſion to deſcribe the ſaid particulars
" belonging to it. This regiſter was called the roll of *Wincheſter*, and by
" the *Engliſh* Dooms-day, as being an *univerſal* and *exact* account of every
" ry tenement in the whole nation."* I have been willing to give the
" more particular account of this book, becauſe I ſhall have frequent occa-
" ſion to quote it hereafter under the ſeveral names of *William*'s *Tax-book*,
" the *Notitia* of *England*, the *Engliſh Ceſs-book* and ſurvey of *England*.

But that this *William* the conqueror firſt introduced the manner of trial by a *jury* of *twelve* men, according to the aſſertion of *Polidore Virgil*, is utterly falſe. For it is evident from *Ethelred*'s laws, that it was in use many years before the conqueſt. Nor can I apprehend any reaſon for his calling a dreadful judgment; ſuch twelve free-holders, qualify'd according to law, being duly ſummon'd out of the neighbourhood, are bound by oath to give their real opinion as to matters of fact, and having heard the counſel with the evidence on both ſides, take the depoſitions of both parties, and are confin'd without meat drink or fire (unleſs to the manifeſt hazard of life) till they have agreed in their verdict; which when they have delivered the judges give ſentence according to law. And ſuch form of trial our wiſe anceſtors have thought moſt effectual for the diſcovery of truth, the hinderance of corruption and prevention of partiality.

How much the *Normans* excell'd in martial proweſs, I leave for others to enlarge upon, and ſhall obſerve no further, than that they were planted amidſt the moſt warlike nations; yet never had recourſe to ſervile ſubmiſſion, but always to arms for the defence of their liberties. By theſe, they poſſeſs'd themſelves of the noble kingdoms of *England* and *Sicily*. For *Tancred*, nephew to *Richard* II. duke of *Normandy*, and his poſterity, atchieved glorious exploits in *Italy*, and having driven the *Saracins* out of *Sicily*, founded a monarchy there. Whereupon the *Sicilian* hiſtorian ingeniouſly acknowledges that the *Sicilians* are beholden to the *Normans*, for being ſtill in poſſeſſion of their native ſoil, their freedom and their chriſtianity, nay their brave conduct has extended to the holy land with great commendation: Whereupon

* Some will have *Dooms-day* book ſo call'd, becauſe upon any difference, the parties received their *doom* from it. Others (leſs probably) ſay, 'tis call'd *Dooms-day* book, *quaſi domus dei*, but to conform the former etymology, 'tis call'd in *Latin* (by *Gerv. of Tilb.*) *Liber Judiciarius*. *Blounts Gloſs.*

Roger Hoveden obſerves, "That bold *France*, after it had experienced the "*Norman* valour, recoil'd; fierce *England* ſubmitted to its arms; wealthy "*Apulia* flouriſhed under its poſſeſſion; renowned *Jeruſalem* and *Antioch*, "both added to the glory of its conqueſt." And ſince their entrance among us, *England* has been equal to the moſt flouriſhing kingdoms in the chriſtian world, for gallant atchievements and liberal education. Of ſuch credit they were, that *Engliſhmen* were made choice of for guards to the emperors of *Conſtantinople*; for, as our countryman *Malmsbury* acquaints us, "*John*, "ſon of *Alexius Comenus*, very much admiring their fidelity, ſhewed them "greater reſpect than he did any other people, and recommended them "to his ſon, as men moſt worthy of his eſteem." They were for many years after guards to the ſaid emperors, and ſtiled by *Nicetes Chroniata*, the *Engliſh halbardiers*, and by *Curopalata*, the *Barangi*: "Theſe attended "upon the emperor every where in perſon, carrying *Polaxes*, or halbards, "upon their ſhoulders, which they held erect when he ſhewed himſelf from "his cloſet, and claſh'd one againſt another, to make a warlike noiſe, ut-"tering prayers in *Engliſh* for his long life." As for the aſperſion caſt upon our nation by *Chalcondilas*, of having wives in common, truth itſelf wipes it away, and refutes the folly of that fabulous *Greek*; for (as my moſt learned and excellent friend *Ortelius* ſpeaks upon this very occaſion) all is not goſpel that is given out in this general manner by one perſon or country of another.

Theſe are the people who have inhabited *Britain*, of whom remain at this day the *Britains* and *Saxons*, and a mixture of *Normans*, and *Scots* towards the *North*. Hence we diſtinguiſh two kingdoms in the iſland, *England* and *Scotland*, which were long divided, but now moſt happily united in the moſt potent prince king *James*, under one imperial diadem.

Concerning the *Flemmings*, who flock'd hither four hundred years ſince, and by permiſſion of the kings, had a part of *Wales* allotted for their inhabitance, it is not neceſſary to expatiate upon them in this place, ſince we ſhall treat of them elſewhere. But here let us conclude with *Seneca*; "That "from hence it is evident, nothing has continued in a conſtant ſtate from "its beginning: There is a daily fluctuation in mankind, daily revolutions "in this orb of matter, new foundations to cities are laid, new names to "nations given, either by the former's growing obſolete and out of date, "or ſubmitting to the alterations impos'd by more powerful intruders." And conſidering that all thoſe nations which made irruptions into *Britain* were *Northern*, as the reſt alſo were who about the ſame time over-run all *Europe* and *Aſia*, it is rightly obſerved by *Nicephorus*, upon the authority of the ſcriptures, "That as God often ſends thunder, fire, and ſtorms from "heaven;

" heaven; earthquakes and gapings of the ground from the earth; whirl-
" winds and deluges from the air, for the terror of man: ſo theſe *Northern*
" horrors are, as it were, reſerved by him for chaſtiſements, at ſuch times,
" and among ſuch nations, as it pleaſes his divine providence to in-
" flict them."

The DIVISION *of* BRITAIN.

LET us now apply our ſelves to the *Diviſion* of *Britain*: Countries are divided by geographers, either *naturally*, according to the courſe of rivers, and interpoſition of mountains; or *provincially*, with regard to the ſeveral people that inhabit them; or *arbitrarily* and *politically*, according to the will and juriſdiction of princes. The firſt and ſecond of theſe diſtinctions, we ſhall treat of occaſionally throughout this work; but the third, which is the *politick* or *civil* diviſion, ſeems proper to this place; which yet is worn ſo blind, thro' the tyranny of time, that much eaſier it is to confute what is falſe, than confirm what is true.

Our hiſtorians will needs have that diviſion of *Britain* to be moſt ancient, which diſtributes it into *Loegria*, *Cambria*, and *Albania*; that is to ſay more plainly, into *England*, *Wales*, and *Scotland*. But I look upon this diviſion to be of a more modern date; both becauſe it is threefold, ariſing from thoſe three people, the *Angles*, *Cambrians*, and *Scots*, who at laſt parted the iſland among them; and alſo, becauſe ſuch a partition is no where extant in approved authors, before our *Jeffery of Monmouth*: For (as the criticks of our age have obſerved) his fiction could not hang well together, unleſs he had father'd upon *Brute* thoſe three ſons of *Locrine*, *Camber*, and *Albanact*, becauſe ſo many nations flouriſhed here when he lived. Nor do they doubt but he would have found out more children for *Brutus*, had there been more diſtinct nations at that time in *Britain*.

The moſt ancient diviſion, therefore, in the opinion of learned men, is that which is found in *Ptolomy*'s ſecond book of Mathematical Conſtruction, where, treating of the Parallels, he divides it into *Great* and *Little Britain*. But, with due deference to their learning, I conceive, were they to examine that place, and conſider the diſtances from the Æquator more exactly, they would

would be of opinion that our iſle is there called *Britania Magna*, and *Ireland Parva*. Not but ſome of our modern writers have called the hither, and ſoutherly part of our iſland, the *Great*, and the further part towards the north the *Little Britain*; the inhabitants whereof in times paſt were diſtinguiſh'd into *Maitæ* and *Caledonis*, that is, into the inhabitants of the *plains* and of the mountains; as now the *Scots* are divided into *Hetchi-land* men, and *Low-land* men: But the *Romans* not affecting much that further tract, becauſe as *Appian* ſays, it could not becauſe it could not be fruitful or profitable to them, having pitch'd their bounds not far from *Edinburgh*, they firſt divided this hither part into two, after it was reduced to a province that is to ſay, the *lower* and the *higher*, as may be gather'd out of *Dion*. For the *hither* or nearer part of *England* he calls the higher, and the further or northern part the *lower*; and this is confirm'd by *Dion*'s account of the diſtribution of their legions for the ſecond legion, *Auguſta*, which was poſted at *Caerleon* in *Wales*, and the twentieth ſurnamed *Victrix*, which remained at *Cheſter*, are both placed by him in upper *Britain*: But the ſixth legion called *Victrix*, which reſided at *York*, ſerved, as he writes, in *Lower-Britain*. This diviſion I imagine was made by *Severus*, becauſe *Herodian* relates that after he had conquer'd *Albinus* general of the *Britiſh* forces, who had uſurp'd the empire, and therewith reformed the ſtate of *Britain*, he divided the government of the province into two parts, and appointed a præfect or lieutenant for the government of each.

After this, the *Romans* ſet out the province of *Britain* into three parts, (as may be obſerv'd in a manuſcript of *Sextus Rufus*,) and thoſe were *Maxima Cæſarienſis*, *Britannia Prima*, and *Britannia Secunda*, which as I conceive may be traced by the ancient biſhops and their *dioceſſes*. Pope *Lucius*, in *Gratian*, intimates that the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction of the chriſtians, followed the juriſdiction of the *Roman* magiſtrates, and the archbiſhops had their ſees in thoſe cities, where the *Roman* preſidents heretofore reſided. "The cities and places, ſays he, where primates ought to preſide, were not of late appointed but long before the coming of Chriſt, to the governours of which cities the *Gentiles* alſo appeal'd in matters of great conſequence, and in thoſe very cities after the coming of Chriſt, the apoſtles and their ſucceſſors ſettled patriarchs or primates, to whoſe determination the affairs of the biſhops and cauſes of the greateſt moment were referr'd". Therefore ſince *Britain* had anciently three archbiſhops, *London*, *York*, and *Caerleon* in *South-Wales*; I imagine that the province we now call *Canterbury*, to which the ſee of *London* was tranſlated, made the *Britannia Prima*; that *Wales* which was under the biſhop of *Caerleon*, was the *Britannia Secunda*; and the province

of *York*, which then extended as far as the *Wall*, made the *Maxima Ceſa-rienſis*.

In the following age, when the *Roman* conſtitution was daily changing either thro' ambition that great numbers might be advanced to places of honour, or circumſpection of the emperors, that the exorbitant power of the preſidents might be abridg'd; *Britain* was divided into five parts, named *Britannia Prima*, *Secunda*, *Maxima Ceſarienſis*, *Valentia*, and *Flavia Ceſarienſis*. *Valentia* ſeems to have been the north part of *Maxima Ceſarienſis*, which being uſurped by the *Picts* and *Scots*, was recover'd from them by *Theodoſius* the general, under *Valens* the emperor, and in honour of him named *Valentia*; which appears more plainly in theſe words of *Marcellinus*, *The province here recover'd, which was fallen into the enemies hands, he reſtored to the former ſtate, ſo that, by his means, it enjoy'd a lawful governor, and was alſo afterwards, by the prince's command, called* Valentia. And that the ſon of that *Theodoſius*, who being created emperor, was named *Flavius Theodoſius*, and made many alterations in the empire; added *Flavia*, is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, becauſe we do not meet with *Britannia Flavia* before the time of this *Flavius*. In a few words, therefore, all the South coaſt bounded on one hand with the *Britiſh* ocean; and on the other with the *Thames* and the *Severn* ſea, was called *Britannia Prima*; *Britannia Secunda* was that *Flavia Ceſarienſis* reach'd from *Thames* to the *Humber*; *Maxima Ceſarienſis* from *Humber* to the river *Tine*, or the wall of *Severus*: *Valentia* from the *Tine* to the wall near *Edinburgh*, which the *Scots* call *Grameſdike*, and was the utmoſt limit of the *Roman* empire in this iſland.

And here I cannot but obſerve that ſome learned men have injudiciouſly admitted *Scotland* into this diviſion: Some accounting it to have been *Maxima Ceſarienſis*, and others *Britannia Secunda*; as if the *Romans* had not neglected that part of the iſland under a cold climate, and reckon'd here thoſe provinces only which they govern'd by conſular lieutenants and preſidents; for *Maxima Ceſarienſis* and *Valentia*, were ruled by conſular lieutenants; *Britannia Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Flavia*, by preſidents.

But if any will enquire into my reaſons for this diviſion, and be ready to tax me as a falſe land-meeter, let him briefly hear, what inducement I have had for this opinion. After I had obſerved that the *Romans* called thoſe provinces *Prima* which lay neareſt to *Rome*, as *Germania prima*, *Belgia prima*, *Lugdunenſis prima*, *Aquitania prima*, *Pannonia prima*; which lay nearer to *Rome* than thoſe which were called *ſecundæ*, and that the more accurate writers called *prima* the *upper* and *ſecunda* the lower countries; I concluded that the ſouth part of our iſland, and neareſt to *Rome* was *Britannia prima*. For the ſame reaſon; ſeeing the province

they called *ſecundæ* were more remote from *Rome*, I determined *Wales* to be the *Britannia ſecunda*. Further having noted alſo, that in the decaying ſtate of their empire, thoſe provinces only had conſular magiſtrates, which lay facing the enemy, not only in *Gaul*, but in *Africa*, as appears in the *Notitia*: alſo that in the ſaid book *Valentia* with us, and *Maximia Cæſarienſis*, are accounted conſular provinces; I have taken it for granted they were neareſt and moſt expoſed to the *Scots* and *Picts* in the parts above-mentioned. And as for *Flavia Cæſarienſis*, I have nought left but to conjecture, that it lay in the midſt of them all, or the heart of *England*, wherein I may be the more confident, becauſe that antient writer *Giraldus Cambrenſis* is of the ſame opinion. And thus much of the diviſion of *Britain*, under the *Romans*.

Afterwards when the barbarians made invaſions on every ſide, and civil wars daily increas'd among the *Britains*, the iſland as totally diſanimated lay for ſome ſpace languiſhing and forlorn, without any appearance of government at all. At length the parts towards the north, was branched into the two kingdoms of *Scots* and *Picts*, and the pentarchy of the *Romans*, or five portions in this hither part, became in proceſs of time the *heptarchy* of ſeven-fold *monarchy* of the *Saxons* For they divided the whole province of the *Romans* (excluding *Wales*, in poſſeſſion of the remaining *Britains*) into ſeven kingdoms; that is to ſay, *Kent*, *South-ſex*, *Eaſt-angle*, *Weſt-ſex*, *Northumberland*, *Eaſt-ſex*, and *Mercia*.

But what this *Heptarchy* of the *Saxons* was, and by what names the places were called in that age, will be more diſtinctly perceived in the following chorographical table. For,

Conſidering that ſuch tracts as theſe kingdoms contain'd could not ſo conveniently be repreſented in a *Map*, by reaſon of its narrowneſs, I choſe to explain them in this other *Scheme*, which gives the reader a regular view thereof at once, better than he could receive from cluſtering many words together.

The SAXON HEPTARCHY.

1. The kingdom of *Kent* contain'd - The County of - - Kent.
2. That of the *South Saxons* - The Counties of - { Suſſex, Surrey.
3. That of the *Eaſt Angles* - - The Counties of - { Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge *and* Ely.

4. That of the *Weſt Saxons* - - The Counties of - { Cornwall, Devon, Dorſet, Somerſet, Wilts, Hants, Berks.

5. That of *Northamberland* - - The Counties of - { Lancaſter, York, Durham, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, Northumberland, *and* Scotland *on the Fryth of* Edinburgh.

6. That of the *Eaſt Saxons* - - The Counties of - { Eſſex, Middleſex, *and part of* Hertfordſhire.

7. That of *Mercia* - - - - - - The Counties of - { Glouceſter, Hereford, Worceſter, Warwick, Leiceſter, Rutland, Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Stafford, Derby, Salop, Nottingham, Cheſter, *and the remainder of* Hertfordſhire.

Never-

Nevertheleſs, while this Heptarchy flouriſhed, *England* was not thus divided into what we call counties, but into ſeveral ſmall partitions, with their number of *Hides*, a catalogue of which, out of an old fragment, was communicated to me by *Francis Tate*, a gentleman profoundly skill'd in the antiquity of our laws, and which I ſhall here inſert. But it comprizes that part of the iſland which lies on the ſide of the *Humber*.

Hides. *

Myrcna *contains* - -	30000
Woken-ſetna - - -	7000
Weſterna - - - -	7000
Pec-ſetna - - - -	1200
Elmed-ſetna - - - -	700
Lindes-farona - - -	7000
Suth-gyrwa - - - -	600
North-gyrwa - - -	600
Eaſt-wixna - - - -	300
Weſt-wixna - - - -	600
Spalda - - - - -	600
Wigeſta - - - - -	900
Hereſinna - - - -	1200
Sweordora - - - -	300
Eyſla - - - - - -	300
Wicca - - - - -	300
Wight-gora - - - -	600
Nox-gaga - - - -	5000
Oht-gaga - - - -	2000
Hwynca - - - - -	7000
Ciltern-ſetna - - -	4000
Hendrica - - - -	3000

* Some hold a *Hide* to contain a four-yard Land; ſome one hundred Acres: But Sir *Edward Coke* is of opinion, that a *Hide* is the ſame as a *Carucate*, or *Plowland*; and that neither is of a certain Content, but as much as a Plough can till in a Year, with good Husbandry. *Co. Lit.* p. 69. *a.*

Eaſt-

	Hides.
Vnecung-ga - - - -	1200
Aroſeatna - - - - -	600
Fearſinga - - - - - -	300
Belmiga - - - - - -	600
Witherigga - - - - -	600
Eaſt-willa - - - - - -	600
Weſt-willa - - - - -	600
Eaſt-engle - - - - -	30000
Eaſt-ſexena - - - - -	7000
Cant-warena - - - -	15000
Suth-ſexena - - - - -	7000
Weſt-ſexena - - - -	100000

Now tho' ſome of theſe names are at firſt ſight interpretable, yet others of them are ſcarcely to be diſcover'd by hard ſtudy; at leaſt, for my part, they require a more penetrating genius than mine to explain them.

Afterwards, when king *Alfred* had the ſole monarchy under his own government; as our anceſtors the *Germans* (according to *Tacitus*) had their reſpective limits and diviſions to keep courts in, and adminiſter juſtice; admitting a hundred of the commonalty to aſſiſt them in the adminiſtration: ſo (to uſe the words of *Ingulphus* of *Crowland*) "He firſt divided *England* into "*Counties*, becauſe the natives, after the example and under colour of the "*Danes*, committed robberies. Further, he cauſed the counties to be di- "vided into *Hundreds* and *Tithings*, ordering every man in the kingdom to "be rank'd under ſome one Hundred or Tithing. The governors of provinces, "who were before called *Lieutenants*, he divided alſo into offices by the "name of *Judges*, now Juſtices and Sheriffs, which ſtill retain the ſame name. "By their care and induſtry, the whole kingdom was ſoon brought to ſuch "a ſtate of peace and quietneſs, that if a traveller had dropp'd his purſe, "how valuable ſoever, in the evening, whether in the open fields, or high "road, he would be ſure to find it whole and untouch'd if he came for it "next morning, or even a month afterwards." And this our hiſtorian of *Malmsbury* has more largely related, where he tells us, "Even the natives, "under colour of *Barbarians*, that is, the *Danes*, had given themſelves up "to ſpoil and robbery, ſo that no paſſenger could travel ſafe without wea- "pons for his defence. *Alfred*, therefore, conſtituted *Hundreds* and *Tithings*, "that every *Engliſhman*, being under ſubjection of the laws, might be ſet-

"led

" led and diſtinguiſhed under one of thoſe diviſions or the other. And if " any one was accuſed of a tranſgreſſion, he ſhould produce ſome one out of " the ſaid diviſion who would be bound for his appearance; or, if he could " not procure ſuch bail, to expect the immediate ſeverity of the law. But " if any one, thus accuſed, ſhould make his eſcape either before or after bail, " then that diviſion paid a fine to the king. By this device, he ſo quieted " and reform'd the nation, that along the high-roads and croſs-ways he com- " manded golden bracelets to be hung up in triumph over the avarice of paſ- " ſengers, none daring to take them away."

But theſe *Hundreds*, are in ſome parts of the kingdom called *Wapentackes* and to thoſe who would know the reaſon, I will give it out of king *Edward* the confeſſor's laws. " When any one received the govern- " ment of a *Wappentach*, all the elders met in the place appointed for " that purpoſe, upon a certain day, to receive him, and being alighted " from his horſe they all roſe up to ſalute him. Then he holding his " ſpear upright, received of them all according to cuſtom the covenant of " aſſociation. For every one preſent touched his ſpear with theirs, and the " ceremony of *touching weapons* in this peaceful manner, confirmed them " in one common league. For arms they call *Wepon*, and *Taccare* ſignifies " to confirm, as if it were a confirmation of arms, or to ſpeak more ex- " preſſively according to the *Engliſh* tongue, *Wapentac* is the *touching* of " *weapons*, for *wepun* is a *weapon*, and *tac* ſignifies to *touch*. There are " alſo other juriſdictions beſides thoſe of *Wapentackes*, which they call " *Thrikingas*, as comprehending the third part of the province, and the " rulers over thoſe were termed *Thrikingereſas*; before whom were brought " thoſe cauſes which could not be determin'd in the *Wapentachs*. So that " which the *Engliſh* named a Hundred, theſe term'd a *Wapentach*, and " that which in *Engliſh* they call three or four Hundreds, theſe named *Thri-* " *kinge*. However, in ſome Hundreds they call that *Leth*, which theſe " term *Thrikking*, and what could not be determined in the *Thrikking*, was " removed into the *Shire*.

Theſe counties which may be properly call'd in latin *Conventus* or *Pagi*, we by a peculiar name call *Shires*, from *Scyre*, a *Saxon* word, ſignifying to *branch* out or *divide*. At firſt, this diviſion was put into thirty-two *Shires*, for in the year of our Lord one thouſand and ſixteen, and the reign of *Ethelred*, we are informed by *Malmsbury* there were no more, who writes thus in the life of that king. " At this time when they were but thirty-

" two

" two counties in all *England*, the *Danes* invaded ſixteen of them." And in thoſe days theſe counties were divided according to different laws. For the laws of *England* were diſtinguiſhed into three kinds. Thoſe of the Weſt *Saxons* were called *Weſt-Saxenlage*, thoſe of the *Danes*, *Danelage*; thoſe of the *Mercians*, *Merchenlage*. Under the juriſdiction of the *Saxon* law, were theſe nine counties, *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, *Barkſhire*, *Hantſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, and *Devonſhire*. Under the *Daniſh* laws were fifteen counties; *Yorkſhire*, *Derbyſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Hertfordſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and *Huntingdonſhire*. The eight remaining, under the *Mercian* laws, were, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, *Warwickſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Shropſhire*, and *Staffordſhire*. But when *William* the Firſt made a general ſurvey and taxation of the whole kingdom, there were reckoned, as we read in the *Polychronicon*, thirty ſix counties. Yet in the publick regiſter of that ſurvey there is mention made only of thirty four. For *Durham*, *Lancaſhire*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, and *Cumberland*, were not comprifed in that number becauſe theſe three laſt were at that time, as ſome will have it, ſubject to the *Scots*, and the other two were either free from taxes, or comprehended under *Yorkſhire*: But being afterwards added to the reſt, they made up in all thirty-nine *Shires*, as they remain at this day. To which have been ſince joined thirteen more in *Wales*, where ſix were in the time of *Edward* the Firſt, the reſt were ordained by parliamentary authority under K. *Henry* the Eighth.

In each of theſe counties there is appointed, eſpecially in troubleſome times, a deputy under the king, whom they call a lieutenant, who is to take care that the government is no ways impair'd. The firſt inſtitution of their office ſeems to have been by K. *Alfred*, who appointed in every county certain *Cuſtodes*, or keepers of the kingdom. Theſe were afterwards reſtored by king *Henry* the third, under the title of *Capitanei*. For he, in the fifteenth year of his reign, " held a parliament (according to *John of London*) in which " this wholeſome law was enacted, That in every county there ſhould be " placed by the king one captain, who by the help of the Sheriff was to re- " ſtrain the diſorders of thoſe who lived by ſtealth and robbery. At which, " many were ſo terrified, that they gave over their licentious courſe of life, " and the king's authority began again to revive, and be in full force." And a prudent inſtitution it was; but whether *Canutus* the *Dane* not more prudently, who in his *Monarchy* erected a *Tetrarchy*, let our politicians diſ-

pute:

pute: " For he (as archdeacon *Hermandus* records) being a politick " prince, and every way circumſpect dividing the care of his kingdom into " four parts appointed *Tetarchs* from thoſe whom he had found moſt loyal " and truſty. The charge the greater part *Weſt-ſex* he took upon himſelf; " that of *Mercia*, which was the ſecond part he commited to one *Edrich*; " the third called *Northumbre*, to *Vertus*; and the fourth, *Eaſt-Angle*, to " earl *Turkill*, which abounded in wealth". For this intelligence I am beholden to the induſtry of *Francis Thinn* a perſon who has commendably attain'd to a great proficiency in the knowledge of antiquities.

But every year ſome one of the gentlemen inhabitants, and ſtiled *Vicecomes*, or deputy of the *Comes*, and in our tuonge ſheriff or reeve of the ſhire, who may alſo be termed treaſurer of the county: For it is his buſineſs to collect the publick revenues and gather into the exchequer all fines, even by deſtraining; to attend the judges and execute their orders; to empanel juries who are to determine matters of fact, and bring in their verdicts to the judges, (who with us are judges only of the law, not of the fact,) to ſee condemn'd criminals executed and give judgment in ſmaller actions.

Moreover, there are ordained in every ſhire by the inſtitution of *Edward* III. certain juſtices of the peace, who examine murders, felonies, treſpaſſes, and many other delinquincies. Beſides, the king ſends yearly into every county, two of the juſtices of *England*, to give ſentence upon priſoners, and make a goal delivery: Of whom more hereafter when we come to the courts of judicature.

As to the eccleſiaſtical government, after the popes had aſſigned to each prieſt his church, and ſet them over diſtinct pariſhes, *Honorius* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, firſt began to divide *England* into pariſhes, about the year ſix hundred thirty ſix as we read in the hiſtory of *Canterbury*, But now *England* has two provinces, and as many archbiſhops, the one of *Canterbury*, who is primate and metripolitan of all *England*, and the other of *York*, under theſe are twenty four biſhops; whereof twenty one are under *Canterbury*, and the reſt under *York*; what theſe biſhopricks are with the counties and dioceſſes, that are at this day under their jurisdiction, is ſet forth in theſe words, of the pious and moſt reverend father in God *Matthew Parker*, late archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, a worthy promoter of learning, and particularly the ſtudy of antiquities.

In the Province of Canterbury.

Canterbury together with *Rocheſter* contains the county of *Kent*. The biſhoprick of *London*, contains *Eſſex*, *Middleſex*, and part of *Hertfordſhire*. *Chicheſter* comprizes *Suſſex*, *Wincheſter*, *Hamſhire*, *Surrey* and the iſle of *Wight*, with *Guernſey* and *Jerſey* iſlands, lying upon the coaſt of *Normandy*. *Salisbury* comprehends *Wiltſhire* and *Barkſhire*; *Exeter*, *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*; *Bath* and *Wells* joyn'd together, *Somerſetſhire*; *Glocester*, *Glocesterſhire*; *Worceſter Worceſterſhire* and part of *Warwickſhire*; *Hereford*, *Herefordſhire* and part of *Shropſhire*; *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Staffordſhire*, *Derbyſhire* and the other part of *Warwickſhire*, as alſo that part of *Shropſhire* which borders upon the river *Repil*; *Lincoln*, the largeſt of all, has ſix counties, *Lincolnſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Huntingdonſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire* and the orher part of *Hertfordſhire*; *Ely* his *Cambridgſhire* and the iſle of *Ely*; *Norwich*, *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; *Oxford*, *Oxfordſhire*; *Peterborough*, *Northamptonſhire* and *Rutlandſhire*; *Briſtol*, *Dorſetſhire*. To which ſixteen dioceſſes in *England*, are to be added thoſe of *Wales*, which are both deprived of an archbiſhop of their own, and alſo deminiſhed in number; ſeven being reduced ſcarce to four which are St. *Davids*, *Landaff*, *Bangor* and St. *Aſaph*.

In the Province of York.

The province of *York* comprehends *Yorkſhire* and *Nottinghamſhire*; *Cheſter* contains *Cheſhire*, *Richmondſhire*, and *Lancaſhire*, with part of *Cumberland*, *Flintſhire* aud *Denbighſhire*, *Durham* the biſhoprick of *Durham* and *Northumberland*; *Carliſle* part of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*: To which we may add the biſhoprick of *Sodor* in the iſle of *Man*.

Among theſe the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* has the firſt place; the archbiſhop of *York* the ſecond; the biſhop of *London* the third; the biſhop of of *Durham* the fourth; the biſhop of *Wincheſter* the fifth; the reſt take place according to the priority of their conſecration or enſtalment: Yet if any other of the biſhops happen to be the kings ſecretary, he claims by right the next place after thoſe four. There are beſides twenty ſix deanaries in *England*, whereof thirteen were inſtituted by king *Henry* VIII. in the greater cathedral churches after the expulſion of the monks. The archdeaconries are in number threeſcore, and the dignities and prebends amount to five hundred and forty four.

There

There are alſo reckon'd nine thouſand two hundred eighty four pariſh churches under theſe biſhops, of which three thouſand eight hundred forty and five, are *Appropriate*, as appear from the liſt exhibited to king *James*, which I have here ſubjoyn'd. Now they are call'd appropriate churches which by the popes authority, conſent of the king and biſhop of the dioceſe, were upon certain conditions annexed to monaſteries, biſhopricks, colleges and hoſpitals of ſmall endowments, either becauſe they were built upon their ground or granted by the lords of the manor, being according to the form in the inſtruments, *united*, *annexed* and *incorporate* for ever. But upon the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, theſe, to the great loſs of the church were made *Lay-Fees*.

	Dioceſes.	*Pariſh Churches.*	*Churches Appropriate.*
In the province of *Canterbury.*	Canterbury	257	140
	London	623	189
	Wincheſter	362	131
	Coventry and Litchfield	557	250
	Salisbury	248	109
	Bath and Wells	388	160
	Lincoln	1255	577
	Peterborough	293	91
	Exeter	604	239
	Gloceſter	267	125
	Hereford	313	166
	Norwich	1121	385
	Ely	141	75
	Rocheſter	98	36
	Chicheſter	250	112
	Oxford	195	88
	Worceſter	241	76
	Briſtol	238	64
	St. Davids	308	120
	Bangor	107	36
	Landaff	177	98
	St. Aſaph	121	19
	Peculiars *in the* Province *of* Canterbury.	57	14
	The whole Number in the Province of *Cantterbury.*	8219	3303

	Dioceſes.	*Pariſh Churches.*	*Churches Apropriate.*
In the Province of *York.*	York	581	336
	Durham	135	87
	Cheſter	256	101
	Carliſle	93	18
	The whole Number in *York*	1065	592
	The whole Number in both Provinces	9284	3845

But in cardinal *Wolſey*'s book, which was compil'd in the year 1520, there are enumerated in all the counties, nine thouſand four hundred and ſeven churches. Whence this variation ſhould proceed, I cannot determine, unleſs that in the former age ſome churches were demoliſh'd, and the chapels which belong'd to ſeveral pariſhes are omitted, and others which are barely chapels, reckon'd among the pariſh churches. However, I have in this liſt tranſcribed the number of pariſh churches in every county from that cardinal's book.

There were alſo in the reign of king *Henry* VIII. (if it may be mention'd without offence) many religious houſes, monuments of our forefathers piety, erected to the honour of God, the propagation of chriſtianity and erudition, as alſo for the relief of the poor; and theſe were monaſteries or abbies and priories to the number of ſix hundred forty and five, of which when by the permiſſion of pope *Clement* the ſeventh, forty were ſuppreſs'd by cardinal *Wolſey*, who then had begun to found two colleges at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*; immediately after, about the thirty ſixth year of the ſaid king *Henry*'s reign, a ſudden flood as it were broke through the banks with a main ſtream, upon the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of *England*, which while it amazed the world, and grieved *England*, utterly overthrew the greateſt part of the clergy, with their moſt goodly and magnificent ſtructures. For that priviledge which the pope granted to the cardinal, the king by conſent of parliament aſſumed to himſelf. Whereupon, in the year 1536, as many religious houſes with their livings and revenues, as had two hundred a year or under, were granted to the king and theſe amounted to three hundred ſeventy ſix. In the year following all the reſt under pretence of rooting out ſuperſtition with the colleges chanteries and hoſpitals, were alſo ſubmitted to his diſpoſal. At which time the religious houſes remaining, in number ſix hundred and five, were ſurvey'd and valued or taxed. Ninety colleges, excluſive of thoſe in the univerſities, a hundred and ten hoſpitals, and two thouſand three hundred

ſeventy

ſeventy four free chapels were ſoon after moſtly pull'd down, their revenues ſold, and thoſe goods which the chriſtian piety of the *Engliſh* nation had conſecrated to God ſince their firſt profeſſion of chriſtianity, were all ſuddendenly diſperſed and (to the diſpleaſure of none be it ſpoken) prophan'd.

The Degrees of Dignity in England.

Touching the diviſion of our ſtate, it conſiſts of a king, nobles and gentry, citizens, freemen, whom we call yeomen and tradeſmen.

The KING, whom our anceſtors the *Saxons* called *Coning*, and *Cyning*; which implies both *power* and *wiſdom*, and contracted by us a *king*, has in theſe kingdoms the ſupream power and government over us, neither holding his ſovereignty by vaſſalage, nor receiving it by inveſture from another: Nor owning any ſuperior, but God, or as one has ſaid, *All are under him, and himſelf under none but God alone.* He has many regal rights, which the learned in the law term the *Holy* of *Holies*, and *Individuals*, becauſe they are inſeparable, but the common people the *kings prerogative*, and theſe, they ſay, are ſignified by *the flowers in the kings crown.* Some of theſe the king enjoys by *written law*, others by right of cuſtom, which thro' the ſilent conſent of all men has by preſcription of time been allow'd. And ſurely moſt deſervedly, " ſince by his vigilence every man's houſe, by his care every " man's eaſe, by his induſtry every man's pleaſure, and by his toil every " man's recreations are ſecured to him". * But theſe are points of a ſublime " nature, and not to be handled in our preſent conſiderations of this argument.

The kings *eldeſt ſon* is next to him. And as the deſigned ſucceſſor among the *Romans* was called prince of the youth, and afterwards, (as flattery improv'd) *noble Cæſar*, and *moſt noble*, ſo with our anceſtors the *Saxons*, he was named in their tongue *Atheling*, that is *noble*, and in *Latin Clyto*, and in Greek *Clytos* or famous, (that age effecting the *Greek* tongue.) Hereupon that ſaying concerning *Eadgar* the laſt heir male of the blood royal is yet common, *Edgar* the *Noble*, *Englands Darling*. And in the ancient *Latin* patents or charters of the kings we often read, *Ego E. vel Ae. Clyto, Regis Filius:* But this addition of *Clyto*, I have obſerved to be given to all the kings ſons. After the *Norman* conqueſt, no certain ſpecial title was appropriated to him, nor any other that I know off, but barely *the kings ſon, or the kings eldeſt ſon*, till *Edward the firſt*, ſummon'd to parliament his ſon *Edward* by the name of *Prince* of *Wales* and earl of *Cheſter*, to whom he granted afterwards the dukedom alſo of *Aquitaine*. And when the ſaid prince came to be king *Edward* II. he call'd to parlia-

* *Seneca.*

ment

ment his ſon *Edward*, not quite ten years old, by the title of earl of *Cheſter*, and of *Flint*. But when this *Edward* came to the crown as third king of that name, he created his ſon *Edward*, who was a moſt valiant and renowned warrier *duke of Cornwal*. Since which the kings eldeſt ſon is born *duke of Cornwal*: and not long after he dignified the ſaid ſon with the title of *Prince of Wales*, by ſolemn inveſtiture, and gave the principality of *Wales* in theſe words, *To be held of him and his heirs kings of* England. And as I lately obſerved the heirs apparent of the *Roman* empire were called *Cæſars*, thoſe or the *Greek* empire *Diſpotæ*; of *France Dauphins*; and of *Spain Infantes*: So from that time the heirs apparent of *England* were entitled *Princes of Wales*. And this title continued to the days of king *Henry* VIII. when *Wales* was totally united to the kingdom of *England*. But now the divided kingdoms of *Britain* are united into one, under the government of that moſt potent prince king *James* his eldeſt ſon *Henry* the darling and delight of theſe kingdoms is ſtiled *Prince of Great-Britain*; whom as nature has made capable of the nobleſt attainments all parts of the kingdom, unfeignedly prays for, that God would bleſs him with the greateſt virtues and immortal honours, that he may ſurpaſs both our hopes and the atchievements of his progenitors and that he may exceed them in years as well as felicities.

Our nobles are divided into *greater* and *leſs*. The ſuperior nobles we call dukes, marquiſſes, earls, and barons, who either enjoy theſe titles by hereditary right, or receive them from the kings of this realm as the rewards of their merits.

A *duke* is the chief title of honour among us after the *prince*. This was a name of office and not of honour at the beginning. For about the time of *Ælius verus* the emperor, thoſe who ruled over the borders were called *Duces*, and this degree in the days of *Conſtantine* was inferior to that of *Comites*. And after the abolition of the *Roman* government in this iſland, this title remained ſtill as a name of office, and thoſe who in old charters during the *Saxon* times, are called *Duces*, were named in the *Engliſh* tongue only *Ealdermen* of *England*, who is generally call'd duke of *Normandy*, is ſtiled only *Comeſor* count of *Normandy* by *William* of *Malmsbury*. But as well duke as count were names of charge and office, as appears by the following inſtrument or form of creation, which we find in *Marculphus* an ancient writer. " In this particularly chiefly is a prince's, royal clemency com-
" mendable, that through the whole body of the people, there be ſought out
" perſons of probity and vigilence, and not to commit any judiciary power
" unadviſedly to any man who had not firſt given proof of his fidelity and
" valour. Since therefore we have ſufficiently experienced your loyalty and
" merit,

" merit, we have committed to you the office of count, duke or preſident in that " lordſhip which your predeceſſor enjoy'd to govern the ſame accordingly. " provided always that you ever keep your faith untainted towards our roy- " al government, and that your diſcharge your power over them uprightly " according to the laws laid down to you, and their own cuſtoms. That " you ſhew yourſelf a protector to widows and a guardian to orphans: That " the enormities of robbers and malefactors, eſcape not your ſtrict puniſh- " ment: So as thoſe who live orderly under your government, may enjoy " quiet and happineſs: And that whatever profit ariſes from the due exe- " cution of your ſaid office to our exchequer, be yearly brought to the ſame " by your own hands". This title of duke began to be a title of honour under *Otho*, the Great, about the year nine hundred ſeventy: For he to engage martial and politick men more firmly to his intereſt, honour'd them with *Royalties* as he ſtiled them. And theſe were either dignities or lands in fee. The dignities were thoſe of *dukes marqueſſes, earls, captains, Valvaſors* or *Valvaſines*. But it was later before it became an heriditary title in *France*, not till *Philip* the third king of *France*, who granted that they ſhould be called *dukes, of Britain*, who were before called promiſcuouſly *dukes* and *counts*. But in *England* in the time of the *Normans*, when the *Norman* kings themſelves were dukes of *Normandy*, no perſon was digniſied with this honour for a long time, nor before *Edward* III. created his ſon *Edward* duke of *Cornwall*; *by a wreath on his head, a ring on his finger, and a rod in his hand.* So the dukes of *Normandy*, were formerly created by a ſword and a banner delivered them; afterwards by girding the ſword of the dutchy, and circlet of gold garniſhed with little golden roſes in the top. And the ſame king *Edward* III. created in parliament his two ſons *Lionel*, duke of *Clarence* and *John* duke of *Lancaſter*, " by the girding of " a ſword, and ſetting on their heads a furr'd *Chapeau* with a circlet " or coronet of gold, ſet with pearl, and delivery of a charter into their " hands." From which time there have been many hereditary dukes among us, created one after another, with theſe or the like words in their charter of patent. " We give and grant the name, title, ſtate, ſeat, pre- " heminence, honour, authority and dignity of a duke to N. and by the " cincture of a ſword; the impoſition of a cap, with a golden circle up- " on your head, and alſo by the delivery of a golden verge, we inveſt you " therewith.

A *marquiſs*, that is according to the meaning of the word, one appointed to guard the *marches* or limits, is the next in honour to a duke. This title came late into *England*, as was not diſpoſed upon any perſon before the reign of king *Richard* II. For he made his great favorite *Robert Vere*,

Earl

Earl of *Oxford*, Marquis of *Dublin*, and then began it to be a title of honour among us. For, before that time, thoſe who govern'd the Marches were commonly call'd *Lords Marchers*, and not *Marquiſſes*, as they are now called. And henceforth the king created them, " by girding on the ſword, " putting on the cap of honour and dignity, and delivering them a charter." Nor will I think much of reciting what I find in the Parliament-Rolls to this purpoſe: When *John de Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerſet* was, by *Richard* II. created Marquis of *Dorſet*, and afterwards by *Henry* IV. deprived of that title, at the time that the Commons of *England* petitioned the king in parliament to reſtore him to the title of Marquis; he oppoſed the motion himſelf, and openly declared, It was a new dignity, altogether unknown to his anceſtors, therefore neither coveted, nor would accept it.

Earls, who hold the third degree, ſeem to have been derived to us by our *German* anceſtors. For they heretofore, as *Tacitus* writes, had their *Comites*, " who were always to attend upon their prince, and be at hand in matters " of counſel and authority." But others think, that they came from the *Romans* to us, as alſo to the *Franks*, or *French*; for the emperors, when the empire was grown to its full ſtrength, began to keep about them a kind of domeſtick ſenate, which was called *Cæſaris Comitatus*; and then thoſe whoſe counſel they uſed in war and peace, were termed *Comites*; whence it is, that in ancient inſcriptions, we often meet with *Comiti: Impp:* In a few years this title grew ſo common, that it was given to all officers and magiſtrates who attended upon the ſaid council, or came out of it; from thence the name afterwards extended to all the ſupervifors of ſtate-affairs. *Suidas* defines *Comes* to be *The ruler of the people*, as *Cujacius* has told us; who alſo ſays, that, before *Conſtantine the Great*, the name of *Comes* was not in uſe to diſtinguiſh any degree of honour. But he, when he changed the platform of the *Roman* government, by new diſtinctions, and endeavoured to oblige many to his intereſt by his grants and advancements, inſtituted firſt the title of *Comes* as merely honorary, without any duty exacted therein. This *Comes* had a certain privilege to accompany the prince, not only when he went abroad, but at home, and in his cabinet; likewiſe, to be preſent at his ſecret, and private conferences. To this ſenſe, we have theſe words in *Epiphanius*: " Who alſo obtained of the king the dignity of a count." At laſt, he granted to thoſe who were beholden to him for this honourable dignity, other preferments, with ſome charge annexed: And again, upon those who were in place of magiſtracy, and executed any office of ſtate either at home or abroad, he beſtowed that title of honour. Hence the name *Count* came to imply both dignity and government, which was at firſt temporal, afterwards for life. In proceſs of time, when the *Roman* empire was divided

divided into many kingdoms this title was yet retain'd, and our *Saxons* called them in Latin *Comites* and Conſales, whom in their own language they named *Ealrdomen*, and the ſame which the *Danes* in their tongue call'd *Eorlas*, that is, honourable, as we are inform'd by *Ethelward*, from which word, ſomewhat mollified we call them at this day *Earls*. Long were they known by this name only, but at laſt with addition of the place over which they were put in authority: Nor as yet deſcended this honour to the next by inheritance. Where, by the way I remark, that he firſt hereditary earls in *France* were the earls of *Britain*. But when *William* of *Normandy* conquer'd this land, and took upon him the abſolute government of this kingdom, earls began to be *Feudal*, *Hereditary* and *Patrimonial*; and theſe, as appears by Doomſday book, were ſtiled ſimply earls, without any addition as earl *hugh*, earl *alan*, earl *roger*, &c. Afterwards as may be ſeen in ancient charters, earls were created with the name of ſome place annexed to them, and had the third penny of the county aſſign'd to them. As for example, *Maud* the empreſs, daughter and heir to king *Henry* I. created an earl in theſe words, as appears by the very charter in my poſſeſſion. "I *Maud*, daughter of king *Henry* and queen of *England*, do give and "grant, unto *Geffery de Magnavil* for his ſervice and to his heirs after him "by right of inheritance, the earldom of *Eſſex*, and to have the third penny "out of the Sheriffs court iſſuing out of all pleas, as an earl ought to have "from his county in all reſpects." This is the moſt ancient charter I have yet ſeen of an earl's creation. Her ſon alſo king *Henry* the ſecond created an earl in theſe words. "Know yet that we have made *Hugh Bigod* earl of "*Norfolk*; that is to ſay of the third penny of *Norwic* and *Norfolk*, ſo as to be "as amply empower'd in his county as any earl in *England*." Which is thus explain'd in an old book belonging to *Battle Abbey*. "It was a uſual and ancient cuſtom throughout *England*, that the earls ſhould have the third penny of thoſe provinces whence they took their name or title." And agreeable hereto I find another anonimous author more plainly ſays. "The county takes it's name from the count, or, he take his from that. Now he is call'd "a count or earl, becauſe, he receives the third parts of the profits which ariſe from the pleas in his county: Yet all earls enjoy them not, but only "thoſe to whom the king has granted them by right of inheritance, or in "their own perſons." So that what *Polydore Virgil* ſays, in the relation to the cuſtom of the preſent age is right enough, where he relates. "'Tis cuſtomary in *England*, for the titles of earldoms to be given at the princes pleaſure even without poſſeſſion of thoſe places from whence ſuch titles are taken; And therefore the king is wont to give theſe nobles who have no poſſeſſions in thoſe counties certain annual penſions inſtead thereof out of his own revenues."

The peers of this rank were anciently created without any other ceremony than the delivery of a patent, and during the diſturbances in the time of

king *Stephen* the uſurper many aſſumed the title of earls who are call'd in the hiſtory of *Waverly* and other writings of thoſe times, counterfeit earls, and imaginary counts, where we are alſo inform'd, that they were diveſted of thoſe uſurped honours by king *Henry* II. But king *John*, as far as I have obſerved, was the firſt who uſed in their creation the cincture of a ſword. For we find in *Roger Hoveden*, " That king *John* upon his coronation day gird-" ed *William Mareſchall*, with the ſword of the county of *Strigul*, and " *Jeffery Fitz-Peter* with that of the county of *Eſſex*. Who tho' they had " been called earls before and govern'd their ſhires; yet had they not " been girt with the ſword of an earldom; and upon that day they waited " at the king's table with thoſe ſwords by their ſides." In the following age, an additional ceremony was added to the inveſture, by putting on a cap with a circlet of gold, which now is converted into a coronet, with rays or points only, and a robe of ſtate; which three enſigns, ſword and belt, cap with the coronet, and mantle, or robe, are borne by three ſeveral earls before him who is to be created, and he is led to the king upon his throne, between two other earls in their robes, and himſelf in his *ſurcoat*; where kneeling whilſt the inſtrument of his creation is reading, at theſe words. " This ſame T. we advance, create, *&c.* earl of S. and accord-" ingly do give, grant, and by the girding of a ſword inveſt him with the " name, title, *&c.* of earl of S." The king puts him on a robe, hangs a ſword about his neck, ſets the cap with a coronet on his head, and delivers the inſtrument which was read into his hand. But this is ſomewhat beſide my preſent purpoſe.

As to the preſent cuſtom in creating an earl, to make him firſt a baron, if he was not one before, it is an innovation of modern date, and uſed but ſince the time of king *Henry* VIII. But among this degree of nobles, thoſe are moſt honourable who are called *Counts Palatine*. For as this name *Palatine* was common to all who had offices in the kings palace; ſo *Count Palatine* is a title of dignity confer'd on ſuch as had before been a *Palatine* Officer, with a kind of royal authority to be judges within their own territory.

Next are the *Vicecounts*; this is an antient title as an office, but as a dignity a modern one, not heard of among us before the reign of king *Henry* VI.

Barons have the next place among the ſuperior nobility; and tho' I know what the learned have written of this word's ſignification in *Cicero*, yet am willing to agree with *Iſidore* and an old grammarian, that *Barons* are but mercenary ſoldiers; for it ſeems to be clearly proved, in that noted place of *Hirtius* touching the *Alexandrian* war, where he ſays they came running together

together to defend *Caſſius*; for he was always us'd to have *Barons*, and a choſen number of armed ſoldiers, diſtinct from the reſt upon emergent occaſions. Nor does the old *Latin* and *Greek* gloſſary oppoſe this opinion, when it tranſlates *Bara*, a *Man*, as always in the laws of the *Longobards* the word *Baro* is uſed to the ſame ſenſe. But I am not pleaſed with the etymologies which ſome forged of this name. The *French* Herolds will have *Barones* to be ſo called from *Par Hominies*, ſignifying of *equal dignity*; and the *Engliſh* lawyers wou'd derive them from *Robora Betti*, the ſinews of the war; ſome *Germans* wou'd deduce the word from *Banner-heirs*, that is *Standard-bearers*; and *Iſidore* draws it from the *Greek Bareis*, that is, grave or weighty. *Alciat* wou'd have it from the *Berones*, an ancient people in *Spain*, who were as he obſerves anciently *Stipendiary* ſoldiers. But I prefer that other derivation from the *German Bar*, ſignifying a *Free-man* or one at his own liberty.

I am not certain when this name was firſt uſed in *England*. The *Britains* do not claim it, nor is it to be found in the *Saxon* laws, nor among the titles of honour in *Alfric*'s *Saxon Gloſſery*, when *Dominus* is tranſlated *Laford*, which we have contracted into lord. The *Danes* called their free lords, ſuch as theſe *Barons* are, *Thani*, and ſo they ſtill call them according to *Andreas Velleius*: But in *Burgundy*, this appellation has been of great antiquity; for *Gregory Turoneuſis* mentions the *Barons* of *Burgundy*, as well biſhops as laicks. But the firſt mention that is made of a *Baron* among us, as I have obſerved, is in a fragment of the laws of *Canute*, king of the *Engliſh* and *Danes*. Yet therein, according to the variety of copes, we read indifferently *Virones*, *Barones*, and *Thani*: but that a *Baron* is thereby meant, is evident from the laws of *William* the conqueror, in which thoſe laws of *Canutus* are tranſlated in the *Norman* tongue, under the name of *Baro*. The paſſage runs thus; "Let the *Heriots* or *Reliefs* be ſo moderate as to be tolerable. An *Earl* as "becomes him, ſhall provide eight horſes, four with ſaddles, and four without; four ſteel caps, and four coats of mail; eight lances, and as many "ſhields; four ſwords, and two hundred mancuſe of gold: But a king's *Viron*, "or *Baron*, who is of the next degree, ſhall bring four horſes, two ſaddled "and two unſaddled, two ſwords, four lances and as many ſhields; one "ſteel cap, and fifty *Mancuſes* of gold."

The *Valvaſors* and *Thanes* were accounted, in order and dignity, next to the *Earls* and *Barons* in the beginning of the *Norman* Reign; and the *Valvaſors* of the better ſort, if we may credit thoſe who write of *Fendal Tenures*, were the very ſame with the preſent barons: So that this *Baro* may ſeem to have been deriv'd from that name; which time has by little and little molified. But it was not then a title of any great honour, for in thoſe times there were earls who had their barons under them; and I remember to have read

in the antient conſtitutions of the *French*, how there were twelve barons under one earl, and as many captains under a baron. And there are certainly antient charters extant, wherein the earls ſince the coming in of the *Normans*, wrote thus: *To all my barons, as well French as Engliſh, greeting*, &c. Nay, we alſo find that citizens of the better ſort were called barons. For the citizens of *Warwick* in Doomſday book were named *Barones*: Alſo the citizens of *London*, and the inhabitants of the *Cinque-Ports*, were diſtinguiſh'd by the ſame name. But ſome few years after, as if of old in *Rome*, they choſe *Senators* for their wealth; ſo were thoſe with us counted barons, who held lands of their own by the entire barony, or thirteen knights fees, and one third of a knight's fee, computing every fee, as an antient author inſtructs, us at twenty pounds, which amounts to four hundred marks. "For "that was the value of one entire barony, and they who had lands and re- "venues to this value, were wont to be ſummoned to parliament." It ſeems alſo to have been a dignity with juriſdiction, as what they call *Court-Barons* do in ſome meaſure prove. Alſo the very number of theſe barons induces me to think they were ſuch lords as held pleas in their own juriſdictions, and ſuch as the *Germans* call *Free-heirs*, eſpecially if they had caſtles of their own; for then they correſpond with the diffinition of *Baldus*, the famous civilian, who deſcribes him to be a baron, "who had a ſubordinate rule in "ſome caſtle, by the grant of the prince;" and all thoſe, as ſome would have it, who held baronies, ſeem to have claimed this honour; ſo that, as ſeveral learned in our laws believe, a baron and a barony, a count or earl, and a county, a duke and dutchy, were conjunctive. 'Tis certain that in thoſe days, *Henry* III. reckon'd in *England* a hundred and fifty baronies, and hence it is, that in all the charters and hiſtories of that age, all noblemen are called barons, a tithe then very honourable, and under the term of baronage; all the ſuperior ranks of the kingdom, as dukes, marqueſſes, earls and barons, were in a manner compriſed: but it attained to its higheſt pitch of honour, ever ſince king *Henry* III. out of ſuch numbers as were ſeditious and turbulent, ſummoned the moſt worthy to the high court of parliament. "For he," as a writer of good antiquity has it, "after thoſe great diſturbances "and animoſities between *Simon de Montford* and other barons, were ap- "peas'd, decreed, that all thoſe earls and barons of *England*, to whom the "king vouchſafed to direct his writs of ſummons, ſhould aſſemble to his par- "liament, and no others." But what he thus begun a little before his death, his ſucceſſor *Edward* the firſt ſtedfaſtly continued; and henceforth they only were accounted barons of the kingdom, whom the king had cited by virtue of ſuch writs of ſummons to the parliament, till *Richard* II. created *John Beauchamp de Holt*, baron of *Kidderminſter*, by his letters patent, dated the eighth

eighth of *October*, in the eleventh year of his reign. Since that time, the kings, by their patents, and inveſtiture of the robes of honour, have conferr'd this dignity. And, to this day, the manner of creating a Baron by letters patents, as alſo that other by writs of ſummons, are in uſe; in which, nevertheleſs, they are not ſtiled by the name of *Baron*, but of *Chevalier*. They who are thus created are called *Barons of Parliament*, *Barons of the Realm*, and *Barons of Honour*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe who ſtill, according to that old form, are called *Barons*; as thoſe of *Burford*, of *Wilton*, and thoſe who were Barons to the *Count Palatines* of *Cheſter* and *Pembroke*, who were barons in fee and by tenure.

Theſe our parliamentary barons bear not the name only, as thoſe of *France* and *Germany*, but are all born *Peers* of the realm of *England*, *Nobles*, the *States*, and *Counſellors*, and are called by the king, "To treat of the great "affairs of the kingdom, and therein to give their counſel." They have alſo immunities and privileges of their own; namely, that in criminal cauſes they are not to have any trial but by a jury of their peers; are not to be put to their oath, but a proteſtation upon their honour is ſufficient; are not to be empanell'd upon a Jury of twelve men for inqueſt *de facto*: no *Supplicavit* can be granted, nor *Eſſoine* be againſt them; with many others, which I leave to lawyers, whoſe buſineſs it is to handle theſe and the like matters. Beſides theſe, the two Archbiſhops, and all the Biſhops of *England* are barons alſo of the kingdom and parliament, as in the days of our anceſtors were alſo theſe abbots and priors following.

The Abbot of
- Glaſſenbury.
- St. Auſtin's, Canterbury.
- St. Peter's, Weſtminſter.
- St. Alban's.
- St. Edmond's Bury.
- Peterburgh.
- St. John *of* Colcheſter.
- Evelham.
- Winchelcomb.
- Crowland.
- Battle.
- Reading.
- Abingdon.
- Walthan Holy-Croſs.
- Shrewsbury.

The

The Abbot of
- Cirenceſter.
- St. Peter's *in* Glouceſter.
- Bardney.
- St. Benedict *of* Hulm.
- Thorney.
- Ramſey.
- Hyde.
- Malmsbury.
- St. Mary *in* York.
- Selby.

The Prior of
- Coventry.
- The Order of St. John of Jeruſalem, *commonly ſtiled* Maſter of the Knights of St. John, *who would alſo be accounted the firſt Baron of* England.

To theſe it belonged, (as it ſtill does to biſhops) " by right and cuſtom, " to be perſonally preſent at all parliaments (as the publick records have " it) with the reſt of the peers, to conſult, treat, order, decree, and determine, by virtue of the baronies they hold of the king." For *William* I. (which the churchmen of thoſe times complained of, but their ſucceſſors accounted their greateſt honour) " ordained biſhopricks and abbies, who held " baronies in pure and perpetual alms, ſo till then free from all ſecular ſervices, to be under the military or knights ſervice; enrolling every biſhoprick and abbey at his will and pleaſure, and appointing the number of " ſoldiers he would have them reſpectively find for him and his ſucceſſors in " times of war."

Since that time, thoſe eccleſiaſtical barons enjoy all the immunities that other barons of the kingdom do, except being judg'd by their peers. For conſidering that, according to the canons of the church, ſuch might not be preſent in matters of life and death; ſo in the ſame cauſes themſelves are to be judged, as to fact, by a Jury of twelve. But whether this be the ſtrict rule of law, I refer to the lawyers themſelves.

Vavaſors, or *Valvaſors* were anciently the next in degree to *Barons*; and thoſe the lawyers derive from *Valvæ*, or folding *Doors*; a dignity which ſeems to have deſcended from the *French*: For when they bore rule in *Italy*, they called thoſe *Valvaſors*, who had received of a duke, marquis, earl, or commander, the charge over ſome part of the people; and, as *Butelere* the the civilian words it, had power to chaſtiſe in the higheſt degree, but not the

the right of fairs and markets. This was an extraordinary title of honour among us, and whatever more particularly it was, has been long ſince by degrees extinct. For in *Chaucer*'s time it was not conſiderable, as appears from what he ſays of his *Franklin* or *Freekolder*.

A *Sheriffe* had he been and a *Contour*,
Was no where ſock a worthy *Vavaſour*.

The inferior nobility are *Knights*, *Eſquires*, and thoſe we commonly call *Gentlemen*; *Knights*, who by the lawyers are called in Latin *Milites*, have almoſt in all nations had their names from *Horſes*; for the *Italians* call them *Cavalieri*, the *French*, *Chevaliers*; the *Germans*, *Reiters*; and our *Britains*, in *Wales*, *Marcogh*: all of them words relating to riding. The *Engliſh* only call them *Knights*, by a word which in the old *Engliſh* tongue, as alſo in the *German*, ſignifies promiſcuouſly a *Serviter* and a *young man*. Hence it proceeds that in the old verſion of the goſpels into the *Engliſh* tongue, we read, inſtead of *Chriſt's Diſciples*, *Chriſt's Learning Cnyhts*; and elſewhere for a *chamberlain*, *knyght*; and *Bracton* our old common lawyer, makes mention of *Radknights*, that is, ſerving horſemen, who held lands, upon condition that they ſhould ſerve their lords with, or on horſes; and ſo by contracting the word, as we delight in brevity, I have long thought that this word *Knight* deſcended to us.

But whence it came that our countrymen ſhould in their laws, and in all writings ſince the *Norman* conqueſt term thoſe *Knights*, in Latin *Milites*, I do not well comprehend. Yet I am not ignorant that in the declenſion of the Roman empire, this name of *Milites*, or *Soldiers*, was transferr'd to ſuch as bore near the prince's perſon the greateſt offices in his retinue. But among us, if I have any inſight to the matter, thoſe were at firſt ſo call'd who held any lands or inheritance, as tenants in fee, and by this tenure, to ſerve in the wars. For thoſe lands were termed *Knights* fees; and thoſe elſewhere named *Feudatarii*, that is, *Tenants* in fee, were here called *Milites* or *Knights*: As for example *Milites Regis*, *&c.* The king's knights; knights of the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; knights of earl *Roger*, of earl *Hugh*, *&c.* becauſe they received thoſe manors or lands of them, on condition that they ſhould fight for them in the wars, and pay them fealty and homage. Whereas thoſe who ſerved barely for pay, were only called *Soldiarii* and *Servientes*, that is, ſoldiers and ſervants. But theſe, call them *Milites* or *Equites*, which you will, are with us of four diſtinct qualites. The moſt honourable and of the greateſt dignity, are thoſe of the order of St. *George*, or of the Garter. The ſecond are *Bannerets*: The third knights of the Bath: and the fourth thoſe

whom

whom we ſimply call *Knights*, and in Latin *Equites Aurati*, or *Milites*, without any other addition. I ſhall treat more largely of the knights of the Garter in the more proper place, when I come to the deſcription of *Windſor*, and of the reſt thus much briefly in this place.

Bannerets, ſometimes corruptly call'd *Baronets*, derive their name from a banner, for in regard of their notable ſervice in war, they had a four ſquare enſign or banner; granted them, as well as the barons, and from thence they are ſometimes properly call'd *Equites Vexillarii*, or *Knights Bannerets*, and by the *Germans*, *Bannerheires*. The antiquity of theſe *Knight Bannerets*, I cannot trace beyond the time of *Henry* III. when the *Engliſh* were in great renown for their chivalry, or feaſts of arms; ſo that I ſhall fully believe this title of honour was then firſt created, in recompence of martial merit, till time ſhall furniſh us with a more exact diſcovery of its inſtitution. In the publick records of that time, mention is made among military titles of *Bannerets*, of men at the *Banner*, which ſeems the ſame, and of men at arms: And I have ſeen a charter of that king *Edward*, by which he advanc'd *John Coupland* to the degree of a *Banneret*; for having in a battle, at *Durham*, taken *David* II. king of *Scots*, Priſoner; and it runs in the words: "Being "willing to recompence the ſaid *John*, who took *David de Bruis* priſoner, "and deliver'd him to us, and to fix ſuch a cognizance of our eſteem upon "his loyalty and valour, as may incite others to exert themſelves with like "fidelity in our ſervice, we have advanc'd the ſaid *John* to the dignity of "a *Banneret*; and for the maintenance thereof, have granted for us and our "heirs, the ſum of five hundred pounds yearly, to the ſaid *John* and his "heirs." And worthy here to be remember'd, out of *Froiſſard*, is the diſtinct form and ceremony, whereby *John Chandois*, a brave and noble warrior of that reign, was made a *Banneret*. When *Edward*, prince of *Wales*, ſays he, was to fight a battle, in behalf of *Peter* king of *Caſtile*, againſt *Henry* the baſtard, and the *French*, *John Chandois* came to the prince, and delivered him his own *Banner*, rolled up, with theſe words: "My lord, this is my "*Banner*, may it pleaſe you to unfurl it, that I may advance it this day in "the field; for I have by God's providence ſufficient revenues for the ſupport "of that dignity." The prince, and king *Peter*, who ſtood by him, took the *Banner* in their hands, and reſtor'd it unfolded with words to this effect: "Sir *John*, as you expect ſucceſs and glory, behave yourſelf bravely, and "ſhew what a man you are." Having receiv'd the *Banner*, he return'd chearfully to his companions, "Fellow ſoldiers, ſaid he, behold my *Banner*, and "yours, in caſe you defend it couragiouſly as yours." In after ages, whoever was to be honour'd with this title, either for encouragement before the battle, or after it, in reward of his valour, was brought before the king,

or his general carrying a long enſign called a *Pennon*, on which his arms were painted, and going between two of the ſenior knights with trumpeters and heralds before him; the king or general wiſhing him ſucceſs commanded the end of the *Pennon* to be cut off, that ſo the banner inſtead of a long form was reduced to a ſquare.

Concerning *Knights* of the *Bath*, the moſt ancient account I have met with of them, is that they were in being among the ancient *French*; and that *Henry* IV. king of *England*, on his coronation day, in the tower, dubb'd forty ſix Eſqs. into that order, who the night before had watch'd and bathed, and he gave to every one of them a green coat, reaching down to the ancles, with ſtrait ſleeves, and furr'd with *Minivere*: Alſo, they wore upon their left ſhoulder two white ſilk twiſts hanging down with taſſels. Theſe in former times were wont to be created and ſelected out of the nobility (which had not before taken the degree of knighthood) at the coronation of kings and queens, and at their marriages: Alſo ſometimes when their ſons were inveſted princes of *Wales* or dukes, or when the ſolemnity, the cincture, or military girdle of knighthood, and that with many ceremonies, which now are moſtly grown obſolete and out of uſe. But in our times thoſe who are call'd by the king, to this order, (not that I deſign a full account of the ſolemnity) put on the day before their creation, a hermit's gray garment with a hood, a linnen coif and boots; and in that dreſs march ſolemnly to divine ſervice, to begin their warfare there as if they intended to devote themſelves principally to the ſervice of God. They ſup together that night, each being attended on by two Eſqs; and a page; after ſupper they retire to their bed-chamber, where each has a pretty little bed made ready, hung with red curtains diſtinguiſh'd every one by their proper arms, with a bathing veſſel cloſe by cover'd over with clothes, wherein after they have ſaid their prayers and commended themſelves to God, they bathe themſelves, that they may be thereby reminded to preſerve a purity in mind and body thenceforth. The next morning they are awakned with a concert of muſick, and dreſs themſelves in the ſame habit. Then the high conſtable of *England*, the earl marſhal and others appointed by the king, come to them, call them forth in order, and give them an oath to fear God and defend his church, honour the king, maintain his rights; protect widows, virgins, orphans and all others as far as lies in their power from injury and oppreſſion. After this oath, they are led to morning prayers by the kings muſick and the heralds, and alſo by them reconducted to their bed chambers, where after they have diveſted themſelves of their hermits weed, they put on a mantle of red *Taffata*, the emblem of war, and a white hat with a plume of feathers over their linnen coif in token of ſincerity; alſo a pair of white gloves tied to the taſſel of their mantles.

Then they mount their horſes, accoutred with black ſaddles and furniture mix'd with white, and having a croſs on their forehead. Before every one of them, rides his own page, carrying a ſword with a gilded hilt, at which are hung a pair of gilt ſpurs, and on each ſide of them their Eſqs. In this pomp with trumpets ſounding before them, they proceed to the kings court, where when they are introduced by two Eſqs. to the kings preſence, the page delivers the ſword and belt to the lord chamberlain, and he, with great reverence to the king, who hangs it athwart the knight, and orders the two ſenior Eſqs. to buckle on his ſpurs, who in ancient times were wont, after ſolemn congratulations, to kiſs the knees of the perſon to be knighted. And theſe new knights thus created uſed anciently to ſerve up the diſhes at the kings table. Then they all dine together in a row, each knight ſitting under an eſcutcheon of his own arms. At evening prayer they repair to chappel, offer up their ſwords upon the high altar, and by laying down a piece of money redeem them again. As they return from divine ſervice the kings maſter cook meets them with knife in his hand, and admoniſhes them to preſerve the character of faithful and worthy knights, otherwiſe he muſt to their reproach and infamy hack off their ſpurs. Upon the coronation day in that pomp and order they accompany the king with their ſwords girt to them, and their ſpurs on, attired in a blew mantle with a knot of white ſilk (the emblem of ſerenity) in the form of a croſs, with a hood upon their left ſhoulder: But this may be thought ſufficient, if not ſuperfluous, concerning theſe ceremonies of which it was beyond my purpoſe to give the particulars.

But of that order who without any addition are called ſimply *Knights*; however they are in point of dignity ranged laſt: Yet by inſtitution they are the the firſt and moſt ancient. For as the *Romans*, who in their habit were gownſmen, allowed the ſame garb to all, as they arrived at the ſtate of manhood: So our anceſtors the *Germans* preſented their youth with arms, as ſoon as they were found of ſtrength to manage them; and this confirm'd by *Cornelius Tacitus*, who ſays, " It was not the cuſtom for any one to bear arms; " till the ſtate thought him capable of ſerving under them. And then, in " full council, either ſome one of the princes, or the father of the young " man, or one of his relations conferr'd on him a ſhield and a ſpear." This among them is tantamount to the *Virile Gown*, and this is the firſt honour done to youth. Before this they are only members of a family, but hereby commence members of the commonwealth.

And ſince they call'd in their language as we do in ours, ſuch military young men, *Knechts*, I conclude that both the name and inſtitution from them take their derivation. This was the firſt and moſt ſimple manner of creating a knight, and this was the manner in uſe among the *Longobards*, the *Franks*, and our countrymen, all deſcendants from the *Germans*. *Paulus Diaconus*

nus writes, "That among the *Longobards* it was the cuſtom for the king's ſon "not to dine with his father, 'till arms were beſtowed on him by the king of "ſome other nation." The annals of *France* reco', that the kings of the "*Franks*, gave arms to their ſons, and to others, and girded them with a ſword, "and our *Aelfred*, as *W.* of *Malmsbury* writes, when he dubb'd *Athelſtane*, "his nephew, knight, being a youth of great hope, gave him a ſcarlet mantle "a belt ſet with precious ſtones, and a *Saxon* ſword with a golden ſcabbard. Afterwards when religion had ſo poſſeſs'd mens minds that they thought nothing proſperouſly perform'd, but what the church-men had a hand in, our anceſtors, a little before the entrance of the *Normans*, received the ſword at their hands, and this is remember'd by *Ingulphus*, who lived in theſe days, in the following manner. "He who was to be conſecrated to lawful warfare, was the e-"vening before to make a penitential confeſſion of his ſins to the biſhop, abbot, "monk, or prieſt, and being abſolved ſpent that night in the church, and "when he was to hear divine ſervice next morning, to offer his ſword upon "the altar; and after the goſpel the prieſt was to hang about the knights "neck with his bleſſing; ſo when he had heard maſs again, and received "the ſacrament, he became a lawful knight." Nor was this cuſtom ſoon diſuſed by the *Normans*. For *John* of *Salisbury* writes in his *Polycraticon*. "That a ſolemn cuſtom was grown into uſe for every one, the day he was "to be honour'd with knighthood, to go to church, and by laying or offering "his ſword upon the altar, ſolemnly devote himſelf to the ſervice thereof." *Peter Bleuſenſis*, alſo writes, "That at this day young knights and ſoldi-"ers receive their ſwords from the altar, that they might profeſs themſelves "ſons of the church, and to have taken the ſword for defence of the "poor, for puniſhment and revenge of malefactors, and the delivery of their "their country. But in proceſs of time, ſays he, it was quite converted. "For in theſe days, from the time of their taking up the order, they rebel "againſt the lords anointed, and make havock of the revenues of the church." As for the cuſtom of being girded with a ſword, it ſeems no doubt to proceed from the military diſcipline of the *Romans*: For as they thought it unlawful to fight an an enemy, before they had taken the military oath by their own ſword, ſo our anceſtors thought they could not engage in war lawfully before they were lawfully authorized by this ceremony to the ſervice; according to which we read that *William Rufus*, king of *England*, was dubb'd knight by *Lanfrank* the archbiſhop. But this cuſtom by degrees grew out of uſe ſince the time, as *Ingulphus* writes, that the *Normans* turn'd it to ridicule; and in a *Synod* at *Weſtminſter*, Anno 1102, a canon paſs'd, *That Abbots ſhould dubb knights*; which ſome notwithſtanding interpreted to mean, That abbots ſhould grant no lands of the church to be held by knights ſervice."

It was cuſtomary afterwards for the kings to ſend their ſons over to ſome neighbouring prince for this honour of knighthood: Thus was our king *Henry* II. ſent to *David* king of *Scots*: and *Malcolm* king of *Scots*, to our *Henry* the ſecond; and our *Edward* I. to the king of *Caſtile*, to take of them the *Virilia*, or military arms; for theſe terms and phraſes they uſed in that age for the creation of a knight. Then it was alſo, that beſides the ſword and belt, gilt ſpurs were added for the greater ornament, whence they are called in *Latin*, to this day, *Equites Aurati*. They had, beſides, the privilege of wearing and uſing a particular ſeal; for before they were knighted, as I gather from the book of *Abingdon*, it was not lawful to uſe a ſeal, which book ſpeaks of a writing to be executed by *Richard*, earl of *Cheſter*, with the ſeal of his mother *Ermentrud*; for not having been yet dignified with a military girdle, his letters were all cloſed with his mother's ſeal. In the next age, as may appear, men were recommended to this honour by their wealth and grandeur, For thoſe who had a large knight's fee, that is, according to ſome old records, Six hundred fourſcore acres of land, claim'd as their right the honours of knighthood. Nay, in the reign of *Henry* III. whoever had the yearly revenue of fifteen pounds in land, was in a manner obliged to receive this dignity: So that now it ſeem'd rather a burden than an honour. " In the year 1256, the king iſſued a proclamation, " that whoever had fifteen pounds in land and above, ſhould be knighted, to " the increaſe of the military ſtrength in *England*, according to the example " of *Italy*; and thoſe who were unwilling, or unable, to ſupport the dignity, " ſhould be fin'd for it." This is the reaſon we ſo often find in the records this article, *For Reſpite of knighthood*, *Ade N. I.H. &c.* Alſo preſentments from the jury or ſworn inqueſt, in this manner, *R. of St. Laurence holds an intire fee, and is of full age, and not yet knighted, therefore amerc'd.* To this time and later, if I am not miſtaken, in all our law-proceedings, where a jury of twelve was impannell'd to judge of the fact, he who had a knight's fee, was ſtil'd *Miles*, or knight; and thoſe who were knighted by the king *knights begirt with the ſword.*

And in thoſe times, when the king made a knight, as the ſame *Matthew Paris* relates, " He ſat in ſtate upon his throne, attir'd in robes of gold, " the moſt coſtly *Bawdkin*, with a crown of gold upon his head, and to " every knight he allow'd a hundred ſhillings for equipage." And not only the king, but the earls alſo, in thoſe days, created knights. For the ſame author reports, " How the earl of *Glouceſter* inveſted his brother *William* " with a military belt, after he had proclaimed a turnament." Likewiſe *Simon de Monteſort*, earl of *Leiceſter*, did the ſame by *Gilbert de Clare*. In *France*, it is apparent, from the inſtrument of ennoblement, " He was

" has procur'd letters to that purpoſe is allowed to be created by what " knight he pleaſes." Since that time no one among us has been created knight, but either by the king himſelf, or the king's eldeſt ſon, by warrant from his father, or elſe by the king's lieutenant, or deputy general in the camp; and that in conſideration, either of ſome valiant act atchiev'd, or exploits to be perform'd abroad in arms, or for his wiſdom and policy at home. And indeed a prudent and wiſe courſe it was, that our kings took ſince they had not any fees or lands now to beſtow upon them. Nor was there any thing that could more powerfully incite the courage and emulation of brave men, or attack more firmly to the prince's intereſt, ſuch as were nobly deſcended, and men of great eſtates, than as a teſtimony of their favour, to beſtow upon them the honourable title of knights, which in antient times was only a title of dignity. For when the prince conferr'd it deliberately, and as a reward of merit, it was receiv'd as a great favour, priz'd as an ample recompence, and accounted among the greateſt marks of honour; and they who receiv'd this honour look'd on it as the prize of virtue, a laſting diſtinction to their family, and a glory to their name. Inſomuch that our lawyers have affirmed, *That Knight is a name of dignity, and that Baron is not.* For antiently a Baron, if he was not of this order of knighthood, was written ſimply by his chriſtian name, and the proper name of his family, without any addition, unleſs it were of *Dominus*, which is likewiſe appropriated to knights; And this title of knight ſeems to have been an honourable addition to the higheſt dignities: when kings, dukes, marqueſſes, earls, and barons, have been ambitious of the name and dignity together. And here I am tempted to inſert what I find in *Matt. Florilegus*, concerning the creation of knights in the time of *Edward* the firſt. " The king, ſays he, to render his expe- " dition into *Scotland* the more magnificent, cauſed publick proclamation to " be made throughout *England*, that all who were entitled to the honour " of knighthood, by hereditary ſucceſſion, and were in circumſtances to " maintain that degree, ſhould repair to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, at the feaſt of " *Whitſontide*, there to be inveſted with all the enſigns and ornaments of " chivalry (except their equeſtrian furniture) out of the king's wardrobe. Accordingly three hundred young gentlemen aſſembled in the place, who " were the ſons of earls, barons, and knights, and they had purple liveries, " ſilk ſcarves, with robes of gold embroidery, beſtow'd upon them, accord- " ing to their ſeveral diſtinctions. And becauſe the king's palace, that very " ſpacious, was too narrow to receive the concourſe, they cut down the " apple-trees at the *New Temple* in *London*, raſed the walls, and ſet up tents " for the ſaid gentlemen, to attire themſelves in their new accoutrements, " and that night, as many as the temple would receive, performed their

Vigils

" *Virgils* therein. But the prince of *Wales*, by command of the king his " father, together with the chief of his companions, held his *Wake* in the " church, at *Weſtminſter*. And ſo loud was the concert of trumpets, min- " ſtrels, and acclamations of joy there, that the chaunting of the convent, " cou'd not be heard from one ſide of the choir, to the other. On the next " day, the king knighted his ſon in the palace, and gave him the dukedom " of Aquitain, who thereupon went to *Weſtminſter* church, that he might " confer the like honour on his companions; and ſuch was the crowd about " the high altar, that two knights were cruſhed to death, and many others " fainted, ready to ſwoon, tho' every one had at leaſt, three ſoldiers for his " guard. The prince himſelf, by reaſon of the multitude, was forced to " knight them upon the high altar, having clear'd his way thither by his " martial guards." But in our days, he who receives the honour of knight- hood, kneels down, when the king lightly touching him on the ſhoulder with " a naked ſword, ſays in *French*. *Sois Chevalier au nom de dieu*, *Be thou a knight in the name of god*. And then ſays further, *Avancez Chevalier*, *Riſe up Knight*.

What relates further to this order, how excellent, how famous, and how deſirable it was among our anceſtors, how glorious a reward it was accounted by men of honour, how ſtrictly they thought themſelves enjoyned by it, to preſerve an untainted integrity, when it was thought an inviolable ſurety, for the performance of any promiſe, or the diſcharge of any truſt, to under- take the ſame upon the *Faith*, or the *Honour* of a *Knight*: Further, how liberal they were, and averſe to all avaritious, or mercenary engagements; and what manner of contribution was due from every knights fee, when the king's eldeſt ſon was honour'd with dignity; theſe, and other particulars I leave to the pens of other writers. As alſo the manner of proceeding againſt them in criminal caſes, as how they were firſt degraded of their ornaments, and their degree; their military belt ungirt, depriv'd of their ſword, their ſpurs chop'd off with a hatchet, their gantlets rent from their hands, and their ſcutcheon reverſed; juſt as in degrading thoſe who have liſted themſelves in the ſpiritual warfare, when they alſo are deprived of their eccleſiaſtical ornaments, books, chalice, and the like.

I leave it alſo for the curious to enquire, whether thoſe knights are by ſome properly call'd knights bachelors, or whether bachelors were of a middle degree, between theſe knights and eſquires. For in ſome records, we read, " The names of *Knights*, of *Bachelors*, and *Valects*, which belong'd " to the earl of *Glouceſter*." Whence ſome would have bachelors ſo call'd, from *Bas-Chevaliers*, that is, knights of a low degree, tho' others derive that name from the *French* verb, *Battailer*, which ſignifies to fight. I leave them

them alſo to conſider, whether theſe dignities of knighthood, in antient times, ſo glorious, (as long as they were rare, and beſtowed only as a reward of virtue, (may not be diſparaged when it becomes common, and is proſtituted to pride and vanity. And this was long ſince the very caſe of the *Romans*, as Amelius Probus complains.

Next in order to theſe knights, were the *Armigeri*, or *Eſquires*, that is, *Coſtrels*, or *bearers of arms* and the ſame with *Scutiferi*, or *Shield-Bearers*, and *Homines ad Arma*, or *Men at Arms*. The *Goths* call them *Skiilpor*, as the old *Romans*, *Scutarij*, all from *carrying the ſhield*; for that they took this appellation from the coats of arms they bore, as enſigns of their deſcent, or becauſe they were armour-bearers to princes, or to the ſuperior nobility. For antiently, two of theſe eſquires attended upon every knight, they carried his head-piece and his buckler, and were inſeparable companions; holding lands of the lord their knight in *Eſquage*, as the knight himſelf did of the king, by knights ſervice. But now a days, there are five diſtinct ſorts of theſe eſquires, for thoſe I have here ſpoken of are out of uſe. The chief are thoſe made choice of to attend the kings perſon: The next are knight's eldeſt ſons, and their eldeſt ſons ſucceſſively. In the third degree, is reckon'd, the younger ſon of a barons eldeſt ſon, and of other nobles in higher rank: And when ſuch heirs male fail, the title alſo fails. Fourthly, are rank'd thoſe to whom the king himſelf, together with a title gives arms, or creates eſquires, by putting about their neck, a ſilver collar of S. S. and in former times, while kneeling, a pair or ſilver ſpurs on their feet. Whence they are at this day call'd in the weſt of *England*, *White Spurs*, to diſtinguiſh them from *Equites Aurati*, or knights, who have ſpurs of gold. And of theſe, the eldeſt ſons only can bear the title. Laſtly, thoſe alſo are accounted eſquires, who have any ſuperiot publick office in the government, or ſerve the prince in any worſhipful ſtation.

But this name, which in antient times, was a title of charge, and office, only crept firſt among thoſe titles of dignity and worſhip, (as far as I cou'd obſerve) in the reign of *Richard* II.

Gentlemen, or the common and loweſt degree of nobility, are thoſe, who, either are deſcended of good families, or they, whom vertue or fortune have rais'd above the common level.

Citizens, or *Burgeſſes*, are ſuch, as in their own ſeveral cities and corporations, execute any publick office, and by election, have a place in our high court of parliament.

Yeomen, are thoſe, whom ſome call freeborn, or freeholders, and termed by our laws, *Homines Legalis*, that is, lawful men, and who can ſpend, at leaſt, forty ſhillings, yearly, of their own.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, *Workmen*, *Craftſmen*. or *Areiſans*, are thoſe, who labour for wages, or profit, alſo call'd *Mechanicks*, and *Artificers*, as Smiths, Carpenters, &c. which were termed by the *Romans*, *Capite cenſi*, and *Proletarij*, among the *Romans*, that is, ſuch as were taxed, or *reckon'd by the poll*, and the *commonalty*, who were burden'd with families unproportionable to their circumſtances.

The Law Courts of ENGLAND.

AS to the courts of juſtice in *England*, there are three kinds of them among us: For ſome are eccleſiaſtical, others temporal, and one mix'd of both, which being the greateſt, and moſt honourable of all, is call'd by a *French* name of no great antiquity, the *Parliament*. Our *Saxon* anceſtors call it, *Theitena gemot*, that is, an *Aſſembly of the Wiſe Men*, And *Geræduſ*, or *Council*; and *Micil Synod*, (from the Greek *Synod*) a *great meeting*. The Latin writers of that, and the following age, call'd it, the *Common Council*, the *higheſt Court*, the *general Plea*, the *great Court*, the *meeting* of *State*, the *royal Preſence*, *Aſſembly of Prelates and Peers*, the *publick national Council*, &c. And as the general council of *Ætolia*, is called, *Panætolium* by *Livy*, ſo I may well call this *Pananglium*, for it conſiſts of the king, clergy, and nobility, with the knights and burgeſſes elected; or to ſpeak more properly in the law phraſe of the king, lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons, which ſtates repreſent the body of the whole nation. This court is not held at ſet and fixed times, but ſummon'd by the king at his pleaſure, as often as a conſultation upon the important affairs of the kingdom requires for the general benefit thereof; and at his will alone it is diſſolv'd. † It has a ſupreme authority in making, confirming, repealing, and expounding laws; in reſtoring ſuch as are attainted, or outlaw'd, to their former eſtates; in deciding the moſt difficult controverſies, between one ſubject and another; and in a word, all cauſes which concern either the ſafety of the ſtate in general, or any private perſon.

† Only by a late ſtatute, the king is now oblig'd, in law, to ſummon a new parliament once in every *ſeven* years at leaſt. Stat. 1 Georg. cap. 38. And before, by the 6th of Will. and Mary, once every *three* years.

The next court (in being ſoon after the conqueſt) was the *King's Court*. It was kept in his palace, and accompanied himſelf wherever he went. But there was an apartment appointed in his court for the chancellor and clerks, who had the iſſuing out of writs, and uſe of the ſeal; alſo judges impowered to determine pleas, as well relating to the ſovereign as the ſubject. There was alſo an exchequer for the treaſurer, auditors, and his receivers, who had the charge of the king's revenue. And all theſe, being upon the liſt of the king's houſhold, were allowed diet and apparel at the king's expence. Whereupon *Gotzelinus*, in his life of St. *Edward*, calls them *Lawyers of the palace*, and *John of Salisbury* the *Court Lawyers*. But over all theſe was one appointed for the adminiſtration of juſtice, named the *Juſtice of England*, and the *Capital Juſtice*; the *Juſticer of England*, and *Chief Juſticer of England*, who with a yearly penſion of a thouſand marks, was conſtituted by a patent, in this form: *The king, to all archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, ſheriffs, foreſters, and all other his faithful ſubjects, greeting. Whereas, for the preſervation of our ſelves, and the peace of our kingdom, and for the adminiſtration of juſtice, to all and every ſubject of our realm, we have ordained our beloved and truſty* Philip Baſſet *Chief Juſtice of* England, *during our pleaſure; and we charge you, upon the faith and allegiance that you owe us, and do ſtrictly enjoin you, that in all things which concern the office of our ſaid Juſtice, and the preſervation of our peace and kingdom, you be fully aſſiſtant to him as long as he ſhall continue in the ſaid office. Witneſs the king.*

But in the reign of king *Henry* III. when it was enacted, That the common pleas of the ſubject ſhould not follow the king's court, but be held in ſome fixed place, the chancery, and court of common-pleas, together with the exchequer, were ſoon after tranſlated from the king's court, and eſtabliſhed in certain places apart by themſelves, as ſome authors, I know not how truly, have related.

Having obſerved thus much by way of introduction, I will proceed to give ſome brief account of theſe courts, and others that ariſe from them, as they are held at this day. And ſince ſome of them are courts of law, as the *King's Bench*, the *Common Bench*, or *Pleas*, the *Exchequer*, *Aſſizes*, *Star-Chamber*, *Court of Wards*, and the *Court of Admiralty*; And others are courts of equity, as the *Chancery*, *Court of Requeſts*, *Councils in the Marches of Wales*, and in the *North*; I ſhall make ſome remarks I have learnt, diſtinctly of every one in its due order.

The *King's Bench*, ſo called becauſe the kings themſelves were wont to be preſidents in that court, takes cognizance of all the pleas of the crown, and various other cauſes relating to the king and commonwealth; further,

it has power to ſift and examine the judgments of the Common Pleas. The judges there, beſides the king (when he pleaſes to be preſent) are the lord chief juſtice of *England*, and four others, or more, according to the king's pleaſure.

The *Common Pleas* is ſo named, becauſe the Common Pleas between one ſubject and another are debated in that court according to our law, which they call *common*. Herein the chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, with four juſtices to aſſiſt him, or more, give judgment. The officers belonging to this court, are the keeper of the writs, three prothonotaries, and ſeveral other officers of inferior degree.

The *Exchequer* took its name from a table at which they were wont to ſit, of which, *Gervaſe of Tilbury*, who lived in 1160, gives us this light: "The "*Exchequer* is an oblong table, about ten feet long and five broad, fixed "as to be ſet at on every ſide, or chiefly facing one another. It is border- "with a ledge, or molding, about four fingers broad. This table is ſpread "in *Eaſter* term with a black cloth, having ſtripes in it, about a foot or "ſpan diſtant from each other." And a little further: "This court is re- "puted to have been held from the conqueſt of the realm, and was erect- "ed by king *William*: The deſign and model of it being taken from the "Exchequer beyond ſea." In this court are all cauſes heard which relate to the king's treaſury: And the judges thereof are the lord *Treaſurer of England*, the *Chancellor* of the *Exchequer*, and the lord chief *Baron*, with three or four other barons of the ſaid court. The inferior officers in the ſaid court are the *King's Remembrancer*, the *Lord Treaſurer's Remembrancer*, the *Clerk of the Pipe*, the *Comptroller of the Pipe*, the *Five Auditors of the ancient Revenues*, the *Foreign Oppoſer*, *Clerk of the Eſtreats*, *Clerk of the Pleas*, *Marſhal*, *Clerk of the Summons*, *Deputy Chamberlain*, two *Secondaries* in the king's *Remembrancer's Office*, two *Ordinaries* in the office of the *Treaſurer's Remembrancer*, two *Secondaries of the Pipe*, four other *Clerks* in ſeveral offices, &c. In the other part of the *Exchequer*, call'd the *Receipt*, there are two *Chamberlains*, *Vice-Treaſurer*, *Clerk of the Tallies*, *Clerk of the Pells*, four *Tellers*, two *Talliers*, two *Deputy-Chamberlains*, *Clerk of the Tallies*, *Keeper of the Treaſury*, four *Purſuivants Ordinary*, two *Scribes*, &c. The officers alſo of the *Tenths* and *Firſt-Fruits* belong alſo to this court, which were ordained when the pope's authority was aboliſhed, and an act paſſed by which it was provided, That the tenths and firſt-fruits of churchmen's benefices ſhould be paid to the king.

Beſides theſe three royal courts of judicature, for the ſpeedy execution of juſtice, and for eaſing the ſubject of much vexation and expence, King *Henry* II. ſent ſome of theſe judges, and others, every year into the ſeve-

counties; and they were called *Juſtices Itinerant* or *Juſtices in Eyre.* Theſe gave judgment as well in pleas of the crown as the common pleas within thoſe counties to which they were nominated. For that king, as we have it in *Matthew Paris*; "By the council of his ſon in conjunction with the biſhops, appointed juſtices to ſix parts of the kingdom, and in every part three, who ſhould ſerve to determine of every man's right impartially, and without corruption." But this inſtitution vaniſhed away under *Edward* the third, yet was a while after, in ſome meaſure revived by parliamentary authority. For the counties being diviſed into certain circuits; two of the king's juſtices go thoſe circuits twice every year, to try the priſoners, and clear the goals; when they are called in our lawyer's Latin *Juſticiarii Gaolæ deliberandæ*, that is juſtices for goal delivery. They are likewiſe to take cognizance of all aſſizes of novel *diſſeiſin*, and ſome other things whence they are named *Juſtices* of *Aſſize*, and are alſo to determine all diſputes in any of the king's courts aforeſaid, by their peers; and hence they are commonly called juſtices of *Niſi prius* from the writs directed to the ſheriffs which have the words *Niſi Prius, unleſs before*, &c. in them.

The *Star-Chamber*, or rather the court of the king's council, examining all criminal matters, as perjuries, frauds, riots, exceſſes, &c. This court is one of the moſt ancient and honourable of them all; for it may date its antiquity from the firſt appeal of ſubject to the ſovereign, and inſtitution of the king's council. Judges are perſons of the greateſt honour and eminence, being the king's privy counſellors. It took its name of the *Star-Chamber*, from the time that this council was appointed at *Weſtminſter* in a chamber there beautified with ſtars, which has been long appropriated to that uſe. For in the records of king *Edward* III. we meet with *Conſeil en la chambre d'Eſtoiles, pres de la receit al Weſtminſter*; that is, *The council in the Star-Chamber near the receipt at Weſtminſter*. The authority of this court was confirmed and augmented by the parliament, under that wiſe prince Henry VII. that ſome have thought, tho' erroneouſly, that he was the founder of it. The judges here, are the *Lord-Chancellor* of *England*, the *Lord Treaſurer* of *England*, the *Lord Preſident* of the king's *Council*, the *Lord Keeper* of the *Privy Seal*, and all the king's *Council*, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal: Alſo ſuch of the parliamentary *Barons* as the king ſhall ſummon. The two *Chief Juſtices* of the *Benches*, or, in their abſence, two other judges. The officers in this court are, the *Clerk* of the *Council*, the *Clerk* of the *Rolls*, and of the *Proceſs* of the *Council* of *Star-Chamber*, &c. And, laſtly, the cauſes here, are debated and decided, not by *Peers*, according to our *Common Law*, but after the courſe of the *Civil Law*.

The *Court* of *Wards* and *Liveries*, is ſo call'd from the *Wards* or *Mi*
whoſe cauſes are here try'd. It was firſt inſtituted by King *Henry VI*
whereas in former times their cauſes were heard in the *Chancery* and *Ex*
quer. For by an old ordinance derived from *Normandy*, and not fr
Henry III. as ſome write, when any man dies holding lands of the king
chief by knight's ſervice, as well the *Heir* as his whole revenues are in
king's power and protection, till he is full twenty one years of age,
then he may ſue out his *Livery*, or reſtitution thereof. The judge in
court is the *Maſter-General*, under whom are the *Surveyor*, or *Surve*
Liveries; the *Attorney-General* of the court; the *General Receiver*; the
ditor; the *Clerk* of the *Liveries*; the *Clerk* of the *Court*, forty *Fendaries*,
a *Meſſenger*.

Two other courts in theſe latter times have alſo ſprung up, for the c
rection of *Errors*; one, in the *Exchequer*; the other, in the *King's Be*
The judges in the former of theſe, are the *Lord Chancellor*, and *Lord Tr*
ſurer, with others of the king's *Juſtices*, whom they are diſpoſed to ca
their aſſiſtance: In the latter, the *Juſtices* of the *Common Pleas*, and
Barons of the *Exchequer*.

The *Court of Admiralty* has juriſdiction in all maritime affairs, and is
miniſtred by the Lord *Admiral* of *England*, his *Lieutenant*, and a *Ju*
two *Clerks*, a *Serjeant* of the court, and the *Vice-Admirals* of *England*. N
let us proceed to the courts of Equity.

The *Chancery* takes it name from the *Chancellor*; a title among the
Roman emperors, of no great honour or dignity, as we learn out of *Vop*
But in theſe times it is a title of the higheſt honour, and the *Chancel*
the greateſt place in the ſtate. *Caſſiodorus* derives the name from a w
ſignifying *Grates*, or *Lattices*, becauſe they examin'd matters in a cl
apartment, encloſed with ſuch partitions, as the Latins call *Cancelli*.
ſider, ſays he, to a chancellor, *What name you bear, and that which y*
within the rails, cannot be a ſecret: Your gates are tranſlucid, your la
open, and your doors, all windows. Whence, as it is evident, that the
cellor ſat expoſed to open view, within the rails or lattices, that were
about him; ſo it ſeems that he might thence take his name: But as
alſo obſerved, that it was the buſineſs of that miniſter, (who is the m
eye, and ear of the prince) to daſh out with croſs lines, lattice-wise,
writs or judgments, which were offer'd in prejudice to equity, or the
which is properly enough call'd *Cancelling*; ſome think the name of *C*
cellor came from thence. And in a modern gloſſacy we read, that *A*
cellor is one, whoſe office is to look into, and examine the writings, anſwers
orders of the emperor: To cancel what is amiſs, and ſign what is fi

right. Nor is that of *Polydore Virgil* true, who writes, that, " *William* " *the Conqueror* inſtituted a college, or company of ſcribes, to write letters " patents, *&c.*" and names the maſter of that ſociety *Chancellor*; ſince it is plain, that chancellors were in *England* before the *Norman* conqueſt.

How great the honour and extenſive the authority of the chancellor is at preſent, is better known than I can deſcribe, but of what account it was antiently, you may here obſerve from a writer of good antiquity. " The " dignity of the chancellor of *England*, is this, he is reputed the ſecond " perſon in the realm, and next to the king, and has power with the king's " ſeal, (whereof he has the cuſtody,) to ſeal his own injunctions: to diſpoſe " and order the king's chapel; to receive all arch-biſhopricks, biſhopricks, " abbies and baronies, that fall into the king's hands; to be preſent at all " the king's councils, and to repair thither unſummon'd; to ſeal all things " by the hand of a clerk, who carries the king's ſeal, and to have all mat- " ters diſpoſed and order'd thro' his advice: alſo thro' the grace of God, by " a juſt and upright life, to die a biſhop, or archbiſhop, if he pleaſes: " wherefore, it is, that the chancellorſhip is not to be bought."

The form and manner of making a chancellor (to obſerve by the way) was, in the reign of king *Henry*, II. by hanging the great ſeal about the neck of the perſon elected to that office: But in the time of king *Henry*, VI. it was in the manner following. " As I tranſcribed it out of the records, " when the place of lord chancellor of *England* is void, by death, the king's " three great ſeals, one of gold, the others of ſilver, which remained in " cuſtody of the chancellor, are immediately upon his death, locked up in " a wooden cheſt, and ſealed with the ſeals of the lords then preſent, and " ſo convey'd to the treaſury: from thence they are brought to the king, " who in the preſence of many nobles, delivers them into the hands of the " perſon, who is to ſucceed the deceaſed, and undertake his office, having " firſt taken an oath, truly and juſtly to diſcharge the ſame; the king firſt " delivers him the great ſeal of ſilver, next that of gold, and laſtly, the " other of ſilver; who receiving, repoſites them again in the cheſt, which " being ſecur'd by his own ſeal, is convey'd to his own houſe, where in the " preſence of certain nobles, he cauſes the king's patents to be ſealed with " them. When a chancellor is diſcharged of his office, he delivers up to " the king, in preſence alſo of the lords, the three ſeals aforeſaid, firſt that " of gold, next the broad ſilver one, and laſtly that of a leſſer form." However, at this day, there is no more than one ſeal delivered to the chancellor; nor is there any where mention made of theſe three ſeals, but in the reign of king *Henry* VI. To this chancellor's office, much authority and power has been added in proceſs of time by the parliament, eſpecially ſince the

common.

common lawyers have ſo ſtrictly inſiſted on the punctilioes and letter of the law, and enſnared men ſo notoriouſly in their little verbal nicities, and quirks of practices, as to have render'd a court of equity indiſpenſibly neceſſary: and this was committed to the chancellor, that he might give judgment, according to right and reaſon, and moderate the rigour of the law, which was oftentimes extended even to oppreſſion. In this court preſides the lord *Chancellor*, who for his aſſeſſors, or aſſiſtants, has twelve *Maſters of Chancery*, whereof the chief is the *Keeper of the Rolls* belong to that court, wherefore he is called *Maſter of the Rolls*. There are many ſubordinate officers alſo belong to this court, of whom ſome attend more eſpecially upon the king's ſeal, as the clerk of the *Crown*, the clerk of the *Hanaper*, twenty-four *Curſitors*, and a clerk of *Subpane Writs*. Others concern'd in the bills there exhibited, as the *Prothonotory*, *Six Clerks*, or *Attorneys of the Court*, and a *Regiſter*. Hereunto alſo belong, the clerks of the *Petty Bag*, the clerk of *Preſentations*, the clerk of the *Faculties*, the clerk for examining *Letters Patents*, the clerk for *Diſmiſſions*, &c.

There is another court compoſed of the king's privy council, called the *Court of Requeſts*, which gives hearing alſo, like the chancery, to cauſes between private perſons and others; but ſuch as before were preſented to the prince, or his privy-council. In this are employ'd certain *Maſters of the Requeſts*, and a *Clerk* or *Regiſter*, with two or three *Attornies*. As for thoſe councils held in the *Marches* of *Wales*,, and in the northern parts, we ſhall (God willing) ſpeak of them in their proper place.

As for the eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual courts, they are principally two, that is to ſay, the *Synod* or convocation of the clergy, always held during the ſitting of the parliament, and the *Provincial Synods* within each province.

Next follow the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s courts, namely, the *Court of Arches*, the judge of which is the *Dean* of the *Arches*, becauſe the chief of his churches, which is St. *Mary*'s in *London*, is fam'd for its arched ſteeple. All appeals within the province of *Canterbury* are made to him. In this court there are ſixteen advocates, or more, as the archbiſhop ſees convenient; all of them are doctors of law; beſides two regiſters, and ten proctors.

The court of *Audience* receives all the complaints, cauſes, and appeals, that are made in that province.

The *Prerogative* court, where the commiſſary ſits judge upon the eſtates of perſons deceaſed, whether inteſtate, or leaving will and teſtament.

The court of *Faculties* is govern'd by a *Maſter*, who hears the grievances and requeſts of thoſe who ſollicit for a moderation of the ſeverities in the canon law: and there is a *Regiſter* beſides, to record the diſpenſations that are granted.

The

The court of *Peculiars* has the management of certain parishes exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction in some dioceses, and are peculiarly belonging to the archbishop of *Canterbury*. Other courts of meaner account, I chuse to pass over; nor do I think it prudent to intermeddle herein. Not but *Guicciardine*, in his description of the *Netherlands*, has given me some encouragement by his example.

And here I intended to have inserted somewhat (at least so far as concern'd antiquity) touching the chief magistrates and high officers of the kingdom; as, namely, the Lord Chancellor aforesaid, the Lord Treasurer, President of the Council, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, Lord High Chamberlain, Lord High Constable, the Marshal, and Senatchal or Steward of the king's household, *&c.* But hearing that an account of these offices is now under the consideration of other authors, I am so far from preventing them, that I am very ready to communicate to them such observations as have occurr'd to me upon that topick.

Some readers may, perhaps, expect, that before I finish this general introduction, I should take some notice from the observations of the astrologers, under what *Sign* and *Planet* our island is situated: something, therefore, for the satisfaction of the curious, I shall conclude with upon this head; for, indeed, I have in my youth, taken some delight to wander in this erratick part of learning; as it may well appear, by the conjectures of the astrologers upon this point; which are so various and irreconcilable, that the very diversity may seem to disprove all reality in the art, and to have left no place for the footsteps of truth. *M. Manilius*, an ancient poet, seems to intimate that the sign of *Capricorn* presides over these parts, in the following verse:

> Thy reigning influence, *Capricorne*, extends
> O'er western climes, where *Sol* his journey ends.

But *Ptolomy*, *Albumazar*, and *Cardan*, wou'd have *Aries* to be our tutelar *Sign*; *Johannes de Maris*, places us under the planet *Saturn*; the frier *Perserutator*, with *Esquidus*, and *Henry Silenus*, are for having us under region of the *Moon*, being as they say in the seventh climate: *Roger* of *Hereford*, *Thomas of Ravenna* the philologer, and *Hispalensis*, would fix us under the government of *Pisces*; and, lastly, *Schonerus* and *Pitatus* (so much they disagree) have, with no better reason than the rest, subjected us to *Gemini*.

AND now, with the assistance of God, will I begin my journey through the several *Counties* of *England*, in which, (according to the old salutation at

at ſetting out) *Good ſpeed beſide me.* I propoſe, in my diſtinct *deſcriptions* of every *County*, to relate, with as much plainneſs and brevity as I can, *whence* they derive their *names*, *who* were the ancient *inhabitants*, *how* they are *ſituate* and *bounded*, *what* the nature of the *ſoil*, *which* are *places* of greateſt *antiquity* and repute, and *who* have been *Dukes* or *Earls* in each of them ſince the *Norman* conqueſt. In this ſucceſſion of earls (that I may confeſs ingenuouſly the aſſiſtance I have had) I muſt frankly acknowledge myſelf to have received great intelligence from Mr. *Thomas Talbot*, a moſt diligent clerk of the records in the Tower, and a man ſingularly skilled in the antiquities of our nation.

I ſhall begin at the remoteſt point in the weſt, which is *Cornwall*, thence proceed regularly to a ſurvey of the other counties, according to the method of *Strabo*, *Ptolomy*, and other geographers, who always begin their deſcriptions in the weſtern countries, as being firſt from the grand Meridian.

THE

THE COUNTIES OF *ENGLAND* AND *WALES.*



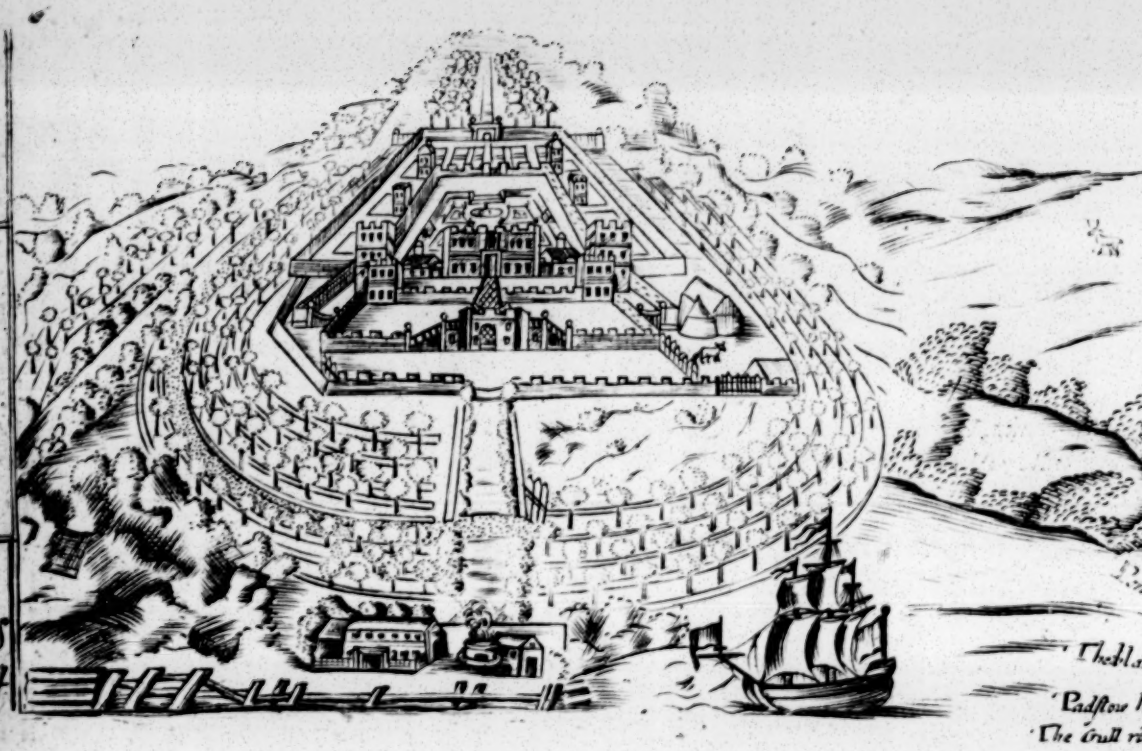
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DANMONII.

THE tract of land, which is accounted by geographers the first or foremost in the island of Britain, as most projecting, and tapering out farthest, into the West, and is saluted on the North side with the Severn sea; on the South, with the British ocean; and on the West, with the St. George's channel; was anciently inhabited by those Britains whom Solinus call'd Dunmonii; and Ptolomy, Damnonii; or, as we find it in some copies, more correctly, Danmonii. Which name, if it is not derived from those endless mines of Tin in these parts, which the Britains call Moina, may seem to be drawn from their manner of dwelling under mountains; for they are used to situate themselves low and in valleys over all this part of the country; and that kind of habitation is called by the Welsh, Dan-munith; in which sense also the next adjoining county is still called

by them Duffneint, *or* Low Valleys. *Now whether the* Oſtidamnii, *called alſo* Oſtæi *and* Oſtiones, *mentioned by* Strabo, *out of* Parthæas *of* Marſeills, *are the ſame with our* Danmonii, *I would recommend to our ſtudious Searchers of antiquity to conſider, and more diligently diſcuſs. For they were ſeated, according to their repreſentation, in the fartheſt part of* Europe, *towards the* Weſtern *ocean over againſt* Spain, *not far from the iſland* Uxantiſſa, *now called* Uſhant; *all which particulars correſpond in exact point with this country of* Danmonii. *And ſince the* Oſtiones *are by* Artemidorus *called* Coſſini *(as* Stephanus *in his book of* Cities *has obſerved) I would wiſh them to conſider (becauſe theſe people are alſo called* Corini*) whether inſtead of* Coſſini, *we ſhould not read* Corini: *For we read* Fuſii *for* Furii, *and* Valeſii *for* Valerii. *Now if the geographers exclude theſe* Oſtidamnii *and* Coſſini *from this place, I ſee no point they can be ſettled in upon the* Weſtern *ocean. But be the names as they may, the tract itſelf is at this day divided into two parts, known by the more modern names of* Cornwall *and* Devonſhire; *of which in their order.*



Mile of 12. Miles

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Mawnan

Set Anthony point

The Manacles point

Lizard point

Predannack point

Penguerry or point

Cuddan point

Lowe

Soul


Harton
PART
OF
DE
VON
SHIRE
Holsworthye
Launceston
Lyfton
Tauestok
Saltashe
Plymmouth
Plymmouth haven
Padstow
Camelford
Bodman
Lanstephan
Foy
Trenna
Barcastle
Padstow haun
The Gull rock
Set Columbe Magna
Portcurno
The black rock
Low Set Michaels Insul
Foy haun
The Carnosse
Blakstil peere
Tallands peere
Plymmouth Ridder peere
Cawsam bey
Rame heade

CORNWALL.

Cornwall, which is called alſo by modern writers *Cornubia* in *Latin*, extends weſtward the fartheſt of any part in *Britain*; and is inhabited by that remnant of the *Britains*, which *Marianus Scotus* calls the *Weſtern Britains*; who in the *Britiſh* tongue, (for they ſtill retain their ancient language) call it *Kernaw*, becauſe it leſſens gradually in the ſhape of a *horn*, and runs forward into the ſea with high promontaries on every ſide like ſo many *horns*. For a horn by the *Britains* is called *Corn*, and in the plural number *Kern*. Tho others would derive the name of *Cornwall* from *Corineus*, I know not what companion of *Brutus*, and would have it called *Corinia*, according to that diſtich of a fabulous poet.

Cornwall, by grant, did *Cornæus* claim;
From whom, both *coaſt* and *people* took their name.

But it is no rarity to thoſe who are converſant in antiquities for places which are ſo ſituated to be ſo nam'd. In *Greece*, and the *Precopenſian Cherſoneſe*, there are promontaries called *Rams-heads*, becauſe they ſhoot forward into the ſea in the ſhape of rams horns: So *Cyprus* was anciently call'd by the *Greeks Cerafis*, becauſe it butted into the ſea, as it were, with horned promontaries. Whence it ſeems not ſtrange this coaſt ſhould be called *Kernaw* and *Corn*, ſince it crookens or winds off like a horn, and has ſeveral ſmall capes or points protruding or branching out in the nature of horns. On account of this natural defence, great numbers of *Britains* in the time of the *Saxon* tumults ſought refuge in this country; for they knew that the land-ways were difficult enough to paſs by reaſon of the mountains, and frequent interruptions

teruptions of the ſea in many places, and that ſailing there, was alſo very dangerous, in places ſo remote and unknown. But the *Saxons* being conquerors, who called all ſtrange and foreign things in their language, *Wealh*, named the inhabitants hereof, *Cornweales*; and *Weſt-weales*. Hence ſprung the *Latin* name *Cornwallia*, and among later writers *Cornubia*: as alſo, that in ſome other authors, *Occudia Wallia* or *Weſt-wales*. So far is it from being called *Cornwallia* of the *Gauls*, who conquer'd it, as ſome in flattery to that nation would maintain; who, if they were as learned at home as they are inquiſitive abroad, would find that their *Bretaign* lying to the ſea coaſt oppoſite to this country, is ſo named from one *Britain*, and that *Cornouaille*, no ſmall territory therein where our Corniſh language is ſpoken, tooke its name from theſe our countrymen, who paſſed over hence and ſettled there. For as theſe weſtern *Britains* aſſiſted the *Armorican*, of *Gaul*, inhabiting that tract, in their wars againſt *Cæſar*, upon which occaſion he grounded his pretence of invading *Britain*, and they afterwards aſſembling thither as is ſaid before, changed the name of *Armorici* into that of *Britain*: So in former ages they were always ready, and at hand to help theſe *Britains* their countrymen againſt the *French*; and during the troubles of the *Daniſh* war, ſome of them went over thither, and are thought to have left this name of *Cornwaille* behind them.

This country, as if nature had endeavour'd to arm it againſt the incroachments of the ſea, is for the moſt part mountainous, and in the vallies pretty fruitful, but with a ſort of *Sea-weed* or *Reit*, commonly called *Oreweed*, and a certain kind of ſea ſand, they improve the ſoil in richneſs beyond belief. The ſea coaſt is beautified with many little towns, able to ſet out a great fleet of ſhips. The inland parts are impregnated with rich and plenteous mines of tinn. For there is digg'd out of them vaſt quantities of that metal, which is of great uſe and profit, variety of houſhold veſſels and uteniils being made thereof, not inferior to ſilver in brightneſs, and tranſported to many parts of *Europe*. The inhabitants diſcover theſe mines by certain tinn ſtones lying on the ſurface of the ground, which they call *Shoad*, being ſomewhat ſmooth and round. Of theſe mines or tinn-works there are two kinds, the one called *Lode-works*, and the other *Stream-works*; this latter lies in lower grounds, where by trenching they follow the veins of tinn, and carry off the water riſing in their way: The other, is found in higher grounds when they ſink deep pits, which they call *Shafts*, in the mountains, and undermine their way to the treaſure. In working both ways, there is great art and dexterity diſcoverable as well in gathering the waters into one ſtream and draining them as in under-propping and ſupporting their pits; not to mention their arts of breaking, ſtamping, drying, craſing, waſhing

ing, melting and refining the mettal; than which nothing can be more artful and ingenious.

That the ancient *Britains* manufactur'd these tinn-works (not to insist on the assertion of *Timæus*, the historian in *Pliny*, reporting that the *Britains* transported tinn from the isle of *Ictis*, in wicker boats cover'd with leather) appears undeniably out of *Diodorus Siculus*, who flourish'd under *Augustus Cæsar*: For he writes that the *Britains*, who inhabited this part, digg'd tinn out of a rocky ground, and at low water carried it in carts to certain adjacent islands, from whence the merchants convey'd it in ships to *Gaul*, and from thence, by land carriage on horses, in the space of thirty days, to the spring head of the river *Rhone*, and so to the city of *Narbone*, as to a common mart. As much also is insinuated by *Aethicus*, whoever he was, that has been fictitiously reputed the translator of St. *Jerom*, from the *Selavonian*, and who adds, that himself deliver'd orders and instructions to these *Tinners*. But the *Saxons* it seems neglected these works altogether, or at farthest employ'd only the *Arabians* or *Saracens* upon them: For the inhabitants imply as much by that term, they retain in their language for such mines as are deserted, when they say *Attal Saraſin*, which is as much as the leaving of the *Saracens*.

After the arrival of the *Normans*, the earls of *Cornwall* gather'd great treasure out of these mines, and especially *Richard* brother to king *Henry* III. and no wonder, since in those days, all *Europe* was supply'd from no other place, for the mines in *Spain* were shut up by the incursion of the Moors, and as for the veins of tinn in *Germany*, namely those of *Misnia* and *Bohemia*, they were as yet unknown, being not discover'd before the year 1240. For then, as the authors of those times relate, "The mettal called "tinn was found in *Germany* by a certain *Cornish* man who was expell'd from "his native country, to the great loss and damage of *Richard* earl of "*Cornwall*." This *Richard* began to make laws for these tinn works; his son *Edmond* afterwards granted a charter and certain liberties, by whom also the sannary laws were fram'd and confirm'd under his own seal. He also impos'd an impost or tribute upon tinn to be paid to him and the succeeding earls.

These laws and immunities were afterwards confirm'd and enlarg'd by king *Edward* III. * The whole corporation of these tinners he divided into four parts, called from the places *Foy-more*, *Black-more*, *Trewarnail* and *Penwith*. Over them all he constituted a *Warden*, called *Lord Warden* of

* See them particularly recited in *Plowden's* commentaries, Fol. 327

the

the *Stannaries*, from *Stannum*, that is, tinn, who gives judgment as well according to equity and conſcience, as law, and appoints to every quarter their ſteward, who alternately once every four weeks are to determine all controverſies within their reſpective juriſdictions between tinner and tinner, or tinner and foreigner, except in caſes of land, life, or member. But from the award of theſe ſtewards, an appeal is ſometimes made to the lord-warden, and from him to the duke, and from him to the king. In caſes of great importance, there are parliaments, or general aſſemblies, ſummoned by the warden, whereto juries are ſent out of every ſtannary, bound by their reſpective conſtitutions: As for thoſe who deal in tinn, they are of four ſorts, the owners of the ſoil, the adventurers, the merchants, and the labourers, called the Spadiards, from their ſpade, who, poor creatures, are pitifully devoured, by extortionate and uſurious contracts. But the kings of *England* and dukes of *Cornwall* reſerved to themſelves a præemption of tinn, according to the learned in the law, as well in regard of the propriety, as of their royal prerogative. And leſt the tribute impoſed ſhould be embezzled, and the dukes of *Cornwall* defrauded, to whom, by old cuſtom, for every thouſand pound weight of tinn there is paid forty ſhillings, it is by law provided, that all the tinn which is caſt and wrought ſhall be brought to one of the four appointed towns, where twice a year it is weighed, and mark'd with a ſtamp they call coinage, and the ſaid import accordingly paid; nor is it lawful before that, to ſell or ſend it abroad under forfeiture of their tinn.

Nor is tinn only found in theſe parts, but gold and ſilver and diamonds withal, which are angularly ſhaped, and poliſh'd by nature; ſome grow to the ſize of walnuts, and are only inferior to thoſe of the *Eaſt Indies*, in the blackneſs of their water, and the hardneſs of their ſubſtance. There is beſides here found the *Eryngium* or *Sea Holly*, growing moſt plentifully every where along the ſea-ſhore. So fruitful alſo is this country in grain, tho' not without much induſtry, that it produces not only ſufficient for its own people, but ſhips over great ſtore into *Spain*. They make likewiſe a very conſiderable profit of thoſe little fiſhes called *Pilchards*, which appearing in great ſhoals about the ſhores, from *July* to *November*, are there taken, ſalted, ſmoaked, barrell'd, preſs'd, and in vaſt quantities carried over into *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, where they are a welcome merchandize, and are named by them *Fumado's*: Whereupon *Michael*, a *Corniſh* wit, and principal poet of his time, in his ſytyr againſt *Henry* of *Auranches*, poet-laureat to king *Henry* III. who had lampoon'd the *Corniſh* men as if ſeated in the backſide of the world, after retorting much ſharpneſs, brings out the following lines:

I need

I need not here recount their various ſtore
Nor by what means they feed their num'rous poor
Since in their fiſh and tinn no coaſt can glory more.

And yet *Cornwall* is not more happy in the productions of the ſoil than the manners of the people, who as they were adorn'd with all civility in thoſe ancient times. "When thro' their commerce with the merchants ſail-"ing thither for tinn, as *Diodorus Siculus* reports, they were more courteous "to ſtrangers." So are they at this day valiant, hardy, well ſiz'd, and ſtrong limb'd, excelling ſomuch in wreſtling, not to mention that other man-exerciſe, call'd *Hurlbats*, that for ſlight and ſtrength together they juſtly carry the praiſe and prize from other nations, and *Michael* the poet; aforeſaid, after having expatiated in the commendation of his countrymen, and told us after his jingling manner of veriſifying, how king Arthur always plac'd them in the head of his troops, this bravely concludes,

And what fear we, who on firm ground rely?
If *Fraud* deceive not, we all *Force* defy.

And hence perhaps aroſe the report ſo generally received that this country was anciently inhabited by Giants: For *Havillan*, the poet, who liv'd four hundred years ſince, in his deſcription of certain *Britiſh* giants, wrote pleaſantly of *Britain* and the *Corniſh* giants in this manner.

Some ſmall remains of *Titan*'s monſtrous race
Were left inhabitants upon the place,
Their garments were raw hides, their drink was blood;
Rocks were their dining rooms, their prey their food.
Their bowl ſome hollow trunk, their bed a grove,
Murder their ſport and rapes, is all their love.
Their courage, fury; ſtrength their ſole command
Their arms whatever rage brought to their hand:
And when at laſt, in *Britiſh* fight they died
Some gloomy thicket a vaſt grave ſupply'd;
With ſuch vile monſters, was the land oppreſs'd
But moſt the farther regions of the weſt,
And chiefly *Cornwal* groand beyond the reſt.

But whether this foundeſs of their conſtitution, which proceeded from the happy temperature of heat and moiſture, is referable to the nouriſhing breeze of the weſt wind, in that weſtern ſituation as we ſee the *German Batavians* and the *Gaſcoines* in *France*, who lying adjacent to the weſt, are the moſt *Athletick*, or whether to ſome peculiar property in the air and ſoil, does not here need ſo nice an enquiry.

Now let us firſt begin to treat of the promontaries, cities, and rivers, mention'd by the ancient writers, for this is my chief purpoſe, beginning from the remoteſt point northward, then to the ſouthern ſhore and laſtly the coaſt of the river *Tamer*, which divides this county from *Devonſhire*. The moſt weſtern promontary which lies upon the weſtern ocean, and is diſtant no more than ſeventeen degrees in the globular ſurface of the earth, from the *Fortunate iſland*, or *Azores*, is by *Ptolomy*, *Bolerium*; by *Diodorus Belerium*, perhaps from the *Britiſh* word *Pell*, which ſignifies the moſt remote: It is alſo called by the ſaid *Ptolomy Antiveſtæum*; by the *Britains*, I mean their bards or poets, *Pariangued*, that is the promontary of blood: For the *Welch* hiſtorians call it *Penwith*, that is a promontary inclining to the *left*; the *Saxons Penwiſteoſt*. For *ſteoſt*, with them, ſignifies land projecting into the ſea. From hence all that *hundred* is to this day called *Penwith*, and by the inhabitants in their own language, *Pen von las*, that is the end, of the earth, and in the ſame meaning, by the *Engliſh*, the *Lands End*, as being the furtheſt part weſtward of the whole iſland. But if this promontary has been call'd *Helenum*, as *Volateranus*, and later writers declare, it was not deriv'd from *Helenus* the ſon of *Priam*, but from *Pen Elin*, which ſignifies in the *Britiſh* tongue an elbow, as *Ancon* does in *Greek*. And ſince crooked or winding ſhores are called from the *Greeks*, *Ancones*, which *Pliny* mentions of *Ancona* in *Italy*, it is by no means abſurd to think that this bending land ſhould by the *Britains* be called *Pen Elin*, and from thence the *Latin* word *Helenum*: But as to the original of the word *Antiveſtæum*, I have even doubted whether it was not of *Greek* original: For having often obſerved among the *Greeks*, that they give names to places from thoſe oppoſite to them, not only in *Greece* itſelf, where they have *Rhium* and *Antirrhium*; alſo in the *Arabian* gulph, where they have *Bacchium*, and *Antibacchium*, as in the *Venetian* gulph, *Antibarium*; becauſe it lies directly againſt the *Barium* in *Italy*: I made diligent inquiry, whether there was any place oppoſite to the *Antiveſtæum*, known by the name of *Veſtæum*: But when I could find no certainty, I return'd to the *Britiſh* language; and even there I was at a loſs for the conſtruction: But it is believed by the inhabitants that this promontary did heretofore extend further into the ſea, and the mariners believe much from the great quantity of rubbiſh which is taken from the place.

the neighbouring inhabitants, have a tradition that the land thereabouts, now overflow'd by the sea, was called *Lioness*.

In the furthest rocks of this promontary, when they are visible at low water, there appear about the bottoms of them veins of tinn and copper, and the people that live there report there stood a watch tower upon that eminence, from whence by Fire-lights there was direction given to sailors, design'd no doubt as a guide for the traders to *Spain*: For so *Orosius* observes, "That the lofty watch tower of *Brigantia* in *Gallicia*, an admirable "piece of work was erected, *ad speculam Britanniæ*". That is, if I understand him right, either for the use of such as sail'd from *Britain* to *Spain*, or else, opposite to the watch tower of *Britain*. For no other place in this island directly faces *Spain*. Upon this spot stands a little village called St. *Burians*, (anciently *Eglis Buriens*, that is, the *Church* of *Buriena* or *Bariana*) consecrated to *Burienna* a religious *Irish* woman. For this nation did always pay homage to *Irish* Saints as well as their own: So that between them both, there is scarcely a town but is consecrated to some or other of them. 'Tis reported that king *Athelstan* granted this village the priviledge of a sanctuary, when he arrived from his conquests in the isles of *Scilly*; it appears for certain that he built a church here, and that under *William* the conqueror there was a college of *Chanons*, to whom the neighbouring territory belong'd. Not far distant, in a place called *Biscaw-woune*, are nineteen stones in a circle, distant about twelve foot from each other, and in the *Centre* of them, there is one pitch'd higher than the rest. This was some monument or trophy of victory erected by the *Romans*, in all probability under some of the latter emperors; or else by *Athelstan* the *Saxon*, when he had subdued the *Cornish* men, and brought to subjection.

As the shore scoops in gradually from hence southward, it makes a bay in form of a crescent, which they call *Mounts-Bay*, where, as it is commonly reported, the sea by an irruption has drowned the land. Upon this lies *Mousehole*, in the *British* tongue *Port Innis*, that is the *haven of the island*: For Sir *Henry* of *Tieis*, a baron in his time, and lord of *Alwerton* and *Trewerry* in this county, obtain'd of king *Edward* I. a grant to have a market there. There is also seated upon this bay *Pensans*, that is the *Cape* or *Head of Saints*, as some think, *Sands*, a pretty market town. At a little distance is that famous stone called *Main-Amber*; which being a great rock standing upon others of smaller size, is so equally poiz'd, that one man, stir it with his finger, tho' many are not able to remove it out of its place. Here also is *Merkin*, that is, *Jupiters Market*, because *Thursday*, anciently dedicated to *Jupiter*, is their market-day; but by reason of its craggines, makes a dangerous harbour for ships. In the very angle stands St. *Mi-*

chaels-Mount, which gave name to the foresaid bay. It was sometime called *Dinsil*, as we find in the book of *Landaff*: The inhabitants name it *Careg Cowse*, that is, the *hoary crag*, the *Saxons* call'd it *Michaels-Place*, as *Laurence Noel* has observed, a man eminent for his singular learning, and who was the first in our age, that revived the language of our *Saxon* ancestors, among us, which thro' disuse lay neglected and buried in oblivion. This rock is craggy and of a considerable heighth, surrounded with water when the sea is at flood; but at every ebb appears joyned to the main land. So that they say of it, that it is both island and continent twice a day. Wherefore *John* earl of *Oxford*, not many years since, presuming upon the strength of the place, chose it to fortify himself against *Edward* IV. and maintain'd it with great valour, tho' without success. For his soldiers being attack'd by the kings forces surrender'd. On the summit hereof, within the fortress there was a chappel consecrated to St. *Michael* the archangel: which *William* earl of *Cornwall* and *Moriton*, who by the bounteous favour of King *William* I. had large possessions in these parts, built a cell for one or two monks who gave out that St. *Michael* appear'd in that mount; the like apparition challenged by the *Italians* to their hill of *Garganus*; and by the *Frenchmen* to their *Michaels Mount* in *Normandy*. In the memory of our fathers, were found in digging of tinn, many spear heads, axes and swords of brass wrapped in linnen; such as have been found also in the *Hercinian* forest in *Germany* and not long since in *Wales*. For it is manifest by the monuments of ancient writers, that the *Greeks*, the *Cimbrians* and *Britains*, used brazen weapons tho' the wounds made with brass, are less dangerous, there being a sanative quality in that mettal, as *Macrobius* out of *Aristotle* reports: But probably that age was not so mischievously cunning in the invention of their instruments of death, as ours. In the rocks underneath as also all along the shore, is bred in great plenty the *Cornish Cough*, which is a kind of *Crow* having a red bill and feet therefore is not a bird peculiar to the *Alps*, as *Pliny* thought. This bird the inhabitants have arraign'd both for an incendiary and a thief: For it often fires houses privately with lighted sticks, and steals whatever little pieces of money it can meet with to hide and hoard it.

In this place the land is very narrow and contracted into the form of an *Isthmus*, for it is scarce four miles over from hence to the *Severne* or Irish sea. A little above this mount, there opens a creek of good breadth and from the adjacent hill, *Mounts-Bay*, a most safe road and commodious harbour against the south and south east winds, at the mid-ebb or reflux of the sea seven fathom deep. More eastward rises *Godolcan Hill*, now called *Godolphin* very famous for its plentiful veins of tinn; but much more renowned by the lords thereof bearing the same name, whose virtues have equall'd the ancient honour of that house and lineage. But that name in the *Cornish* tongue

taken from a white eagle, and this family has anciently born for their arms in a ſhield, *Gules*, an eagle diſplay'd, *Argent* between three *Flower-de-luces*, *Argent*. Southward from St. *Michaels Mount*, ſhoots out a *Peninſula*, at the very entry whereof appears *Heilſton*, called by the natives, *Hellas*, by reaſon of the ſalt water flowing to it. It is a town much frequented for the marking and coinage of tinn. Under which by the confluence of many waters there ſwells a lake two miles long, named *Loopool*. It is divided from the ſea by a narrow bank that runs acroſs, and upon any violent irruption of the waves is diſturb'd all about with a violent roaring of the water. At a little diſtance is to be ſeen a military rampart of large compaſs built with ſtones pil'd upon one another without mortar. They call it in their tongue *Earth*: There are of the ſame ſort in other places thereabouts, erected as I conjecture in the *Daniſh* war, not much unreſembling thoſe *Britiſh* fortifications which *Tacitus* calls rude and ill favour'd piles of ſtone. As for the ſaid *Peninſula*, 'tis of a conſiderable extent enrich'd with villages and named *Meneg*; doubtleſs the ſame with that *Menna*, which out of *Cornelius*, a writer of annals, (but whether it be *Tacitus* I know not) is deſcribed by *Jornandes* in his *Geticks*, and in ſome copies called *Memma*. For it ſtands, as he writes, " In the furtheſt parts of *Britain*, richly ſtor'd with mines of met-" tal, rank in forage, and plentifully productive of all things that ſerve for " the paſtorage of beaſts, rather than the nouriſhment of men." But as for the mettals he obſerves to have then been in ſuch plenty in that part, it is now ſo deſtitute thereof, that it may ſeem long ſince to have been exhauſted.

This *Meneg*, as alſo the *Erth* in it, a late writer will have to be of a Phœnician original; the firſt, from *Meneog* ſignifying kept in by the ſea; and the ſecond, from *Arith*, a common name, as he ſays, for lakes; and this military fence being placed by a lake, may well enough to be ſuppos'd to have its denomination from thence. It is by the ſeamen call'd the *Lizard*, by *Ptolomy* the *Promontory* of the *Danmonii*, and *Ocrinum*; by *Æthicus*, in that monſtrous geography of his, *Ocranum*; and reckoned among the mountains of the weſtern ocean. I dare not be poſitive, that it took it's name from *Ocra*, which (as *Sextus Pompeius* has it) ſignifies a craggy mountain; tho' 'tis certain that *Ocra* among the *Alps*, as alſo *Ocriculum* and *Interocrea*, were ſo called from their ſteep rough ſituation. But ſince *Ochr* in *Britiſh* ſignifies an edge, what if we ſhould ſuppoſe that this promontory had its name from being edg'd and pointed like a cone?

The ſhore, ſhooting in again from this *Meneg*, makes a bay full of winding creeks, to receive the ſmall river *Vale*, upon which, ſomething inward, ſtood an old town call'd *Voluba*, mention'd by *Ptolomy*. But has long ſince, either

either loſt it's being, or its name; which yet does ſtill in ſome meaſure remain in *Valemouth* or *Falmouth*. This harbour is as noble as the *Brundiſium* of *Italy*, and very capacious: For an hundred ſhips may ride in it's winding bay at ſuch diſtance, that, from no one of them, ſhall be ſeen the top of another's main-maſt. It is alſo ſecure from winds, being guarded on all ſide with high creeks. At the very entrance, there is a high uneven rock, call'd by the inhabitants *Crage*; and each ſide of it is fortify'd with a caſtle, built by king *Henry* VIII. for the ſafety of the place, and terror of the enemy. That on the eaſt is S. *Maudit*'s and that on the weſt, *Pendinas*; which an antiquarian poet writes thus:

High on a craggy rock *Pendennis* ſtands,
And with it's thunder all the port commands.
While ſtrong St. *Maudit*'s anſwers it below,
Where *Falmouth*'s ſands the ſpacious harbour ſhow.

But the harbour itſelf is called by *Ptolomy*, *Cenionis oſtium*; without all diſpute, from the *Britiſh* word *Genu*, ſignifying a mouth and an entrance: Which *Tregenie*, the name of a town hard by, confirms; as much as if one ſhould ſay, a little town at the mouth. If indeed there is any occaſion for the diminutive; as I am inform'd there is not, and this is the more probable, becauſe *Tira* and by contraction *tra* in the Phœnician, is ſo far from ſignifying any inconſiderable place, that it denotes a fort or caſtle. The not knowing the ſignification of this word, ſeems in former days to have led ſome of the *Corniſh* gentry into an error, in taking their coat-armour, according to the import of their name. Thus, *Treſuſis* (which really ſignifies a walled town or fortify'd place,) is turned into three *fuſils*; and ſo, three *ſpindles* are in the arms of that family. *Trenances*, is a place or town by a vale; but becauſe it ſounds not unlike *tres enſes*, a *feſs between three ſwords* is born by this family. Many more inſtances of this kind might be given, eſpecially where the initial *Tre* (as if it were of a *Latin* original) hath determined them to take three of whatever they chuſe. But to return. In the reign of king *Charles* the ſecond, *Charles* Lord *Berkley*, and Viſcount *Fitzharding*, was in the 16th year thereof created at the ſame time Lord *Botetort* and earl of *Falmouth*; but he loſing his life the year following in the Sea-ſervice againſt the *Dutch*, and leaving no iſſue-male, this honour was extinct: In which year, an act of parliament was alſo paſſed for the making of the church erected here at *Falmouth*, a pariſh-church, and no part of the pariſh of St. *Gluvias*, or chapelry of St. *Budocke*.

There are ſome towns which ſtand upon the inner part of this harbour *Peryn*, a famous market, where *Walter Broneſcombe*, biſhop of *Exeter*, An-

no, 1288. built a collegiate church (call'd *Glaſnith*) with thirteen prebendaries, as the hiſtory of the foundation in the Leiger-Book of that college, expreſly ſaith. *Arwenack*, the ſeat of the ancient and famous family of the *Killegrews*, *Truro*, in corniſh *Turu*, ſo called from three ſtreets, in a manner encompaſs'd with two little rivers; and diſtinguiſht by being a Mayor-town, and by the privileges it has in the buſineſs of the ſtannaries. *Grampound*, the moſt remote from the harbour; to the burghers whereof *John* of *Eltham* earl of *Cornwall*, in his charter which is ſtill extant, granted and confirm'd the whole ville of *Grampont*, and all the lands of *Coytſala*, which in the *Britiſh* ſignifies *Fala-wood*: And, at this day, there are certain lands adjoyning to the town, and within the precincts of the borough, call'd *Coits-ſala*. Which remains of the old name, and the ſituation of the town, exactly agreeing with that of *Voluba* in *Ptolemy*, ſeem to juſtify a conjecture, that upon erecting the adjoyning bridge over the river *Vale* it exchang'd the name of *Voluba* for *Ponſmur*; by which name (in *Britiſh* ſignifying a great bridge,) *Edmund* earl of *Cornwall* enfranchis'd it; and this being put into *French*, is exactly *Granpoud*, or, as it is call'd at this day, *Grampond*. Upon the ſea-coaſt at ſome diſtance, is *Tregonan* the ſeat of the *Tredenhams*, an ancient and well allay'd family. Below this, is *Roſeland*, a plot of ground lying along the ſea-ſide; ſo call'd as ſome would have it, from *roſetum*, a garden of roſes; or, as others, becauſe it is *ericetum*, a heath, for *Ros* in *Britiſh* ſignifies a *heath*. From whence *Roſſe* in *Scotland*, and another *Roſſe* in *Wales*, have had their names, as being a dry, thirſty ground: But this by the induſtry of the husbandmen, is made more rich and fruitful. Notwithſtanding which conjectures, this neither borrows the name from a *roſe*, nor from *heath*; but from *Roſe* or *Roſs*, which is in *Corniſh* a vale or valley. The ſound of this word, implying ſome thing of a *roſe*, and the beauty of that flower, hath led ſome families into the ſame error in their taking of arms, as the forementioned *Tre* hath done others. So *Roſagan* (which ſignifies no more than a white valley,) took three red roſes; *Roſcarock* (i. e. a rock in the valley) a roſe and a tench; *Penroſe* (i. e. head of the valley) a bend ſet about with roſes; with others of the ſame kind. Farther up in the land, is *Landhidrock*, the ſeat of the right honourable the earl of *Radnor*, whoſe great grandfather was created Baron of *Truro* by king *Charles* I. and his grandfather earl of *Radnor* by king *Charles* II. from *Roſeland* the ſea immediately follows the dintings of the land, and makes a large bay, call'd *Trueardraithbay*, that is to ſay, The bay of a town at the land.

Scarce two miles from hence, where the river *Fawy* runs into the ſea, is *Fawy* town, in *Britiſh Foath*, ſtretch'd along the creek: It was very famous

in former times, for ſea-fights; the memory whereof remains in the arms of the place, which are a compound of all thoſe of the *Cinque-ports*. On each ſide of the harbour, is a fort, built by *Edward* IV. who a little after upon a diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt the men of *Fowy*, for preying upon the *French* coaſts, tho' a peace had been made with that kingdom, took from them all their ſhips and naval ſtores. Over againſt *Fowy*, on the other ſide, ſtands *Hall*, noted for its pleaſant walks on the ſide of an hill, and the ſeat of Sir *William Mohun*, knight, of an ancient and noble family, deſcended from the *Mohuns*, earls of *Somerſet*, and the *Courtneies*, earls of *Devonſhire*, ſince which time, it has been ſold, and the ſeat of the Lord *Mohun* (while living) was at *Boconnock*.

More within land, upon the ſame river, ſtands the *Uzella* of *Ptolemy*, and it has not yet quite loſt the name, being called at this day *Leſtithiel*, for its ſituation. For it was upon a high hill, where is *Leſtormin*, an ancient caſtle, tho' ſince removed into the valley. Now *uchel* in *Britiſh* ſignifies *high* and *lofty*, from whence the *Uxellodunum* in *Gaul* is ſo nam'd, becauſe the town, as being built upon a mountain, has a ſteep rugged aſcent every way. This, in the *Britiſh* hiſtory, is called *Pen-uchel coit*, i. e. a high mountain in a wood, by which ſome will have *Exeter* to be meant. But the ſituation of it in *Ptolemy*, and the name it has to this day, do ſufficiently ſhew, that it was the ancient *Uzella*. Now, it is a little town, and not much frequented; for the channel of the river *Fawey*, which in the laſt age uſed to carry the title to the very town, and convey veſſels of good burthen, is now ſo ſtopp'd up by the ſands coming from the lead mines, that it is two ſhallow for barges; and indeed, all the harbours of this county are in danger to be choak'd up by theſe ſands. However, it is the county-town, where the ſheriff every month holds the county-court, and where the warden of the Stannaries has his priſon. For it has the privilege of coinage, by the favour (as they ſay) of *Edmund* earl of *Cornwall*, who formerly had his palace here. But there are two towns which do greatly eclipſe the glory of this *Uzella*; *Leskerd* to the eaſt, ſeated on a high hill, and famous for an ancient caſtle, and a market: And *Bodman* to the north, ſcarce four miles diſtant; in *Britiſh* (if I miſtake not) *Boſuenna*, and in ancient charters, *Bodminiam*. This town is ſeated between two hills, not very healthfully, extended from eaſt to weſt. 'Tis a noted market, populous, and well built, and is diſtinguiſhed by the privilege of ſtamping tinn. But it was formerly more famous for a biſhop's ſee; for about the year 905, when the diſcipline of the church was quite neglected in thoſe parts, *Edward the Elder*, by a decree from pope *Formoſus*, ſettled a biſhop's ſee here, and granted the biſhop of *Kirton* three villages in thoſe parts, *Polton*, *Celing* and

and *Lanwitham*; That he might every year visit the county of *Cornwall*, in order to reform their errors; for before that time, they resisted the truth to the utmost, and would not submit to the Apostolical Decrees. *Polton* is probably *Paulton* in St. *Breague*; *Lawhitton* still belongs to the Bishop; but where *Cæling* was seated, doth not appear. The Manours mentioned here abouts to be the bishop's, are *Lawhitton*, St. *Germans*, *Pawton*, *Pregaer*; *Penryn*, and *Cargaul*, without any mention of *Cæling*. In those manours, the bishop's had view of frankpledge and all other privilege except hue and cry. But afterwards, those dismal wars of the *Danes* breaking out, the bishop's see was translated to St. *Germans*. Near *Leskerd*, was a church formerly called St. *Guerir*, which in *British* signifies a physician; where (as *Asser* tells us) king *Alfred*, while he was in the midst of his devotion, recovered of a fit of sickness. But when *Neotus*, a man of eminent sanctity and learning, was buried in that church, he so much eclips'd the glory of the other Saint, that from him the place begun to be called *Neotestow*, i.e. the place of *Neoth*, and now St. *Neoth*'s; and the religious there were called clerks of St. *Neot*, who had pretty large revenues, as appears from *Domesday*. At present, the very footsteps of the old church or college are quite gone; so that there are no ruins of it within the parish, no body knows where it stood, nor are there any church-lands that are known to have formerly belonged to it: Which makes it probable, that it was alienated long before the reformation. Here is at present a fine country church; and in the windows, several pictures relating to some particular traditions of the *Jews*; which are exactly deliver'd in a *Cornish* book, now in the publick library at *Oxford*. 'Tis probable they had these traditions immediately from the *Jews* themselves, who were here in great numbers, about the tinn. Hard by (as I have been told) in the parish of St. *Clare*, there are in a place call'd *Pennaut*, i. e. the head of the valley, two stone-monuments; one with the upper part hollow in form of a chair; the other called *Other-half-stone*, inscrib'd with barbarous characters now almost worn out. Which I think are to be read thus, *Doniert: Rogavit pro animo:* Unless we may imagine, that these two points after *Doniort*, are the remains of the letter E; and so read, *Doniert erogavit*; implying, that he gave that land to the religious, for the good of his soul. I cannot but think, that this *Doniert* must be that petty king of *Cornwall*, which the annals call *Dungerth*, and tell us he was drown'd in the year 872; not only by reason of the affinity of the names, but also because the letters are exactly the same with those on a monument in *Denbighshire*, which was set up by *Konken* king of *Powys*, at the very same time.

Hard by, is a heap of pretty large rocks; under which is a great ſtone, form'd ſo like a *cheeſe*, that it ſeems to be preſs'd by the others; from whence the whole has the name of *Wringcheeſe*. They were, doubtleſs, naturally and accidentally ſo piled one upon another; lying askew, and not perpendicularly, the leaſt at the bottom. A great many ſtones likewiſe, almoſt in a ſquare, are to be ſeen upon the adjoyning plain; whereof ſeven or eight are at equal diſtance from one another. The neighbouring people call them *Hurlers*, from a pious perſwaſion, that they are men transformed into ſtones, for playing at ball on Sunday. Others will have them, to be a trophy, in memory of ſome battle; and others think, they have been ſet for boundaries; becauſe in the authors that have writ about bounds, they have read, that large ſtones us'd to be gather'd by both parties, and erected for limits. Theſe are oblong, rude and unhewn ſtones, pitch'd in the ground on one end, ſtanding upon a down in three circles, the centers whereof are in a right line; the middlemoſt circle the greateſt. They ſeem neither to be trophies, nor land-marks, but burying-places of the ancient *Britains*. For the *Other-half-ſtone* not far from thoſe *Hurlers*, appears by the inſcription to have been a ſepulchral ſtone. And that alſo call'd the *Long-ſtone*, ſtanding in the *Downs* about half a mile from the *Hurlers* (above two yards and a half high, with a croſs on both ſides) was doubtleſs a funeral monument.

About two miles from the river *Loo*, is the preſent ſeat of the ancient family of the *Trelawnies*; to which, by marriage with one of the daughters and coheirs of *Courtney* earl of *Devonſhire*, a great part of the inheritance of that noble family came. They were poſſeſs'd of this place only ſince the reign of queen *Elizabeth*; having, before, been for many ages ſeated firſt at *Trelawney*, and afterwards at *Minhinnead* (a town diſtant about ſix miles, on the ſame river Loo,) where they ſtill have a large houſe (the place of their former reſidence) call'd *Pool*. Towards the northern coaſt of this county, is *Trerice*, the ſeat of the ancient family of *Arundel*, of which, Sir *John Arundel*, in conſideration of his eminent loyalty and ſervices to the crown, was advanced by king *Charles* I. to the dignity of a baron of this realm, by the title of lord *Arundel* of *Trerice*.

The river *Loo* opens itſelf a paſſage into the ſea upon this coaſt: and at it's mouth, communicates the name to two little towns, joyned together by a ſtone-bridge. That upon the eaſt-ſide, as newer, flouriſhes moſt; but time has very much decay'd the other which is more weſtward; tho' it ſtill retains the honour of a mayor and alderman. From hence, we meet with nothing memorable, till we come to *Liver*, a little river abounding with oyſters, which runs by St. *Germans*, a ſmall village, whither the biſhops ſee was tranſlated

ſtated, for greater ſafety, in the time of the *Daniſh* war. There is a little religious houſe dedicated to St. *German* of *Auxerre*, who ſuppreſſed the *Pelagian* hereſie, then growing again in *Britain*. After the ſucceſſion of ſome few biſhops, *Levinus* biſhop of *Kirton*, a great favourite of *Canutus* the *Dane*, obtain'd a royal grant to have it annex'd to his own See. From which time, there has been but one biſhop for this county and *Devonſhire*, who now has his ſee at *Exeter*; and he appointed this little village of St. *Germans*, for a ſeat to his ſuffragan. There was nothing left at it long ſince, beſides fiſhermen's hutts, who got themſelves a pretty good livelyhood by fiſhing in the ſea and the neighbouring rivers; but even that is now wholly laid aſide. At a few miles diſtance, upon the ſame river, *Trematon* ſtill ſupports the name of a caſtle, by it's ruinous walls; where (as it is in doomſday) *William* earl of Moriton *had his caſtle and market*; and it was the head of a barony of the earls and dukes of *Cornwall*, as we learn from the *Inquiſitions*. When the *River* has paſs'd by this, it empties it ſelf into *Tamara*, the limit of this county (near *Saltaſhe*, formerly *Eſſe*, once the ſeat of the *Valtorts*, now pretty well ſtor'd with merchants, and endow'd with many privileges;) where *Mount-Edgecombe*, the ſeat of the ancient family of the *Edgcombs*, is pleaſantly ſituated, with a proſpect of the winding harbour beneath it. This place, and a great part of the pariſh of *Maker*, though on the weſt-ſide of *Tamar*, do not properly belong to *Cornwall*, but *Devonſhire*; only, as to eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, they are within the archdeaconry of *Cornwall*. On the other hand, the tract over-againſt *Saltaſhe* on the eaſt-ſide of *Tamar*, is within *Cornwall*; and ſo it is alſo about *Northamerton*. The reaſon whereof is probably this; that, upon the diviſion of ſhires, ſome eminent perſons living on one ſide the river, and having part of their eſtates on the other, procured the latter to be included in the ſame county with the former. So the family of *Valletort* or *de Valla torta*, having their manſion on the eaſtſide of the river (perhaps, at or about *Plimouth*, where is yet known the manour of *Vawtort* or *Valtort*,) had probably ſome branch of their eſtate on the weſtſide, and got that united to *Devonſhire*. And thus, all that tract of ground, of which *Mount-Edgecomb* is part, being called by the name of *Vawtort's home*, continues part of *Devonſhire*. Whether that ſmall part of *Kent* near *Woolwich*, lying on *Eſſex*-ſide; alſo a piece of *Oxfordſhire* near *Culham* on *Berkſhire*-ſide; and a ſlip of *Staffordſhire* on *Derbyſhire*-ſide; whether theſe, I ſay, may not have happen'd by the like occaſion, can only be reſolved by thoſe who have opportunity to conſult the private records and hiſtories of the reſpective places. But to return. Next to *Mount-Edgecomb*, is *Anthony*, remarkable for it's neatneſs, and a pond which lets in the ſea, from whence it is furniſh'd with fiſh, both for

uſe and pleaſure; but much more, for the lord of it, *Richard Carew*, who not only lived up to the dignity of his anceſtors; but excell'd them all in the ornaments of virtue. Thus far we have been upon the ſouth-coaſt; now let us ſurvey the north.

The northern ſhore, from the lands-end, running forward on a long tract of ſandy banks waſh't up by the ſea, comes to a town hanging into the ſea like a ſort of little tongue, called St. *Ies*; from *Ia* an *Iriſh* woman of great piety, who liv'd here. It was formerly call'd *Pendinas*; and the harbour below, which receives the river *Haile*, has it's name from the town, being call'd by the ſea men S. *Ies bay*. The town itſelf is now but ſmall. For the north-weſt-wind, the tyrant of this coaſt, by heaping in ſands upon it, has been ſo very prejudicial to it, that they have removed the ſituation more than once. From hence, the country growing broader on both ſides and running eaſtward, the northern ſhore, with an oblique winding goes north-eaſt to *Padſtow*, meeting with nothing remarkable in its way, beſides a chapel built upon the ſand, and dedicated to St. *Piranus*, another *Iriſh* Saint, bury'd here; to whoſe ſanctity, a ſilly childiſh writer has attributed the finding proviſion for ten *Iriſh* kings and their armies, for eight days together, with no more than three cows; as alſo the bringing to life dead hogs and dead men. Farther from the ſhore is *Rialton*, which gave the title firſt of baron, and then of viſcount to the right honourable *Sidney* earl of *Godolphin*, Lord high treaſurer of *England*; and St. *Columbs*, a little market-town, dedicated to *Columba*, an exceeding pious woman and a martyr, and not to *Columbanus* the Scot (as I am now fully ſatisfied by her life, tranſlated from the *Corniſh.*) Near which, at a littl leſs diſtance from the ſea, ſtands *Lhanheron*, heretofore the ſeat of the family of the *Arondels* knights, who, on account of their vaſt riches, were not long ſince call'd *The great Arondels*. They are ſometimes ſtil'd in *Latin De Hirundine*, and appoſitely enough in my mind; for a *Swallow* in *French* is *Arondel*, and their arms are *in a field ſable ſix Swallows argent*. It is certainly an ancient and noble family, as alſo very largely ally'd; to the name and arms whereof *William Brito*, a poet, alludes, when he deſcribes a warlike gentleman of this family aſſaulting a *French*-man about the year 1170.

Swift as the ſwallow, whence his arms *device*,
And his own name are took, enrag'd he flies
Thro' gazing troops, the wonder of the field,
And ſticks his lance in *William*'s glittering ſhield.

At a little diſtance, is a double rampire on the top of a hill, and a cau-ey leading to it: It is call'd *Caſtellan Danis*, i. e. the camps of the *Danes*, becauſe the *Danes*, when they infeſted the *Engliſh* coaſts, encamp'd here, as alſo in other places hereabouts.

Not far from hence, is the river *Alan*, call'd alſo *Camb-alan*, call'd alſo *Camb-alan*, and *Camel*, from it's winding channel (for *Cam* with them implies ſo much,) running gently into the upper-ſea, it has at the mouth a little market-town call'd *Padſtow*, contracted from *Petrockſtow* (as 'tis call'd in the hiſtories of the Saints,) from one *Petrocus* a *Britiſh* Saint, who liv'd here in a religious way; whereas, the town was before call'd *Loderick* and *Laffenac*. *Leland* ſays of it, that in old writings it is called *Adelſtow*, i. e. *Athenſtan*'s place. king *Athelſtan* being lookt upon as the chief author of it's privileges; but he tells us alſo, that the tomb and ſhrine of St. *Petrock* were remaining in the eaſt-part of the church. It is very conveniently ſeated for trading into *Ireland*, being but 24 hours eaſie ſail, and is very much adorn'd by a beautiful houſe in the neighbourhood, like a caſtle, which *N. Predaux*, a gentleman of an ancient name and family, lately built in thoſe weſtern parts.

About five miles above *Padſtow*, is *Wadebridge*, a bridge of ſeventeen arches, and much the largeſt in the whole country. It was built by one *Loveberne* vicar of the place, to prevent thoſe dangers which paſſengers on horſe-back were expos'd to, by ferrying over. The foundations of ſome of the arches were firſt laid upon quick ſands; which made the undertaker de-ſpair of affecting his deſign, till he laid packs of wool for the ground-work. At the head of the river *Alan*, is ſeated *Camelford*, otherwiſe writ *Gaffelford*, a little village, formerly call'd *Kamblan* in the opinion of *Leland*, who tells us that *Arthur*, the *Engliſh* hector, was ſlain here. For (as he adds) pieces of armour, rings, and braſs-trappings for horſes, are ſometimes dug-up here by the countrymen; and, after ſo many ages, the tradition of a bloody victory in this place, is ſtill preſerv'd. There are alſo extant ſome verſes of a middle-age poet, about *Camel*'s running with blood, after the battle of *Arthur* againſt *Mordred*: Which, becauſe they ſeem to flow from a good vein, I will venture to inſert:

——— *Camel*'s ſtream
Feels the ſad change, and wonders whence it came:
The yielding banks are drown'd with riſing blood,
And mangled corps lie gaſping on the flood:
Poor half-dead wretches ſpend their fainting breath
In cries for reſcue from a ſecond death.

It is certain (not to deny the truth of this ſtory concerning *Arthur*) that we read in *Marianus* of a bloody battle here between the *Britains* and *Saxons*, in the year 820, ſo that the place may in ſome meaſure ſeem to be ſacred to *Mars*. And if it be true, that *Arthur* was kill'd here; the famous ſhore gave him his firſt breath and deprived him of his laſt. For, upon the neighbouring ſhore, ſtands *Tindagium* (the birth-place of the great *Arthur*) part of it as it were on a little tongue thruſt out, and part upon an iſland formerly joyn'd to the main land by a bridge. They now call it *Tindagel*, tho' nothing is left, but the ſplendid ruins of an ancient ſtately caſtle; which *Leland* ſaith, hath been a marvellous ſtrong and notable fortreſs, made by the nature of the place in a manner impregnable; eſpecially, the dungeon on a high terrible rock environed with the ſea, with a draw-bridge from the reſidue of the caſtle to it. Of this a modern poet writes thus:

On a ſteep rock within a winding bay
A caſtle ſtands ſurrounded by the ſea,
Whoſe frequent thunder ſhakes the trembling hill,
Tindage of old 'twas call'd, now *Tindagel*.

It would be tedious to relate here, from the hiſtory of *Geoffrey*, how *Uther Pendragan*, king of *Wales*, fell in love with the wife of *Gorlois* prince of *Cornwall*, in this caſtle; and how, by art-magick aſſuming the ſhape of her husband, he defil'd the lady, and begat this *Arthur*. The verſes of our countrymen *John Hauvillan* ſhall ſupercede that:

Nor could the prince conceal his raging flame,
But in falſe ſhapes to *Tindagel* he came,
By *Merlin*'s art transform'd from king to duke,
And *Gorloi*'s perſon for *Pendragon*'s took.

This *Uther Pendragon* was a prince, in whom were all the acompliſhments of a ſoldier, and who valiently ſupported the ſinking ſtate of his country againſt the *Saxons*. I dare not affirm, *That the royal banner of the* Engliſh (*having the effigies of a* dragon *with a golden head, ſo well known to our neighbours, and ſo terrible to the* Pagans *in the holy wars under* Richard III. was) was deriv'd from him, I rather think we owe it to the *Romans*, who for a long time us'd the *Eagle*, after *Marius* had rejected the ſtandards of a wolf, a minotaure, a horſe, &c. and came at laſt under the later emperors to make choice of a *Dragon*. Upon which, *Claudian*,

Enabl

Exalted banners wrought with dragon's heads.

And *Nemeſianus*,

In enſigns mov'd by gentle air
Fierce dragons heads erect appear.

t the *Weſt-Saxon* kings carry'd a dragon in their ſtandards, we have the hority of *Hoveden*. But as for that other banner of the *Saxons* (which e calls *Tuffa*,) and the *Reafan* of the *Danes*; I will ſay nothing of them his place, leſt I ſhould be thought to make too large a digreſſion.

Upon the ſame coaſt (which is not very fruitful, and wants wood,) there ds expos'd to the ſea, *Botereux*-caſtle, corrupted by the vulgar into *Boſ-ſall*, and built by the lords of it the *Botereuxs*, who bore *in a ſhield argent e toads ſable*. *William Botereaux* was the firſt perſon of note and emi-ce in this family; and marry'd *Alice*, daughter of *Robert Corbet*, whoſe was concubine to king *Henry* I. and had by her *Reginald* earl of *Corn-*. From this *William* XI. flouriſh'd ſucceſſively. But *Margaret*, only hter to the laſt, was marry'd to *Robert Hungerford*, by whoſe poſterity eſtate came to the *Haſtings*, after it had been much augmented in ex- and honour, by the marriages of the *Botereauxs* with the heireſſes of the e families of the *Moelos*, St. *Laud* or St. *Lo*, and *Thweng*. By her, *Ro-* had iſſue *Robert* lord *Hungerford* and *Molins*, and he, *Thomas* lord *erford* his ſon, whoſe ſole heireſs, *Mary* was marry'd to *Edward* lord *ings* and *Hungerford*; by whom he had *George* I. of that ſirname earl *Huntingdon*. This caſtle with a large inheritance continu'd in that fa- until the reign of queen *Elizabeth*.

om hence northward, the land riſes and ſhoots it ſelf ſo far into the ſea, the county between the two ſeas is above 30 miles broad; tho' it has hitherto but very narrow. At the greateſt breadth of it, *Stow* ſtands the ſea-coaſt, the ancient ſeat of the family of the *Grenvills*, famous eir antiquity and nobility; and of later years raiſed to the dignity of of *Bathe*; who have built here a very ſtately houſe. Among the *Richard*, in the time of *William Rufus*, ſignaliz'd his courage in the neſt of *Glamorganſhire* in *Wales*; and in the laſt age ſave one, another e ſame chriſtian name, exceeding the nobility of his birth by his own ry, loſt his life gallantly in an engagement with the *Spaniards* at the s. Not far from this, is *Stratton*, a market-town noted for gardens, ts garlick; near which place, the *Corniſh* for king *Charles* I. gain'd a victory,

victory over the parliament-army. In the place, there follow'd a prodigious crop of barley, ten or twelve ears on one ſtalk. So, formerly, after the battle with the *Danes* in *Swornfield*; a certain ſhrub ſprang up (therefore call'd *Dane-ball* or *Dane-wort*, by others *Dwarf-elder*) which is ſaid to be no where found, but there, or tranſplanted from thence. Near this is *Lancells*, a new ſeat of the ancient family of the *Chaumonds*, now extinct.

The river *Tamara*, now *Tamar*, riſing here, not far from the northſhore, runs ſwiftly and violently towards the ſouth; and, after it is encreaſed with many little rivulets, paſſes by *Tamara*, a town mention'd by *Ptolemy*, now *Tamerton*; and, at a little diſtance from it, is *Lanſtiphaden*, i. e. the church of *Stephen*, commonly call'd *Laxnſton*; a pretty little town, ſituate upon a riſing; which, out of two other boroughs, *Dunevet* and *Newport*, hath grown into one town. In the beginning of the *Normans*, *William* earl of *Moriton* built a caſtle here; the moles whereof on which the *Keep* ſtood, as *Leland* tells us, were of a large and terrible height; and that the *Area* of it, having three ſeveral wards, was the higheſt, tho' not the biggeſt, that ever he ſaw in any ancient work in *England*. It had alſo a college of canons, as appears by doomſday-book, where it is call'd *Launſtaveton*; which name it had, without doubt, from the college there, dedicated to St. *Stephen*, about the year 1150, converted into a monaſtry by *Reginald* earl of *Cornwall*. This change the biſhops of *Exeter* (too much carry'd away by paſſion and intereſt,) did vehemently oppoſe, fearing it might come to be a biſhop's See, and ſo leſſen their juriſdiction. At this day, it is moſt remarkable for the publick gaol, and for the aſſizes having been conſtantly kept there; till it was provided by a ſpecial act of parliament, that it ſhould be in the power of the lord chancellor, or lord keeper of the great ſeal, to appoint any other place in the county, for the holding of them.

Tamar going from hence, has the view of a high mountain, ſtretch'd out a great way in length, call'd by the *Saxon* annals *Hengiſteſdun*, by *Marianus Hengeſdoun*, and by him interpreted the mountain of *Hengiſt*: The name here at preſent, is *Hangſton-hill*. It was formerly pretty rich in veins of tin, and the ſtanding place where the tinners of *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire* met every ſeventh or eighth year in great numbers, to concert their common intereſts. At this place alſo, in the year 831, the *Danmonian Britains*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Danes*, trying to break into *Devonſhire* to drive out the *Engliſh* who had then got poſſeſſion of it, were totally routed by king *Egbert*, and cut off almoſt to a man. Lower down near *Saltaſſe* (a little market-town, as I obſerved before, plac'd upon a riſing ground, and having a market with certain privileges,) *Tamar* receives the river *Linir*, upon which ſtands

town of St. *Germans*, mention'd above. With this increaſe, it paſſes to ſea, and makes a harbour, call'd in the life of *Indractus*, *Tamerworth*; after it hath been the boundary between *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*. For king *Athelſtan* (who was the firſt king of *England*, that entirely ſubdu'd thoſe parts) made this the bound between the *Corniſh Britains* and his own *Engliſh*, after he had removed the *Britains* out of *Devonſhire*; as we learn from *Malmesbury*, who calls the river, *Tambra*. Whereupon, *Alexander Nechami*, in his hymns upon the divine wiſdom, writes thus;

Cornwall from *England Tamar*'s ſtreams divide,
Whence with fat Salmon all the land's ſupply'd.

This place ſeems to require ſomething to be ſaid concerning *Urſula*, a virgin of great ſanctity, born here, and of the 11000 *Britiſh virgins*. But leſt ſome hold, that they were drown'd in the time of *Gratian* the emperor about the year 383, upon the coaſt of *Germany*, as they were ſailing to *America*; and others tell us, that in the year 450, at *Cologn* upon the *Rhine*, in their return from *Rome*, they ſuffer'd martyrdom from *Attila* the *Hun*, that inſtrument of the divine vengeance: This difference among authors has made ſome, inſtead of believing it an hiſtorical truth, ſuſpect it to be a mere fable. But as to that *Conſtantine* (call'd by *Gildas* the tyrannous whelp of an unclean *danmonian lioneſs*,) and the diſforeſting all this county under king *John*, (for before that, it is thought to have been a forreſt, as appears by the inſtrument of that king, in the fifth year of his reign, whereby he expreſly diſforeſts all *Cornwall*: Of theſe matters let hiſtorians give an account, for they are beſide my buſineſs.

As to the earls; *Candorus*, call'd by others *Cadocus*, is mention'd by moſt writers as the laſt earl of *Cornwall* of *Britiſh* extraction: His arms (as heralds tell you) were fifteen *Beſants in a field ſable*. The firſt earl of *Roman* deſcent, was *Robert Moriten*, brother to *William* the conqueror, as of *Herlotta*; to whom ſucceeded *William* his ſon. This *William*, ſiding with *Robert* the *Norman* againſt *Henry* I. king of *England*, was taken priſoner, and loſt both his liberty and honours: In whoſe place, *Henry* II. before he was making warlike preparations againſt *Stephen*, advanc'd *Reginald* natural ſon to *Henry* I. to the earldom: (For that king was ſo very incontinent, that he had no leſs than thirteen children, that were illegitimate.) *Reginald* dying without lawful iſſue male, *Henry* II. (aſſigning certain lands to his daughters) reſerv'd this earldom for his young ſon *John*, then but nine years of age; upon whom his brother *Richard* I. afterwards beſtow'd

it, with other counties. But *John* coming to the crown of *England*, his second son *Richard* had this honour, with the earldom of *Poictou*, conferr'd upon him by his brother *Henry* III. This *Richard* was a powerful prince in his time; as also a religious person, valiant in war, and of great wisdom and conduct; behaving himself in *Aquitain* with wonderful courage; where also he had great success. Going to the holy land, he forced the *Saracens* to truce, refus'd the kingdom of *Apulia* when offer'd him by the pope, compos'd several tumults in *England*, and being chosen king of the *Romans* by some of the seven electors of *Germany* in the year 1257, was crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*. There is a common verse, which intimates that he bought this honour;

Cornwall to *Rome* almighty money joyn'd.

For before that time, he was so famous a mony'd-man, that a contemporary writer has told us he was able to spend a hundred marks a day for ten years together. But the civil wars breaking out in *Germany*, he quickly returned to *England*, where he dy'd, and was bury'd at the famous monastery of *Hales*, which himself had built; a little after his eldest son *Henry* (in his return from the holy wars, as he was at his devotions in a church at *Viterbium* in *Italy*) had been villanously murder'd by *Guido de Monfort*, son of *Simon* earl of *Leicester*, in revenge for his fathers death. Whereupon, his second son *Edmund* succeeded in the earldom of *Cornwall*; who dying without issue, that large estate return'd to the king; he (in the language of the lawyers) being found next in blood, and heir at law. Now, since *Richard* and his son *Edmund* were of the blood royal of *England*, I have often wonder'd, as others have also done, how they came to bear arms different from those of the royal family, *viz. in a field* argent *a lyon rampant* gules, *crowned* or, *within a border* sable *garnish'd with bezants*. And the only reason I can offer for it, is, that they might possibly do it in imitation of the royal family of *France*, (since this way of bearing arms came to us from the *French*.) For the younger sons of the kings of *France*, have arms different from the crown, to this day; as we may observe in the families of *Vermandois*, *Dreux* and *Courtneys*. And as *Robert* duke of *Burgundy*, brother of *Henry* I. king of *France*, took the ancient arms of the dukes of *Burgundy*; so this *Richard*, after he had the earldom of *Poictou* bestowed upon him by his brother king *Henry* III. might probably take the *Lyon* gules crown'd, which (as *French* authors inform us) belong'd to his predecessors earls of *Poictou*, and might add that *border sable garnish'd with bezants*, out of the ancient arms of the earls of *Cornwall*. For as

the younger ſons of *France* began to bear the royal arms with ſome diffe-
rence, we preſently follow'd them; *Edward* III's children being the firſt in-
ſtance. But whither am I rambling, to pleaſe my ſelf with the niceties of
my own profeſſion? After *Cornwall* was united to the crown, *Edward* II.
(who had large poſſeſſions given him by his father, in thoſe parts) conferr'd
the title of earl of *Cornwall* upon *Pierce Gaveſton*, a *Gaſcoine*, who had been
the great debaucher of him in his youth. But he being ſeiz'd by the barons
for corrupting the prince and for other crimes, was beheaded; and ſucceed-
ed by *John de Eltham*, younger ſons of *Edward* II. who being young, and
dying without iſſue, *Edward* III. erected *Cornwall* into a dukedom, and, in
the year 1336, inveſted *Edward* his ſon, a moſt accompliſh'd ſoldier, with
the dukedom of Cornwall, *by a wreath on his head, a ring upon his finger,*
and a ſilver verge. Since which time (as I ſhall obſerve the form record, leav-
ing the lawyers to make a judgment about it) the eldeſt ſon of the king of
England is born earl of Cornwall, *and by a ſpecial Act made in that caſe,*
is to be preſum'd of full age as ſoon as ever he is born, ſo that he may claim
entry and ſeiſin of the ſaid dukedom the ſame day he is born, and ought by
not to obtain it, as if he had fully compleated the age of twenty one. But
(according to the expreſs words of the grant,) is limited to *firſt born* Son,
or heir. So that *Richard* de *Bourdeaux* ſon to the black prince was not
duke of *Cornwall* by virtue hereof, but was created by charter; Nor was
Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter to king *Edward* IV. dutcheſs hereof, becauſe it
was limited to the ſon: Neither was *Henry* VIII. in the life-time of his fa-
ther, after the death of prince *Arthur*, duke hereof, becauſe he was not el-
deſt ſon.

The duke of *Cornwall* hath alſo royalties and prerogatives in certain acti-
ons and in the ſtannaries, wrecks, cuſtoms, *&c.* for which, and the like, he
hath ſeveral officers under him. But theſe matters are laid open, more
fully and fully, by *Richard Carew* of *Anthony* (a perſon no leſs eminent
for his honourable anceſtors, than his own virtue and learning,) who hath
deſcrib'd and drawn this county, not in little, but at large, and whom I
cannot but acknowledge to have been my chief guide through it.

DEVONSHIRE.

THE hither country of the *Danmonii*, already mention'd, is commonly call'd *Denſhire* and *Devonſhire*, by the *Corn*[ish] *tains Dennan*, by the *Welſh-Britans Duffinient*, that is, vallies, becauſe they live every where low, in the bottom the engliſh *Saxons Depnarcyn*, from whence comes the L *Devonia*, and the contracted name, us'd by the vulgar, *Denſhire*; and from the *Danes*, as ſome, who would be thought antiquaries, do fa maintain this country, as it ſhoots out on both ſides into a greater bre than *Cornwall*, ſo has it more commodious harbours on each. It miles broad; and 61 long; and has in it abundance of rivers, more pe than any county in *England*, and bridges to the number of 166, acco to the general computation. Nor has it been leſs rich in tin-mines, ch ally towards the weſt part, an evidence whereof, are the four ſtannar juriſdiction with as many ſtannary-courts and towns of coynage, viz. *Ti Taviſtocke*, *Aſhburton*, and *Chagford*. By theſe, are choſen from t time, at the direction of the lord *Warden*, certain jurates to meet in a ral ſeſſion of parliament at *Crockern-Torr*, a high hill in the midſt of *more*. This parliament has power to make laws touching the ſtate mines and ſtnnaries, a volume whereof was granted in queen *Eliz* time, the earl of *Bedford* being then lord warden. Such regular and proceedings, give us an eſtimate of the great quantities that muſt have been formerly dug up here, the regulation whereo require ſo much ſolemnity. Beſides, it expreſly appears (as was obſe *Cornwall*) that in king *John*'s time, *Devonſhire* produced greater ſtore than that county; the coynage of this being ſet to farm for 100 *l.* and that only for 100 marks. But now, *Cornwall* has almoſt the whole and tho' they ſtill work in ſome parts of this county, it turns to no co ble advantage: However, the government remains, and the *Devon* ners are not under the lorpd lieutenant of the county, but form a militia by themſelves.


Sr GEORGE'S
CHAN=
NEL
RART
OF
ORNWAL
Hartland poynt
Mort Stone
Mort Baye
Bag poynt
Credie baye
Branstable
Barnstable
Bedford
Horton
Stratton
Houlsworth
Launceston
Okehampton
Tiverton
Crediton
Moulton
Plimouth
Saltashtok
Rame head
Plymouth haven
Cawsham bay
Exeter
Chudleigh
Morton
Totnes
Dartmouth
Kingsbridge
Salcombe haven
Startpoint
Scale of 10 Miles

A MAPP of DEVON SHIRE With its Hundreds



A Table of ye Hundreds in Devonshire

1. Exminster.	12. South moulton.	23. Woodford.
2. Wullton.	13. Sherwell.	24. Lifton.
3. East Budley.	14. Brantou.	25. Tavestock.
4. St Mary Ottery.	15. Fremington.	26. Roborough.
5. Clifton.	16. North Taunton.	27. Plimpton.
6. Hayrudge.	17. Winckley.	28. Irmington.
7. Shaymock.	18. Shebbeare.	29. Stanborough.
8. Halberton.	19. Hartland.	30. Coleridge.
9. Tiverton.	20. Black Torrington.	31. Heytor.
10. Bampton.	21. Creditou.	32. Tinbridge.
11. Witheridge.	22. West Budley.	33. Exmister.

R. P. sculp

There were formerly in *Devonſhire*, mines alſo of gold and ſilver, as appears from ſeveral grants made by king *Edward* III. and other kings, with a reſervation of the tenths to the church. Iron-mines have been diſcover'd too; but for want of fuel, and for ſome other reaſons, they are not yet wrought to perfection. Mineral *Chalybiate* waters are at *Cleave Taviſtocke*, *Lamerton*, *Lifton Bampton*, and other places in the county; which is alſo enamel'd with finer meadows, and ſhelter'd with more woods than *Cornwall*, and very full of towns and houſes. But the ſoil in ſome places is again as poor and lean; which however makes a good return to the husbandman, if he has skill in husbandry, with diligence, and a good purſe. For indeed there are not many places in *England*, where land requires greater charge in the tillage: It is well nigh barren in many parts, unleſs it be improv'd by a certain ſand from the ſea, which renders it very fruitful, and as it were *impregnates* the glebe; and therefore in places more remote from the ſhore, it is dear: Which dearneſs has, I ſuppoſe, in ſome places put them under a neceſſity of uſing marle, lime, and the turf of the ground skin'd off, and burnt to aſhes; a method of agriculture very agreeable to *Virgil*'s rule,

With crackling flames to burn the barren earth,
Has oft produc'd an advantageous birth;
Whether an higher nutriment it get,
And ſecret vigour from the genial heat:
Ore 'cauſe the noxious dregs being purg'd by fire,
The uſeleſs juices in moiſt fumes perſpire:
Or that the heat relax the ſtubborn maſs,
And find new ways for nouriſhment to paſs,
And feed the tender plants: Or make
It hard, ſo that it no impreſſion take
From the ſoft courtſhip of deſcending ſhowers,
Or from the ſun's, or winds more active powers.

That the *Romans* were in poſſeſſion of this county, appears from the *Foſſe-way* croſſing it, and from *Roman* coyns dug up in ſeveral places. As a gold coyn of *Nero* in *Exeter*, and another of *Theodoſius* at a place near *Barnſtaple*; ſeveral ſilver coyns alſo, as of *Severus* and other emperors; and of braſs a great many.

There were indeed two *Roman* ways, which led to *Iſca Dannoniorum*; one from *Durnovaria*, by the ſea-ſide, taking in *Morldunum*; the other from *Iſckalis*, now call'd *Ilcheſter*. The broken parts of both which ways are ſtill

ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral places. The *Weſt Saxons* made this county for ſome time the ſeat of their kingdom; and after their removal thence, committed it to the cuſtody of the earls, which were at that time officers. The *Danes* mightily infeſted it, and left behind them, on ſeveral high hills, a rude kind of fortification, commonly call'd *Danes-caſtle*.

In deſcribing this county, my way ſhall be, firſt along the weſt-ſide, bounded by *Tamar*; then along the ſouth, which lies upon the ocean; from thence along the eaſtern-bounds where it touches upon the counties of *Dorſet* and *Somerſet*, I will return to the north-coaſt, which is bounded by the Severn-ſea.

The *Tamar* (which divides theſe counties,) firſt, on this ſide, receives the little river *Lid* from the eaſt; upon which ſtands *Lidſton*, a ſmall market-town; and *Lidford* now a little village, but formerly a famous town, grievouſly ſhatter'd by the *Danes*, in the year 997. This town (as it appears from that book wherein *William* I. took his ſurvey of *England*) was wont to be taxed at the ſame time and at the ſame manner, that *London* was. It had then in it a 140 burgeſſes; and, as an argument of what importance it was, the cuſtody of the caſtle here was committed from time to time to perſons of the greateſt quality. Whatever were the cauſes of it's decay, the mayoralty of it is now loſt; and whereas it ſent burgeſſes to parliament, it was diſcharged from that obligation, *propter paupertatem*, in conſideration of it's poverty. This little river *Lid* being here at the bridge pent up with rocks has made it ſelf ſo deep a fall into the ground by continual working, that the water is not to be ſeen, but only the murmur of it to be heard to the ſmall admiration of thoſe that paſs over.

From *Lidford*, two or three miles weſtward ſtands *Brent-Torr*, a name ſignifying a high rocky place. On the top of this high hill, is a parish church, dedicated to St. *Mickael*, and a famous ſea-mark. And hard by, there is a village nam'd the *Gubbins*, the inhabitants whereof have been by miſtake repreſented as a lawleſs *Scythian* ſort of people.

Lower down, the *Teave*, a little river, runs into the *Tamar*; upon which flouriſhes *Teaviſtoke*, commonly *Taviſtoke*, formerly famous for an abbey, which *Ordulph* the ſon of *Ordgar* earl of *Devonſhire*, being admoniſh'd by a viſion from heaven, built about the year of our Lord 961. *The place* (ſays Malmesbury) *is pleaſant for the convenience of wood, for fine fiſhing, and for an uniform church: The banks of the river lie along juſt by the ſhops, which by the force of its current waſhes away all the rubbiſh caſt into it. Saint* Rummon a *biſhop is much talk'd of here, where he lies bury'd. And there is ſeen in the ſame monaſtery the ſepulcher of* Ordgar; *and the huge bulk of* Mauſolæus *his ſon, is look'd upon as a wonderful ſight; he is call'd* Ordulf, *of a gigantick growth, and prodigious ſtrength:* For he could break the bars of gates, and go along a little river

river ten foot broad, ſtridewiſe, if we may credit the ſaid *William*. But it had hardly continu'd thirty three years from the foundation, till it was burnt down by the *Danes*. Yet it flouriſh'd again, and, by a laudable inſtitution, here were lectures of our old mother-tongue (I mean the *Saxon-language*; which is now grown into diſuſe,) continu'd down to the laſt age, leſt (that which hath almoſt now happen'd,) the knowledge of it ſhould be quite loſt. This School, in which the *Saxon*-tongue was taught, is ſtill in being; and (as I have heard) there was alſo in the beginning of the late civil wars, a *Saxon-Grammar* printed, in *Taviſtoke*. Upon the ſame deſign, to preſerve that ancient language, and to promote the antiquities of our kingdom, Sir *Henry Spelman* founded a *Saxon*-lecture in *Cambridge*. This town has given ſeveral great lawyers to the ſtate; as, Sir *John Glanvill* a judge, ſerjeant *Glanvill* his ſon, and Sir *John Maynard*; and hath been further honoured by giving the title of marquiſs to the dukes of *Bedford*. Two miles from hence, is *Lamerton*-pariſh in the church whereof is an ancient monument of the *Tremaines*, where may be ſeen the effigies of *Nicholas* and *Andrew Tremaine*, twins, who were alike in all lineaments, ſuffer'd like pain tho' at a diſtance, deſir'd to ſleep, walk, eat, and drink together, and were ſlain together at *Newhaven* in *France*, *An.* 1663. Neater to the ſea, is *Beare-Ferris*, ſo nam'd from the family call'd *De Ferrariis*, anciently famous in this county. In this pariſh, were ſilver-mines in the reign of king *Henry* VI. which were re-enter'd by Sir *John Maynard*, but have been ſince diſcontinu'd. The *Tamar*, having receiv'd the *Teave*, comes to it's mouth; where the *Plim*, in conjunction with it, rolls into the ſea, and gives name to the town *Plimouth* ſeated on it, which was formerly call'd *Sutton*, this ſeems to have been two towns; for we find mention in the records of parliament, of *Sutton Vautort*, and *Sutton Prior*, as it partly belong'd to the family of the *Valletorts*, and partly to the *Priors*. In the laſt age, from a ſmall fiſher-village it grew to a large town; and is not inferior to a city, in number of inhabitants, as we ſee it, at this day. The convenience of the harbour was the cauſe of this riſe which receives the greateſt ſhips that are without ſpreading the ſails, and yields them ſafe harbour tho' never ſo big, as well in the *Tamar*, as the *Plim*. Here are alſo two docks, began in 1691; and finiſh'd in 1693, and of late years, a new yard was erected, 1200 foot ſquare; and a dry-dock, capable of a firſt-rate ſhip, with a baſon before above 200 foot-ſquare; as alſo dwelling-houſes, ſtore-houſes, a rope-houſe, and all other conveniences required to an *Arſenal*, calculated for the ſervice of ſo important a place. Beſides, it is ſufficiently fortify'd againſt any. For in the very middle, the iſle of St. *Nicholas* of two acre or more, before it; which is alſo fortify'd. And then the harbour, as the town is ſided on both ſides, and ſhut up with a chain croſſing it, upon occaſion;

being

being fortify'd on the ſouth by baſtion; and by a caſtle, on the next hill, built, (as is thought) by the *Valletorts*. They have alſo a royal citadel, built by king *Charles* II. conſiſting of five regular baſtions and 165 guns; which, added to the numbers in the other fortifications, make in all, 253. The whole town is divided into four tribes, which we call *Wards*, and which are all govern'd by a mayor, conſtituted by *Henry* VI. and under him, formerly, a captain was appointed to every ſingle ward, each of whom had alſo his inferior officers. It had anciently but one church, till a new one was erected in the ſixteenth year of king *Charles* I. and conſecrated in the reign of king *Charles* II. As to the fable of *Corinæus*'s wreſtling with *Gogmagog* the giant, in this place, it may ſuffice to ſubjoin a verſe or two from the *Architrenius*, concerning our giants:

With thoſe rude monſters, bred in wars and blood,
Brave *Corinæus* clogg'd the *Stygian* flood:
High in the air huge *Gogmagog* he ſhook,
And pitch'd the vile *Antæus* from his rock:
His hated carcaſe on the waves was toſs'd
And *Cerberus* ſtarted at his monſtrous ghoſt.

The rock, from which the giant is reported to have been thruſt, is now called *the Haw*, a hill between the town and the ſea; on the top whereof, which is a delicate plain, there is a very pleaſant proſpect on all ſides, and a curious compaſs for the uſe of ſailors. The town is not very large, but it's name and reputation is very great among all nations; and this, not ſo much for the conveniency of the harbour, as for the valour and worth of the inhabitants. For, to mention no more, this town gave being to Sir *Francis Drake*, knight; in maritime affairs, without diſpute, the greateſt captain of our age. Who firſt, ro repair the loſſes he had ſuffer'd from the *Spaniards*, as I have heard himſelf ſay, did, as it were, block up the bay of *Mexico* for two years together, with continual defeats, and travell'd over the ſtreights of *Darien*; whence having deſcry'd the *South Sea* (as the *Spaniards* call it) it made ſuch impreſſion on his mind, that, like *Themiſtocles*, inflam'd with the trophies of *Miltiades*, he thought he ſhould be wanting to himſelf, his country, and his own glory, if he did not complete the diſcovery. Therefore, in the year 1577, ſetting ſail from hence, aad entering that ſea by the ſtreights of *Magellan*; thro' the aſſiſtance of God, and his own conduct, tho' not without great change of fortune, he, next to *Magellanus*, ſail'd quite round the world, in two years and ten months time. Whereupon a certain author has thus complimented him:

Drake,

Drake, who in triumph round the world haſt gone,
Whom both the Lines and both the Poles have known;
Should envious men their juſt applauſe deny,
Thy worth wou'd be the ſubject of the sky:
Phabus himſelf wou'd ſing thy deathleſs praiſe,
And grace his fellow trav'ller with his rays.

But the reſt of his exploits, and theſe of others born here, who have been famous for naval atchievements, being not within the compaſs of my deſign, are left to hiſtorians. I will only add, with reference to Sir *Francis Drake*, that as he and Mr. *Candiſh* began their voyage from this town, for diſcovery of the unknown parts of the world; ſo by his contrivance and at his own proper charge, there was brought hither a large ſtream from a great diſtance, through many windings and turnings, which is a mighty benefit to the place; carrying ſeveral mills, and ſerving the other common uſes of the inhabitants. Nor have I any thing father to ſay here, but that in the reign of *William Rufus*, *Ealphege*, a learned and a marry'd prieſt, flouriſh'd in this place. For before the year 1102. the clergy were not prohibited to marry, here in *England*. Then, *Anſelm* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* firſt introduced this violence to the holy ſcriptures and human nature, as our hiſtorians of that age complain; and as *Henry* of *Huntingdon* expreſsly ſays of *Anſelm*: *He prohibited the Clergy of* England *to have wives, who before that were not prohibited. Some thought it a matter of great purity, others of great danger; leſt affecting* cleanneſs *above the power* of human nature, *they ſhould ſink into horrible* uncleanneſſes, *to the great ſcandal of the Chriſtian name.*

To conclude; this place hath given the title of earl, firſt, to *Charles Fitz-Charles*, created baron of *Dartmouth*, Viſcount Totneſs, and earl of *Plimouth*, in the year 1675; and ſince, to *Thomas* lord *Windſor*, advanced to the higher honour of earl of *Plimouth*, in the thirty fourth year of king *Charles* II.

Off of *Plimouth*, is the *Edyſtone*, a moſt dangerous rock to ſailors, till a light-houſe (begun in the year 1696.) was erected thereon; which being blown down by the dreadful ſtorm in *November* 1703, an act of parliament was paſſed in the fourth year of queen *Anne*, for the erecting of a new one, by certain duties upon all veſſels.

Inward from *Plimouth*, and not far from the river *Plim*, ſtands *Plimpton*, a pretty populous market-town, where are ſtill the remains and deform'd ruins of a caſtle, of which many held by a *Tenure*, which our lawyers call *Caſtle-Guard*. For this was the chief ſeat of the *Redverſies* or *Riparii* [it is written both ways] who were barons of *Plimpton* and earls of *Devonſhire*. Theſe

were accounted *The Head of the honour of the county of* Devon, having [illegible] fees appendant. Afterwards, by marriage, the caſtle, manour, and [illegible] *Plimton*, together with the earldom of *Devonſhire*, and other large eſtates paſs into the family of the *Courtneys*. Next to this ſtood *Plimpton* St. Mary, which loſt its glory not long ſince, when the college of *Canons* there was ſuppreſſed, which *William Warelewaſt*, biſhop of *Exeter*, had formerly built. [illegible] been before a college of a dean and four prebendaries, founded by [illegible] of the *Saxon* kings; but becauſe they would not part with their wives, [illegible] were diſplaced by the ſaid biſhop, and a priory of Canons-regular erected in their ſtead. More eaſtward, appears *Modbery*, a ſmall town, which belongs to the famous and ancient family of the *Campernulphs*, who are alſo called *Campo Arnulphi*, and by the vulgar *Champernouns*, knights; and who received a great acceſſion of honour by the heir of the *Vautorts*. From the *Peteſcues* of *Wimpſton* in this pariſh, was deſcended chancellor *Peteſcue*, author of the famous book *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*. Between *Modbery* and *King's-bridge*, is a fair bridge over the river *Avon*, about a quarter of a mile long. At the mouth of the river, ſtands St. *Michael's Rock*, ſeveral acres in circumference; in which are to be ſeen the remains of an old chapel. This ancient rhyme ſeems to refer to it:

> Where *Avon*'s waters with the ſea are mixt,
> St. *Michael firmly* on a rock is fixt.

King's-bridge is a pretty market-town, pleaſantly ſituated, and particularly deſerves our notice for the benefaction of a late charitable citizen of *Exeter*, who founded here a free-ſchool, and endow'd it. Near which is *Dodbrooke*, ſingular for a cuſtom of paying tythe to the parſon [illegible] a certain [illegible] of liquor, call'd *White Ale*.

From the mouth of the *Plim*, where the ſouth ſhore of the [illegible] parts begins, the country goes on with a wide and large front as far as *Start*, in Saxon *Steort*, a promontory, as the word ſignifies in that language: But [illegible] the ſhore winds back again, the river *Dert* breaks through it, which [illegible] from the inner part of the county, and runs ſwiftly through [illegible] mountainous places, thence call'd *Dertmore*, where *Load-ſtones* have been found. Then the *Dert* very ſteep and ſtrong (waſhing away with it [illegible] ſands from the *Stannaries*, which by degrees choak up its channel) runs thro' the foreſt of *Dertmore*, where *David de Sciredun* held lands of *Sciredun* and *Sleipgh* by knight-ſervice, on condition that he ſhould find [illegible] arrows, when our lord the king came to hunt in that foreſt. It was firſt made a foreſt by king *John*, and had anciently in it many tin-works. It is [illegible] large; being 22 miles in length and 14 in breadth, and yielding paſture [illegible]

summer to near 100,000 sheep, besides a proportionable number of other cattle. It also supplies north, west, and south, with variety of pleasant rivers. Then the *Dert* runs by *Dertinton*, the barony heretofore of the *Martins* (who were lords of *Keins* in *Wales*,) as far as *Totnes*. This ancient little town, hanging from west to east upon the side of a hill, was formerly of great note. *It did not geld* (according to domesday) *but when* Exeter *gelded; and then, it yielded* 40 *pence, and was to serve upon any expedition either by land or sea. And* Totnes, Barne-staple, *and* Lidford, *serv'd, as much as* Exeter *paid.*. King *John* granted them a power of chusing a mayor for their chief magistrate; and *Edward* I. endowed it with many privileges, and afterwards it was fortify'd with a castle by the *Zouches*; as the inhabitants believe. It was formerly the estate of *Judeal* sirnam'd *de Totnes*; afterwards of *William Brwier*, a personnobly descended, by one of whose daughters it came to the *Brooses*, and from them by a daughter likewise to *George de Cantelupo* lord of *Abergevenney*; whose sister *Melicent* being marry'd to *Eudo de la Zouche*, brought it to the barons *Zouche*; and in them it continu'd, till *John* baron *Zouche*, being banish'd for siding with *Richard* III. *Henry* VII. gave it, as I have heard, to *Peter Edgecomb*, a person both wise and noble. In the reign of king *Charles* I. it gave the title of earl to *George* lord *Carew* of *Clopton*, son of Dr. *George Carew* dean of *Windsor*; and in that of king *Charles* II. the title of viscount to *Charles Fitz-Charles* earl of *Plimouth*.

Hard by this town stands *Bery-Pomroy*, denominated from the *Pomeries*, one of the noblest families in these parts; who, somewhat more to the east and a little further from the river had a very neat castle. They derive their pedigree from *Radulph de Pomery*, who, in *William* the conqueror's time, held *Wich*, *Dunzwineſdon*, *Brawerdine*, *Pudeford*, *Horewood*, *Toriland*, *Heleigh*, and this *Berie*, &c. The noble lordship of *Bery-Pomery*, in the reign of king *Edward* VI. came into the family of the *Seymours*. From *Totnes*, the neighbouring shore was heretofore call'd *Totnese*; and the *British* history tells us, that *Brutus*, the founder of the *British* nation landed here; and *Harullanus*, in the poetical way, following the same authority, writes thus.

From hence great *Brute* with his *Achates* steer'd,
Full fraught with *Gallic* spoils their ships appear'd;
The winds and gods were all at their command,
And happy *Totnes* shew'd them grateful land.

The river *Dert* (which I spoke of) being past *Totnes*-bridge, where it sets up the sand brought along with it from the *Stannaries*, sees nothing on either side, but fertile grounds, till it comes at last, *slowly*, and as it were

tired, to it's mouth; where, upon a long hill, ſtands *Dertmouth*, which by reaſon of the commodiouſneſs of an harbour, defended by two caſtles, is a town well-ſtor'd with merchants, and with the beſt ſhips. It has a mayor, by the grant of king *Edward* III. The *Zouches*, *Nicholas de Teukesbury*, and the *Brients* (according to ſeveral changes of the times,) were formerly owners of it; and it hath often ſtourly reſiſted the *French*. In the year 1404. Monſieur *de Caſtell*, a *French-man*, who had ſhut up the trade in theſe parts by piracies, and had burnt *Plimouth*; whilſt he attack'd this place, was ſet upon by the peaſants and the women, and cut off with his whole party. In the year 1682, *George Legg*, was advanced to the title of baron of *Dartmouth*; and in the year 1710. *William Legg*, his ſon, being principal ſecretary of ſtate to her majeſty queen *Anne*, was advanced to the honour of earl of *Dertmouth*. I muſt not here forget to mention *Stoke Fleming*, which lies hard by; and (taking it's name from a nobleman of *Flanders* formerly lord of it,) came by a daughter of *Mohun* to the *Carews*.

The ſhore going back from hence, the ſea preſſes after it, and by this great in-let makes a bay of about 12 miles in compaſs, call'd at this day *Torbay*, which is a ſecure harbour for ſhips when the wind is at ſouth-weſt; and has a ſmall village ſituate upon it of the ſame name, the ſeat of the *Bruiers* heretofore, (who in *Richard* I. and king *John*'s time, were men of great note;) but afterwards of the *Wakes*. Of late years, it has been memorable for the landing of the prince of *Orange*, afterwards king *William* III. for the deliverance of theſe kingdoms, when they were upon the point to be deſtroyed and ſwallowed up by popery and arbitrary power. *Mary-Church*, in this place, was the firſt church founded in the county, according to tradition. Near this bay, is a remarkable well, call'd *Lay-well*, which ebbs and flows and ſometimes bubbles like a boiling pot. The water (as clear as chryſtal, very cold in ſummer, and never freezing in winter) is accounted by the neighbours to be medicinal in ſome fevers: It appears not to have any communication with the ſea, nor is the water brackiſh at all. The ebb and flow is every hour, and about 5 or 6 inches.

Farther up in the country is *Moreley*, remarkable for it's church, built on this occaſion. In the time of *Edward* I. Sir *Peter Fiſhacre*, knight (upon a controverſy between him and the parſon of *Woodley* about tythes) killed the parſon in a rage; and, being conſtrain'd to anſwer the ſame at Rome, was by the pope condemn'd to build this church; where he lies buried. From hence towards *Dertmore*, lies *Wythicombe*; where, in a violent storm of thunder and lightning, a ball of fire came into the church in time of divine ſervice, kill'd 3 perſons, wounded 62, turn'd the ſeats upſide down, and did great damage. A like ſtorm happen'd at *Crews-Marſh*

this county, which rent the ſteeple, melted the bells, lead, and glaſs; and nothing eſcap'd but the communion-Plate.

But to return to the ſhore: Near *Torlay*, is a ſeat of the *Ridgways*, a family of good antiquity in this country; and near the ſame place ſtands *Cockington*, where the family of the *Carys*, different from that of the *Carews*, have long flouriſh'd in great repute; from which the barons of *Hunſdon* (of whom in their proper place) are deſcended, as alſo the noble families of the earls of *Dover* and *Monmouth*; and viſcount *Falkland* in *North-Britain*. A little higher ſtands *Hacombe*, where formerly liv'd *Jordan Fitz-Stephens* knight, denominated, from this place, *de Hacombe*; by whoſe daughter *Cecily* it came to the family of the *Archdeacons*; from whom likewiſe, by *Hugh Courteney*, it came at laſt to the *Carews*, whoſe family is very famous and numerous in theſe parts. For *Jane* the daughter of this *Hugh*, and heir to her mother, being marry'd to *Nicholas*, baron *Carew*, had many children; and their eldeſt ſon *Thomas* proving undutiful to his mother, ſhe ſettled this fair inheritance upon the three younger ſons (from whom are deſcended the three families of *Carews*, *de Hacombe*, *Anthony* and *Bery*) and upon *John Vere*, her ſon by a ſecond husband, from whom were deſcended the earls of *Oxford*, of that name.

Hence we came to *Teignemouth*, a ſmall village upon the mouth of the river *Teigne*, from which alſo it takes the name; where the *Danes*, who were ſent before to diſcover the ſituation of *Britain* and the harbours, firſt landed, about the year of Chriſt 800, and having kill'd the governor of the place, had that early preſage of future victory, which afterwards they purſued with the greateſt cruelty, thro' the whole iſland. Of late years alſo, the ſame town was burnt by the *French*. More inward, near the riſe of the *Teigne*, ſtands *Chegford*, where formerly flouriſh'd the famous family of the *Prows*: Then *Chidley* or *Chidleigh*, which gives name to the numerous family of the *Chidleys*, and the title of baron to the noble family of the *Cliffords*; of which family, Sir *Thomas*, lord high treaſurer of *England*, was created baron of *Chudleigh* by king *Charles* II. Near the mouth of *Teigne* is *Biſhops-Teignton*, ſo call'd becauſe it belong'd to the biſhops; where, upon account of a ſanctuary in it, *John de Grandiſon* a *Burgundian*, biſhop of *Exeter*, foreſeeing what might happen in after-times, built a very fine houſe, that his ſucceſſors (as the words of his will are) *might have where to lay their heads, in caſe their temporalities were at any time ſeiz'd into the king's hands.* Yet ſo far was this from anſwering his deſign, that his ſucceſſors are now deriv'd of this houſe, and almoſt all the reſt.

Six miles from hence, the river *Iſca*, mention'd by *Ptolemy*, which the *Britiſh* call *Iſc*, and the *Saxons Ex*, flows out of a large mouth into the ocean. Whether it took the name from *Iſcam*, which ſignifies in *Britiſh* elders,

elders, I cannot tell. Some derive it from reeds, which the *Britains* call *Hesk*, and with which the northern nations (as did the *Britains*) thatched their houſes, and faſten'd the joints of their ſhips. But ſeeing no reeds are found here, I cannot agree to it. The head of this river lies in *Exmore*, a filthy barren ground near the *Severn*-ſea; the greateſt part whereof is in *Somerſhire*. The river riſes after a manner that is not very common, and which may be of uſe towards explaining of the origin of fountains. Some of the hills in this moor are very high, and on the top of one of the higheſt is a plain, almoſt of a round figure, near a mile in diameter, which is full of little ſprings; and there being no declivity nor eaſy paſſage for the waters, they ſwell upon the ſurface of the earth. The perpetuity of which waters, without any regard to the ſeaſons of the year or weather, ſeems to be an argument, that they are not condenſed from the clouds or miſts, but brought hither by an under-current.

In *Exmore*, ſome monuments of antiquity ſtill remain; namely, ſtones ſet in the form of a triangle, in ſome places; in others, of a circle; and one among them is inſcrib'd with *Saxon* or rather *Daniſh* letters, for the direction of thoſe, as it ſhould ſeem, who travell'd that road. Alſo, of later years, ſeveral Urns, with *Roman* coins in them (and ſome *Greek*) have been found, in digging of the barrows. *Ex* or *Iſe* flows from hence ſouthward, firſt by *Twiſordton*, ſo call'd from the two fords, at preſent *Tiverton*, to which the woollen trade brings both gain and glory, and which, both caſtle and manour, by match with one of the coheirs of the *Courtneys*, came to the *Trelawnies*; but has been for ſome time in the family of the *Wyſs*. Here, *Peter Blundell*, a clothier, built a free-ſchool, and endow'd it with a liberal maintenance, for a ſchool-maſter and uſher. He gave alſo two fellowſhips and as many ſcholarſhips to *Sidney* college in *Cambridge*, and one fellowſhip and two ſcholarſhips to *Baliol* college in *Oxford*, for ſcholars bred-up in this ſchool. Then it runs through pretty rich grounds, and is enlarged chiefly by two little rivers, *Creden* from the weſt, and *Colyub* from the eaſt. Upon *Creden*, in the time of the ancient *Saxon* church, there flouriſh'd a biſhop's ſee in a town of the ſame name, call'd *Cridiantun*, now contracted into *Kirton*, where was born that *Winifrid*, or *Boniface*, who converted the *Heſſians*, *Thuringers*, and *Friſians*, of *Germany*, to the Chriſtian religion. He was archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and having had the title of legate of the apoſtolical ſee under ſeveral popes, was martyr'd by the *Pagans*, *Ann.* 354; and his day in the *Roman* Kalender is the fifth of *June*. Now, it is only remarkable for a thin market. It had a houſe of the biſhops of *Exeter*; and within the memory of the laſt age ſave one, was much more noted for a college of twelve prebendaries, who are now diſſolv'd.

sold'd; and the house, together with the manour, having been alienated to the *Killegrews*, there do not remain the least footsteps of the bishop's having any concern there, except the name of a great meadow, call'd *My Lord's Meadow*. The river *Columb*, which comes from the east, washes *Columbton*, a small town, that takes its name from it; which king *Alfred* by his last will left to his younger son; and, near *Poltimore*, the seat of the famous and very ancient family of *Bampfield*, it runs into the river *Isc*. And now the *Isc* (grown bigger, but dividing it self into many streams, very convenient for mills,) flows to the city *Isca*, to which it leaves it's name. Hence *Alexander Neckam* (once *Prior* of St. *Nicholas* in this place)

To *Exeter* the famous *Ex* gives name.

The city is call'd *Isca* by *Ptolemy*, by *Antonius Isca Dumnoniorum* for *Dumnoniorum*, and by others falsly *Augusta*, as if the second legion call'd *Augusta* had quarter'd here; whereas that was garrison'd at the *Isca Silurum*, as shall be shewn hereafter. It was call'd by the *Saxons Exaxan-ceaster* and *Exan-ceaster*; and *Monketon*, from the monks; at this day, it is called *Excester*, by the Latins *Exonia*, and by the *Welsh*, *Caer-isk*, *Caer-uth* and *Pencaer*, that is, a chief city. For *Caer* (that I may note it once for all) signifies a city in *British*; hence they call *Jerusalem*, *Caer Salem*; *Paris*, *Caer Paris*; *Rome*, *Caer Ruffayne*. So *Carthage*, in the *Punick* tongue, as *Solinus* testifies, was call'd *Cartheia*, that is to say, a new city. Among the *Syrians* likewise, I have heard that *Caer* signi y'd a city; and seeing it is taken for granted, that the whole world has been peopled by them, it seems very probable, that they also left their tongue to posterity, as the mother of all future languages. *This city*, (as Malmesbury says) *tho' the ground about it is wet and filthy, and will scarce bear a crop of bad oats, often yielding empty ears without grain; yet, by reason of it's stately buildings, as well as the richness of the citizens, and resort of strangers, all kind of merchandise is so plentiful in it, that one need lack nothing there that is useful or necessary.* It stands on the east side of the *Isc*, upon a hill, of an easy and gentle rise to the east, and steep to the west; encompass'd with a ditch, and very strong walls, with many towers. The city is a mile and an half in circuit, with suburbs shooting out here and there, for a long way: It contains 15 parish-churches (several of which were, in the late civil wars, expos'd to publick sale, by the common cryer) and in the highest part, near the east-gate, it has a castle call'd *Rugemount*, formerly the seat of the *West-Saxon* kings, afterwards of the earls of *Cornwall*; which now has nothing to recomend it, besides

beſides its antiquity and ſituation, being ſuppoſed to be the work of the *Romans*, and, as a place of great truſt and importance, committed from time to time to perſons of the beſt rank. For it commands the city under it, and the country on all ſides; and has a very pleaſant proſpect to the ſea. In the eaſt part of the city ſtands the cathedral, in the midſt of the houſes quite round it; built by king *Athelſtan*, as the private hiſtory of this place witneſſes, in honour to St. *Peter*, and fill'd by him with monks; at laſt, the monks being removed to *Weſtminſter*, *Edward* the Confeſſor graced it with an epiſcopal ſee, having transfer'd the biſhopricks of *Cornwall* and *Kirton* hither, and made *Leofric*, a *Britton*, firſt biſhop of it; whoſe ſucceſſors have much improved the church, both in buildings and revenues. It was for a long time no bigger than our lady's chapel. In the year 1112. *William Warlewaſt*, biſhop, laid the foundation of the preſent choir. Two hundred years after, *Peter Quivell*, another of the biſhops, began the nave of the preſent church; to which *John Grandiſon*, alſo biſhop, added an iſle on each ſide. *An.* 1450. biſhop *Lacy* built the chapter-houſe; and about the ſame time, the dean and chapter built the cloiſter. So that this church was about 400 years in building; and yet the ſymmetry of it is ſuch, as one might eaſily imagine the work of one ſingle man. The organ here is accounted one of the largeſt in *England*, the greateſt pipe being 15 inches diameter, which is 2 more than that of the celebrated organ at *Ulme*. *William Bruer*, the ninth biſhop from *Leofric*, in lieu of the diſplaced monks, brought in a dean and twenty-four prebendaries. In that age flouriſhed *Joſephus Iſcanus*, who owes both birth and name to this place; a poet of very lively wit, whoſe pieces were ſo highly approv'd, that they met with an applauſe equal to the ancients. For his poem of the *Trojan War* has been twice publiſh'd in *Germany*, under the name of *Cornelius Nepos*.

This city alſo gave birth to *Henrietta Maria*, youngeſt daughter to king *Charles* I. to *William Petre*, who was ſecretary and privy-counſellor to king *Henry* VIII. *Edward* VI. queen *Mary*, and queen *Elizabeth*, and ſeven times embaſſador in foreign parts; and laſtly to Sir *Thomas Bodley*, employed by queen *Elizabeth* to ſeveral foreign courts, but eſpecially famous for founding the publick library in the univerſity of *Oxford*, call'd after his own name.

When *Iſca* firſt fell under the *Roman* juriſdiction, does not plainly appear. I am ſo far from affirming that it was conquer'd by *Veſpaſian*, as *Geoffery Monmouth* aſſerts, when, in the time of *Claudius* the emperor, *Suetonius* tells us he was firſt ſhown to the world, that I rather think it was ſo far from built ſo early. Yet in the time of the *Antonines* it was probably of no note, for *Antoninus* continues his *Itinerary* to this city, and no further.

fell not absolutely under the dominion of the *Saxons*, before the 465th year after their coming into *Britain*: For then *Athelstan* forced the *Britans* out of it (who, before that, lived in the city, in equal power with the *Saxons*) and drove them beyond the river *Tamar*, and encompassed the city with a ditch, a wall of square stone, and bulwarks. Since that time our kings have granted it many privileges; and among the rest (as we read in the book of *William* the conqueror) *This city did not geld, but when London, York, and Winchester gelded; that was half a mark of silver for a knight's fee. And in case of an expedition by land or by sea, it serv'd after the rate of five hides.* It hath also, from time to time, suffer'd many and great disasters; once spoil'd by the outrage of the *Danes*, in the year of our Lord 875; but most dismally, by *Sueno* the *Dane*, *An.* 1003 (being betray'd by one *Hugh* a *Norman*, the governor) when it was laid level from the east to the west gate. And had scarce begun to recruit, when *William* the conqueror laid close siege to it; at which time, the citizens not only shut their gates against him, but scoff'd him with many bitter reflections. However, part of their wall happening to fall down (which the historians of that age attribute to the hand of providence) a surrender quickly follow'd. "At that time, *as it is in the said Survey*," the king had in this city 300 houses; it paid 15 pounds a year. Eight and forty houses were destroy'd after the king came *into England*." After this it was press'd by three sieges; yet easily escap'd them all. First by *Hugh Courtney* earl of *Devonshire*, in the civil war between the houses of *York* and *Lancaster*: again, by *Perkin Warbeck*, a sham counterfeit prince, who, tho' a young man, and of mean descent; yet, pretending to be *Richard* duke of *York*, the second son of king *Edward* IV. rais'd a very dangerous war; for their opposition to whom, the king gave great commendation to the citizens, and bestow'd upon them the sword he then wore, to be borne before the mayor, and also a cap of maintenance. Thirdly, by the seditious *Cornish*, in the year 1549, when the citizens, tho' in extreme want of all sorts of provisions, continued loyal, till *John* baron *Russel* rais'd the siege. For which deliverance the 6th of *Aug.* was appointed before, and is still, annually observed, as a day of thanksgiving, and is commonly called *Jesus-day*. As a reward of their loyalty on this occasion, king *Edward* VI. gave them the rich manor of *Ex-Island*.

But *Exeter* has not suffer'd so much by these enemies, as by certain heaps (*Mears*, as they call them) which *Hugh Courtney* earl of *Devonshire*, in a difference that he had with the citizens, threw into the channel of the river, whereby ships are hinder'd from coming to the town; so that all merchandize was brought thither by land from *Topesham*, a little village three miles from the city, that belong'd to him; for which one of the *Hughs* of

this family (perhaps the ſame) procured a weekly market, and a yearly fair; and for the improvement whereof, this obſtruction was probably made. Nor are theſe heaps quite removed, tho' it has been commanded by act of parliament, and ſeveral attempts have been made for that end; but none with ſo good ſucceſs, as the new works in the time of King *Charles* II; by the benefit of which, however vaſtly expenſive to the city) Lighters of the greateſt burden do now come up to the city-key. From theſe wears, a ſmall village hard by is called *Weare*, but formerly *Heneaton*, which belonged heretofore to *Auſtin de Baa*, from whom, by right of inheritance, it came to *John Holand*, who in a ſeal that I have ſeen, bore *a lion rampant gardant amongſt flower-deluces*. The government of this city, incorporated by king *John*, is adminiſtred by twenty-four, of whom one yearly is choſen mayor, who with four bailiffs, manages all publick affairs; and it was alſo made a diſtinct county by king *Henry* VIII. As for the poſition, the old *Oxford* tables have defin'd its longitude to be 19 degrees, 11 minutes; and its latitude, 50 degrees, 40 minutes.

This city (that I may not be guilty of an omiſſion) has had its dukes. For *Richard* II. King of *England* of that name, made *John Holand* earl of *Huntingdon*, his brother by the mother's ſide, firſt duke of *Exeter*. *Henry* IV. deprived him of this honour, and left him only the title of earl of *Huntingdon*; which (being beheaded ſoon after) he loſt, together with his life. Some few years after, *Henry* V. beſtowed this dukedom upon *Thomas Beaufort* earl of *Dorſet*, deſcended from the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and an accompliſh'd ſoldier. He dying without iſſue, *John Holand*, the ſon of *John* already mentioned (as heir to *Richard* his brother, who died without iſſue, and to his father) was reſtored to all again, having his father's honours beſtowed upon him by the bounty of *Henry* VI. and left the ſame to his ſon *Henry*, who, whilſt the *Lancaſtrians* ſtood, flouriſh'd in great renown; but after, when the houſe of *York* came to the crown, he became a melancholy inſtance how unſafe it is to rely upon the ſmiles of fortune. For this was that *Henry* Duke of *Exeter*, who, notwithſtanding his marriage with the ſiſter of *Edward* IV. was reduced to ſuch miſery, that he was ſeen to beg his bread in rags, and bare-footed, in the *Low Countries*. And at laſt, after *Barnet* fight, where he behav'd himſelf gallantly againſt *Edward* IV. he never was ſeen more, ~~till his body was ſeen more~~ till his body was caſt upon the ſhore of *Kent*, as if he had been ſhipwreck'd. Long after this, *Exeter* had its marquis, namely, *Henry Courtney*, deſcended from *Catherine*, daughter of *Edward* IV. and rais'd to that honour by *Henry* VIII. But to this marquis, as well as to the firſt duke, a great fortune did but raiſe great ſtorms which alſo quickly ſunk him, while he endeavour'd innovations in government.

For

For, among other things, becauſe with money and counſel he had aſſiſted *Reginald Poole* (who was afterwards cardinal, and who had left *England* to intriegue with the emperor and the pope againſt his king and country, who had withdrawn from the *Romiſh* communion) he was arraigned, found guilty, and beheaded, with ſome others. By the bounty of king *James* I; *Thomas Cecil* lord *Burghley* enjoy'd the title of earl of *Exeter*, a perſon truly good, and the worthy ſon of a moſt excellent father, being the eldeſt ſon of *William Cecil* baron *Burghley*, lord treaſurer of *England*, whoſe wiſdom did long ſupport and maintain the peace of this kingdom. He was ſucceeded by *William* his ſon and heir; who dying without iſſue male, left that honour to *David Cecil*, ſon of Sir *Richard Cecil*, who was ſecond ſon to *Thomas* earl of *Exeter*. Which *David* was ſucceeded by *John* his ſon and heir; who had iſſue *John* the late earl, father of *John*, the preſent earl of *Exeter*.

On the eaſt of *Exeter* is a pariſh call'd *Heavy-tree*, memorable for the birth of *Richard Hooker*, the judicious author of the *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*, and of that great civilian, Dr. *Arthur Duck*. The next pariſh is *Pinhoe*, remarkable for bringing forth the two *Rainolds* (*John* and *William*, brothers) zealous maintainers both of the reform'd and the popiſh religion, in their turns. Not far from whence is *Stoke-Canon*, given by king *Canute* to the church of *Exeter*; a repreſentation of which giſt was to be ſeen not not long ſince in a window of the pariſh-church there, *viz*, a king with a triple crown, and this inſcription, *Canutus rex donat hoc manerium eccleſ. Exon. i. e.* king *Canutus* gives this manor to the church of *Exeter*. Four miles eaſt of *Exeter*, we paſs the river *Clyſt*, near which upon *Clyſt-heath*, the *Corniſh* rebels were totally defeated *An.* 1549. by *John* lord *Ruſſel*, afterwards earl of *Bedford*.

From *Exeter* to the mouth of the river there is nothing of antiquity, beſides *Exminſter*, formerly *Exauminſter*, bequeath'd by king *Alfred* to his younger ſon; and *Powderham*, a caſtle built by *Iſabel de Ripariis*, which has a long time been the ſeat of a very noble family, the *Courtneys*, kts. who, being deſcended from the earls of *Devonſhire*, and ally'd to many great families, are flouriſhing to this day, and are moſt worthy of ſuch noble anceſtors. Upon the the very mouth, on the other ſide, as the name itſelf ſpeaks, ſtands *Exanmouth*; known for nothing, but the bare name, and the fiſher-hutts there.

More eaſtward, *Ottery*, that is, a river of *Otters*, or *water-dogs*, as the name itſelf implies, runs into the ſea: it paſſes by *Honiton*, a town well known to ſuch as travel theſe parts. Here the market was anciently kept on *Sundays*, as it was alſo in *Exeter*, *Launceſton*, and divers other places;

till in the reign of king *John* they were alter'd to other days. O[ver] the river *Otterey*, is *Venyton-bridge*, at which in the time of *Edward* VI. a bat[tle] was fought againſt the *Corniſh* rebels. *Otterey* gives name to [three] places; of which the moſt remarkable above *Honiton*, is *Mohuns-Ot[terey]* which belonged formerly to the *Mohuns*, from whom it came by marri[age] the *Carews*; and below *Honiton* (near *Holdcombe*, the ſeat of the [family] of *Le Denis*, knights, who derive their original and names from the [town] St. *Mary's Otterey*, ſo called from the college of St. *Mary*, which [Bp.] *Grandiſon* biſhop of *Exeter*, founded, who had got the wealth of all [the] clergy of the dioceſe into his own hands. For he had perſuaded them [to] leave him all they had when they died, as intending to lay it out in [pi]ritable uſes, in endowing churches, and building hoſpitals and colle[ges] which they ſay he performed very religiouſly. This college was [after]wards ſuppreſſed by a parliament held at *Leiceſter* in the reign [of] *Henry* V.

From the mouth of this *Otterey*, the ſhore with many windings goes [on] eaſt, by *Budly*, famous for being the birth-place of that great ſtateſman and [hi]rian Sir *Walter Rawleigh*; *Sidmouth*, now one of the chiefeſt fiſher-[towns] in thoſe parts; and *Seaton*, formerly, as the other two, a fine harbour, [but] now ſo choaked with ſand, heaped before the mouth of them by the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, that this benefit is almoſt quite loſt. Here, at *Seaton*, the inhabitants formerly endeavoured to cut out a harbour, and [pro]cured a collection under the Great Seal for that purpoſe; but now there remain no footſteps of that work. That this is the *Moridunum* of *Antonine*, which is ſeated between *Durnovaria* and *Iſca* (if the book be not falſe and is maimed, and written *Riduuum*, in the *Peutengerian* table; I [will] conjecture, both from the diſtances, and the ſignification of the name. For *Moridunum* is the ſame in *Britiſh* that *Seaton* is in *Engliſh*, namely, a [town] upon the hill by the ſea. Near this ſtands *Wiſcombe*, memorable on [account] of *William* baron *Bonevill*, who lived there; whoſe heir *Cecily* brought by marriage the titles of lord *Bonevill* and *Harrington*, with a fair eſtate in [both] parts, to *Thomas Grey* marquis of *Dorſet*.

Below theſe the river *Ax* empties itſelf from a very ſmall channel; [which] has paſſed by *Ford*, to which abbey the *Courtneys* were great benefactors. *Baldwin*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the reign of king *Richard* I. was firſt monk, and afterwards abbot here. Then it runs to *Axminſter*, a town famous only in ancient hiſtories for the tombs of thoſe *Saxon* princes who were ſlain in the bloody battle at *Brunaburg*, and brought hither; it ſtands on the very edge of this county. Below this place, *Reginald Mohun* of *Dunſter*, to whom the manor of *Axminſter* came hereditarily by the [gift] of

daughter of *William de Bruier*, built the abbey of *Newenham*, in the year 1246. The river *Ax*, after a short course in this county, runs into the sea at *Axmouth*, formerly a good harbour for ships; and several attempts have been made by the family of the *Earls* to repair it, but hitherto without success.

From hence, the eastern bound runs in a crooked line by villages of little note to the *Severn* sea; which we will now coast.

The first shore after we leave *Cornwall*, lying for a long way upon the *Severn* sea, is call'd by *Ptolemy*, *Hercules's Promontory*. It retains something of that name in the present one of *Hertypoint*, and hath on it two small towns, *Herton*, and *Hertlond*, formerly famous for the reliques of *Nectan* a holy man, to whose honour a monastery was here built by *Githa*, earl *Godwin*'s wife, who had a particular veneration for *Nectan*, upon a conceit that her husband had escap'd shipwreck in virtue of his merits. Yet, afterwards the *Diuants*, called also *Dinhams*, who came originally from *Britain* in *Armorica*, and possessed this place, were accounted the founders; from whom descended baron *Dinham*, high treasurer of *England* in *Henry* VII.'s time, by whose sisters and heirs this estate was divided between *Zouche*, *Fitzwarin*, *Carew*, and *Arundel*. The possessions of the aforesaid monastery were confirm'd by *Richard* I. with the grant of great immunities, particularly of a court holding plea of all matters, saving life and member, arising within their own lands. In the time of queen *Elizabeth* a bill was preferr'd in the house of Commons, for the finishing of this port.

The name of the foresaid promontory has given credit to a very formal story, that *Hercules* came into *Britain*, and kill'd I know not what giants. Whether that be true, which the mythologists affirm, that there was no such man as *Hercules*, but that it is a meer fiction to denote the strength of human prudence, whereby we subdue pride, lust, envy, and such like monsters; or whether by *Hercules* be meant the sun, according to the *Gentile* theology, and those twelve labours undergone by him be an emblem only of the *Zodiack*, and its twelve signs, which the sun runs through yearly; as to these, let them that have asserted them, look to the truth of them. For my part, I readily believe there was a *Hercules*, nay, if you please, that there were forty-three of them, as *Varro* does; all whose actions were ascrib'd to that one, the son of *Alcmena*. Yet I cannot imagine that ever *Hercules* was here, unless he was wafted over in that cup which *Nereus* gave him, and of which *Ausonius* makes mention. But you'll object, that *Franciscus Philelphus* in his epistles, and *Lilius Giraldus* in his *Hercules*, affirm this very thing. With submission, these later writers may move me, but they will not convince me; when *Diodorus Siculus*, who has wrote the history of *Greece* from the first known ages

till in the reign of king *John* they were alter'd to other days. Over the river *Otterey*, is *Venuyton-bridge*, at which in the time of *Edward* VI. a battle was fought against the *Cornish* rebels. *Otterey* gives name to [illegible] places; of which the moſt remarkable above *Honniton*, is *Mohuns-Otterey*, which belonged formerly to the *Mohuns*, from whom it came by marriage to the *Carews*; and below *Honiton* (near *Holdcombe*, the ſeat of the family of *Le Denis*, knights, who derive their original and names from the [illegible]) St. *Mary's Otterey*, ſo called from the college of St. *Mary*, which [illegible] *Grandiſon* biſhop of *Exeter*, founded, who had got the wealth of all the clergy of the dioceſe into his own hands. For he had perſuaded them to leave him all they had when they died, as intending to lay it out in charitable uſes, in endowing churches, and building hoſpitals and colleges, which they ſay he performed very religiouſly. This college was afterwards ſuppreſſed by a parliament held at *Leiceſter* in the reign of *Henry* V.

From the mouth of this *Otterey*, the ſhore with many windings goes on eaſt, by *Budly*, famous for being the birth-place of that great ſtateſman and hiſtorian Sir *Walter Rawleigh*; *Sidmouth*, now one of the chiefeſt fiſher-towns in thoſe parts; and *Seaton*, formerly, as the other two, a fine harbour, but now ſo choaked with ſand, heaped before the mouth of them by the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, that this benefit is almoſt quite loſt. Here, at *Seaton*, the inhabitants formerly endeavoured to cut out a harbour, and procured a collection under the Great Seal for that purpoſe; but now there remain no footſteps of that work. That this is the *Moridunum* of [illegible] which is ſeated between *Durnovaria* and *Iſca* (if the book be not ſlubbered and is maimed, and written *Riduunum*, in the *Peutengerian* table; I rather conjecture, both from the diſtances, and the ſignification of the name. For *Moridunum* is the ſame in *Britiſh* that *Seaton* is in *Engliſh*, namely, a town upon the hill by the ſea. Near this ſtands *Wiſcombe*, memorable on account of *William* baron *Bonevill*, who lived there; whoſe heir *Cecily* brought by marriage the titles of lord *Bonevill* and *Harrington*, with a fair eſtate in both parts, to *Thomas Grey* marquis of *Dorſet*.

Below theſe the river *Ax* empties itſelf from a very ſmall channel; after it has paſſed by *Ford*, to which abbey the *Courtneys* were great benefactors, *Baldwin*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the reign of king *Richard* I. was firſt monk, and afterwards abbot here. Then it runs to *Axminſter*, a town famous only in ancient hiſtories for the tombs of thoſe *Saxon* princes who were ſlain in the bloody battle at *Brunaburg*, and brought hither: it ſtands on the very edge of this county. Below this place, *Reginald Mohun* of *Dunſter*, to whom the manor of *Axminſter* came hereditarily by the [illegible] dange[illegible]

daughter of *William de Bruier*, built the abbey of *Newenham*, in the year 1246. The river *Ax*, after a short course in this county, runs into the sea at *Axmouth*, formerly a good harbour for ships; and several attempts have been made by the family of the *Earls* to repair it, but hitherto without success.

From hence, the eastern bound runs in a crooked line by villages of little note to the *Severn* sea; which we will now coast.

The first shore after we leave *Cornwall*, lying for a long way upon the *Severn* sea, is call'd by *Ptolemy*, *Hercules's Promontory*. It retains something of that name in the present one of *Hertypoint*, and hath on it two small towns, *Herton*, and *Hertlond*, formerly famous for the reliques of *Nectan* a holy man, to whose honour a monastery was here built by *Githa*, earl *Godwin*'s wife, who had a particular veneration for *Nectan*, upon a conceit that her husband had escap'd shipwreck in virtue of his merits. Yet, afterwards the *Dinants*, called also *Dinhams*, who came originally from *Dinan* in *Armorica*, and possessed this place, were accounted the founders; from whom descended baron *Dinham*, high treasurer of *England* in *Henry* VII's time, by whose sisters and heirs this estate was divided between *Yonville*, *Fitzwarin*, *Carew*, and *Arundel*. The possessions of the aforesaid monastery were confirm'd by *Richard* I. with the grant of great immunities, particularly of a court holding plea of all matters, saving life and member, arising within their own lands. In the time of queen *Elizabeth* a bill was preferr'd in the house of Commons, for the finishing of this port.

The name of the foresaid promontory has given credit to a very formal story, that *Hercules* came into *Britain*, and kill'd I know not what giants. Whether that be true, which the mythologists affirm, that there was no such man as *Hercules*, but that it is a meer fiction to denote the strength of human prudence, whereby we subdue pride, lust, envy, and such like monsters; or whether by *Hercules* be meant the sun, according to the *Gentile* theology, and those twelve labours undergone by him be an emblem only of the *Zodiack*, and its twelve signs, which the sun runs through yearly; as to these, let them that have asserted them, look to the truth of them. For my part, I really believe there was a *Hercules*, nay, if you please, that there were forty-three of them, as *Varro* does; all whose actions were ascrib'd to that one, the son of *Alcmena*. Yet I cannot imagine that ever *Hercules* was here, unless he was watted over in that cup which *Nereus* gave him, and of which *Athenæus* makes mention. But you'll object, that *Franciscus Philelphus* in his epistles, and *Lilius Giraldus* in his *Hercules*, affirm this very thing. With submission, these later writers may move me, but they will not convince me; when *Diodorus Siculus*, who has wrote the history of *Greece* from the first known

ages

ages of it, expreſly tells us, that neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* ever was into *Britain*. And therefore I take it for granted, that the name of *Hercules* was given this place, either by ſome *Greeks* out of vanity, or ſome *Britain* upon a religious account. Theſe, being a warlike people, held brave men in great admiration; ſuch eſpecially as had deſtroy'd monſters. The *Greeks*, on the other hand, dedicated every thing they found magnificent, in any place, to the glory of *Hercules*; and becauſe he was a great traveller, they who travell'd were wont to offer ſacrifices, and conſecrate places where they arriv'd to him. Hence comes *Hercules*'s rock in *Campania*, *Hercules*'s haven in *Liguria*, *Hercules*'s grove in *Germany*, and *Hercules*'s promontories in *Mauritania*, *Galatia*, and *Britain*.

Not far from this promontory is *Clovelly* harbour, ſecured by a pier, erected at great charges by the *Carys*, who have had their ſeats here from the time of *Richard* II. It is now the moſt noted place in thoſe parts for herring-fiſhing. At a little diſtance lies *Hole*, or *South-Hold*, the native place of Dr. *John Moreman*, Vicar of *Maynhennet* in *Cornwall*, towards the latter end of *Henry* VIII. memorable upon this account, that he was the firſt who taught his pariſhioners the Lord's prayer, Creed, and Ten commandments, in the *Engliſh* tongue. By which we learn in how ſhort a time this language could entirely prevail againſt the native *Corniſh*.

As the ſhore goes back from the promontories of *Hercules*, two rivers, the *Towridge* and *Taw*, which are the only rivers in this north part of the county, fall from one mouth into the ſea. The *Towridge* riſing not far from the promontory of *Hercules* already mentioned, runs towards the eaſt; and receiving the *Ocke*, which has given name to *Ockhampton*, formerly but a little market-town; where *Baldwin* the viſcount had his caſtle in *William* the conqueror's time, as appears from *Domeſday*. It had ninety-two knights fees belonging to it; and is at preſent a good market-town, incorporated by king *James* I. ſends burgeſſes to parliament, and gives the title of baron to the family of the *Mohuns*; of whom, *John*, ſon of Sir *Reginald Mohun* baronet, was firſt advanced to this honour in the fourth year of king *Charles* I. by the title of lord *Mohun* of *Ockhampton*. More to the north lies *Stanford Courtney*, where began a great inſurrection in the time of king *Edward* VI. by two of the inhabitants; one of whom would have no gentlemen, the other no juſtices of peace. At a little diſtance is *North-Taweton*, where is a pit of large circumference, ten foot deep; out of which ſometimes ſprings up a little brook or bourn, and continues for many days. It is taken by the common people to be a fore-runner of public calamity, like that bourn in *Hertfordſhire*, called *Woobournmore*. Directly to the north, upon the river *Moule*, lieth *South-moulton*, an ancient town incorporate, formerly called

called *Snow-moulton*; at which time it was held by the *Martyns*, by Serjeantry, to find a man with a bow and three arrows to attend the earl of *Gloucester* when he ſhould hunt thereabouts.

The *Touridge* turns it's courſe ſuddenly toward the north, by *Tourington*, to which it gives name; ſeated on the ſide of a hill, and hanging over it for a good way. In old records it is called *Chepan-Torrington*; an ancient borough, which ſent burgeſſes to parliament. But that privilege hath been long diſcontinued, both here and in other places of this county. It was incorporated by queen *Mary*, by the name of mayor, aldermen, and burgeſſes; and yielded the title of earl to *George* duke of *Albemarle*, the great inſtrument in the reſtoring of king *Charles* II. and after him, to *Chriſtopher* his only ſon. By whoſe death this, among the other titles, became extinct, and was beſtowed upon *Arthur Herbert*, admiral; and he alſo dying without iſſue, this place hath given the title of baron to the honourable *Thomas Newport*, a younger branch of the family of the earls of *Bradford*. Thence it runs by *Bediford*, pretty famous for the reſort of people to it, and for an arched ſtone bridge. This is ſo high, that a ſhip of 50 or 60 ton may ſail under it. For which, and for number of arches, it equals, if not exceeds all others in *England*. It was begun by Sir *Theobald Granvill*; and for the finiſhing of it, the biſhop of the dioceſe granted out indulgences, to move the people to liberal contributions; and accordingly great ſums of money were collected. This place hath been in the poſſeſſion of the *Granvills* ever ſince the conqueſt; a family famous for Sir *Richard Granvill*'s behaviour in *Glamorganſhire*, in the reign of *William Rufus*; and for another of the ſame name under queen *Elizabeth*, who with one ſhip maintained a ſea-fight for 24 hours againſt 50 of the *Spaniſh* galleons; and at laſt yielded upon honourable terms, after his powder was ſpent, having ſlain above 1000 of the *Spaniards*, and ſunk 4 of their greateſt veſſels. Which family hath ſince been honoured with the titles of baron of *Bediford* and *Kilhampton*, viſcount *Lanſdown*, and earl of *Bath*. Below *Bediford*, the *Towridge* joins the *Taw*, which, riſing in the very heart of the county, is firſt carried by *Chimligh*, a little market-town; not far from *Chettelhampton*, a ſmall village, where *Hierytha*, calendar'd among the ſhe-ſaints, was buried. From thence, flowing by *Tawton*, where *Werſtan* and *Putta*, the firſt biſhops of *Devonſhire*, had their ſee about the year 906; and by *Tawſtoke*, which ſtands over-againſt it, and was the ſeat of the right honourable the *Bourchiers*, earls of *Bath*, it haſtens to *Barſtable*. This is accounted an ancient town, and for neatneſs and populouſneſs far ſurpaſſes all upon this coaſt; ſituated among hills in the form of a ſemicircle, and upon the river, which makes, as it were, the diameter to it. This river, upon a ſpring-tide at every

every new and full moon, overflows the fields to that distance, that the town itself ſeems a *peninſula*; but then, as the poet ſays, *when it diſcharges into the ſea*, 'tis ſo ſmall, that it will hardly carry little veſſels, but is diffuſ'd, in a winding current, among the ſands. On the [illegible] ſtately bridge, built by one *Stanford*, a citizen of *London*; [illegible] near the confluence of the little river *North-Tawe*, are the [illegible] caſtle, which is commonly ſaid to have been built by king *[illegible]*; ſome aſcribe it to *Judael de Totenais*. For the defence of it, [illegible] hereabouts are held in *Caſtle-garde*. It had formerly walls [illegible] whereof there is hardly the leaſt ſign remaining. This *Judael de T[illegible]* had it given him, to hold by tenure of king *William* I. and, after that, the *Tracyes* held it a conſiderable time; next to them the *Martens*; and then, in the reign of *Richard* II. it came to *John Holand* earl of *H[illegible]*, who was afterwards duke of *Exeter*; and laſt of all, to the crown. But queen *Mary* gave this manour to *Thomas Marrow*, whoſe ſon ſold it. In the reign of *William* I. (as it is in *Domeſday*) *it had forty burgeſſes within the [illegible] nine without*. *Henry* I. endowed it with many privileges, and King *[illegible]* with more. It was governed a long time by a Mayor and two bailiffs; but queen *Mary* granted it a mayor, two aldermen, and a common-council of four and twenty. The inhabitants for the moſt part are merchants, who drive a conſiderable trade with *France* and *Spain*. Nor muſt I forget to take notice of two very learned men, and moſt famous divines, educated in this ſchool; *John Jewel* biſhop of *Salisbury*, and *Thomas Harding* profeſſor in *Lovain*, who very warmly, and very acutely engaged each other, upon the ſubject of religion.

From hence, the *Taw* (paſſing by *Ralegh*, which formerly belong'd to its noble lords of the ſame name, and after, to the famous family [illegible] *de Chickeſter*; and then being enlarged by the river *Towridge*) runs into the *Severn* ſea, but finds not the *Kinuth-caſtle*, mentioned by *Aſſerius*. Yet there was upon this coaſt a caſtle of that name; and ſo ſituated, that there was no approaching it on any ſide but the eaſt; where, in the year 878, *Hubba* the *Dane*, who had harraſs'd the *Engliſh*, and cut off great numbers of them, was himſelf cut off; and the place from thence-forward called *Hubbeſtow* by our hiſtorians. At the ſame time the *Daniſh* ſtandard, called *Reaſan*, was taken by the *Engliſh*. Which I the rather obſerve, becauſe from a little ſtory in *Aſſer Menevenſis*, who has recorded theſe things, it may be gather'd, that the *Danes* had a crow in their ſtandard, which is ſaid to have been wrought in needle-work by the daughters of *Lothbroc* the *Dane*, and, as they conceived, made them invincible.

There-

There is nothing henceforward to be ſeen on this Northern ſhore but *Braunton*, where many hundred acres of land are overflown by the ſands, and the place, from them, is called *Santon*: tall trees, ſome of thirty foot in length, have been dug up here. And *Mort*, to which Sir *William Tracy*, one of the murtherers of *Thomas Becket*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, retir'd, twenty-three years after the fact; contrary to what the vulgar Chronicles ſay, that all who were concerned in that murder, dy'd miſerably, in three years after: and *Ilfarcombe*, which is a pretty ſafe harbour for ſhips. To this joins *Combmarton*, below which have been open'd ſome old lead mines, not without veins of ſilver alſo. Now *Combe*, (that I may obſerve it once for all) which is frequently added to the names of places in theſe parts, ſignifies a *low ſituation*, or a *vale*, and perhaps may come from the *Britiſh* word *Kum*, which has the ſame meaning; and the *French* alſo retain it in the ſame ſenſe to this day. The addition of *Martin* is from *Martin de Tours*, a *Norman* lord, who had great poſſeſſions here in the time of *Henry* I. The ſilver-mines juſt now mentioned were firſt diſcovered in the reign of *Edward* the 1ſt, when 337 men were brought from the *Peake* in *Derbyſhire*, to work here. In the reign of king *Edward* the 3d, they yielded that king great profits, towards carrying on the *French* war. After they had been long neglected, they were re-entered in Q. *Elizabeth's* time, who preſented a cup made here, to the then earl of *Bath*, with this inſcription:

In *Martyn's Combe* I long lay hid,
Obſcure, depreſs'd with groſſer ſoil,
Debated much with mixed lead,
'Till *Bulmer* came, whoſe skill and toil
Reformed me ſo pure and clean,
As richer no where elſe is ſeen.

These ſilver-mines were again wrought in, not many years ſince.

More to the ſouth-eaſt, and adjoining to *Somerſetſhire*, ſtands *Brampton*, formerly *Braentun*, which in *William* the Conqueror's time fell to *Walter de Dowai* or *Duacenſis*, with other very large eſtates elſewhere; of whoſe poſterity, *Juliana*, an heireſs, (marry'd to *William Paganell*, commonly *Paynell*) had iſſue *Fulco de Bampton*: He had alſo a ſon, *William*, and *Agnes*, the wife of *Cogan* an *Iriſhman*, whoſe poſterity came to the *Carews*; the heir of *William* dying without iſſue. From the *Cogans* it came to the *Bourchiers*, earls of *Bath*, through the hands of *Hankford*, and the *Courtenays*. This place brought forth *John de Bampton* in the time of king *Edward* the 6th, a *Carmelite* monk and a learned man, who firſt read *Ariſtotle*

publickly in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he commenced Doctor and writ divers books; and it hath been noted, of late years, for an excellent Chalybeate Spring.

In the beginning of the *Norman* government (not to mention *Hugh* the *Norman*, whom Queen *Emma* had formerly ſet over this county) King *William* I. made one *Baldwin* hereditary viſcount of *Devonſhire*, and baron of *Okkhampton*: and he was ſucceeded in this honour of viſcount by his ſon *Richard*, who dy'd without iſſue-male. King *Henry* I. afterwards conferr'd upon *Richard de Reveris*, firſt, *Tiverton*, and after that the honour of *Plimpton*, with other places appertaining to it; and then made him earl of *Devonſhire*, granting him the third penny of the yearly revenue of the county. But the revenues belonging to the king, did not, at moſt, exceed thirty marks; out of which the ſaid earl was to deduct ten, annually, to his own ſhare. After theſe, he obtain'd the *Iſle of Wight* of the ſaid king, and thence was ſtil'd earl of *Devonſhire*, and lord of the *Iſle*. He had a ſon, *Baldwin*, who was baniſh'd for ſiding with *Maud* the empreſs, against *Stephen*. Yet *Richard*, the ſon, recover'd this his father's honour; and left two ſons, *Baldwin* and *Richard*, ſucceſſively earls of *Devonſhire*, who dy'd without iſſue; and then this honour fell to their uncle *William*, ſirnamed *de Vernon*. He had a ſon, *Baldwin*, who dy'd in the life-time of his father; having firſt (by *Margaret*, daughter of *Guarin Fitz-Gerald*) had *Baldwin*, the third of that name, who was earl of *Devonſhire*. He had two children; *Baldwin*, the laſt earl of this family, who dy'd without iſſue (and chang'd *the Gryphon clenching a little beaſt*, which his anceſtors had in their ſeal, into *a ſcutcheon, or a lion rampant azure*;) and *Iſabel*, who was married to *William de Fortibus*, earl of *Albemarle*, and had a ſon, *Thomas*, who dy'd young; and *Avellina*, marry'd to *Edmund* earl of *Lancaſter*, whom ſhe very much enriched. But ſhe ſoon dying without iſſue, *Hugh Courtney*, deſcended (as it is delivered down to us) from the royal line of *France*, and ally'd to the former earls, was by king *Edward* the 3d, by letter only, without any other ceremony, created earl of *Devonſhire*: for he ſo commanded him to uſe that title. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Hugh*; after whom *Edward*, his grand-child by his ſon *Edward*, enjoy'd it, and dying left it to his ſon *Hugh*. He likewiſe to a ſon, *Thomas*, who died in the 36th year of *Henry* the 6th. This *Thomas* had three ſons, *Thomas*, *Henry*, and *John*; whoſe condition, during the bloody wars between the houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, was very uncertain; they ſtill reſolutely adhering to the *Lancaſtrians*. *Thomas* was beheaded at *York*; and *Henry*, his brother, who ſucceeded, underwent the ſame fate ſeven years after at *Salisbury*. And although king *Edward* the 4th created *Humfrey Stafford*

lord *Stafford* of *Sutkwick*, earl of *Devonſhire*, who dy'd that ſame year; yet *John Courtney*, the youngeſt brother, would never part with this title, 'till he loſt his life in *Tewkesbury* fight. From hence-forward this family for a long time lay, in a manner, extinct; yet it flouriſhed again under *Henry* the 7th, who reſtored *Edward Courtney*, the next heir male, to the honour of his anceſtors. He had a ſon, *William*, earl of *Devonſhire*, who marry'd *Catharine*, daughter of *Edward* the 4th, by whom he had *Henry* earl of *Devonſhire*, who was alſo marquiſs of *Exeter*, and was beheaded in *Henry* the 8th's time. His ſon *Edward*, a noble young gentleman of great hopes; being reſtored to all by queen *Mary*, died at *Padua* in *Italy*: for, to uſe the words of *Quadrigarius*, *The better the man, the ſhorter the life.* In the forty-ſixth year after his death, *Charles Blunt*, lord *Montjoye*, vice-roy of *Ireland*, (a perſon not only of ancient and noble extraction, but famous for conduct and learning;) as a reward for having recover'd *Ireland*, and reduc'd it to its former ſtate, by driving out the *Spaniard*, and either defeating the rebels, or forcing them to ſubmit, was by king *James* the 1ſt created earl of *Devonſhire*, advanc'd to many other honours, and by the bounty of the king rais'd to great riches: but death ſoon put an end to the enjoyment of all this wealth and honour. Whereupon the ſame king, in the 16th year of his reign, created *William* lord *Cavendiſh* of *Hardwick*, earl of *Devonſhire*; whoſe ſon and grandſon, both *William*s, ſucceſſively enjoy'd that dignity; as did alſo his great grandſon, of the ſame name, 'till by the ſpecial favour of king *William* and queen *Mary*, he was, in the ſixth year of their reign, created marquiſs of *Hartington* and duke of *Devonſhire*; which titles are now enjoy'd by *William*, his ſon and heir, a perſon of great virtue and honour.

There are in this County three hundred and ninety-four Pariſh-Churches.

A Catalogue of rare Plants growing wild in Devonſhire.

AVENA nuda Ger. J. B. C. B. Park. Naked oats or pillis. This by report is ſown in ſome places of this county, as well as in *Cornwall*.

Alſine ſpuria puſilla repens, foliis ſaxifragæ aureæ. Small round-leaved creeping baſtard chickweed.

Aſcyrum ſupinum villoſum paluſtre: Marſh round-leaved St. *Peter's* wort. On moſt boggy grounds and about ſhallow pools of water.

C. Campanula Cymbalariæ foliis. Ivy-leaved bell-flower.

Eryngium vulgare J. B. vulgare & Camerarii C. B. mediterraneum C. mediterraneum ſive capeſtre Park. On the rock which you deſcend to the ferry from *Plymouth* over into *Cornwall*. This plant, probably, groweth in [illegible] any where in *England*, ſave here, near *Daventry* in *Northamptonſhire*, and on the ſhore call'd *Friar-gooſe* near *Newcaſtle upon Tine*.

Gramen junceum maritimum exile Plimoſii Park. p. 1271. Small ſea rush-graſs of *Plymouth*. Near *Plymouth* on the wet grounds.

Juncus acutus maritimus capitulis rotundis C. B. acutus maritimus, [illegible] Park. Sea-ruſh with globular heads. Found by Mr. *Stephens* in *Erisey-Ferroughs* in this county.

Licken ſeu muſcus marinus variegatus. Fungus auricularis Caſalpini [illegible] Fucus maritimus Gallo-pavonis pennas referens C. B. The turkey's feather. Found by the ſame Mr. *Stephens* on the rocks near *Exmouth*, plentifully.

Lamium montanum Melissæ folio C. B. Meliſſa Fuchſii Ger. Meliſſa Fuchſii Park. Meliſſa adulterina quorundam, amplis foliis, & floribus [illegible] grati odoris J. B. Baulm-leaved Archangel, baſtard-baulm. In many woods in this county, and particularly near *Totnes*. This is the plant I ſuppoſe, that the authors of *Phytologia Britannica* meant by *Meliſſa Moldavica*, which they ſay grew in Mr. *Champernon*'s wood by his houſe, on a hill near *Totnes*. For *Meliſſa Moldavica* is a plant ſo far from growing wild with us, that it continueth not long in gardens ſelf-ſown.

Rubia ſylveſtris Park. ſylv. aſpera, quæ ſylveſtris dioſcoridis C. B. ſylveſtris Monſpeſſulana major J. B. nonnullis rubia hexaphyllos. Wild madder. It grows on the rocks near the bridge at *Bediford*, and all along the hedges on both ſides the way, between *Weſtly* and *Bediford*, and in many other places of this county.

DUROTRIGES.

NEXT to the *Damnonii* eaſtward, *Ptolemy*, in his geographical tables, has plac'd the Δυροτρίγες as he ſtiles them in *Greek*, who in *Latin* copies are alſo written *Durotriges*: The very ſame people, whom the *Britains*, about the year of our Lord 890, call'd *Dwr-Gwyr*, according to *Aſſerius Menevenſis*, who liv'd at that time, and was himſelf a *Britain* by birth. The *Saxons* call'd them *Dor-ſettan*; as we at this day call the tract, the county of *Dorſet*, and *Dorſetſhire*. The name of *Durotriges* is ancient, and purely *Britiſh*, and ſeems very probably to be deriv'd from *Dur* or *Dwr*, which in the *Britiſh* ſignifies *water*, and *Trig* an *Inhabitant*; as if one ſhould ſay, *Dwellers by the Water* or *Sea-ſide*. Nor is there any other etymology of the names of thoſe places which begin or end in *Dur* or *Dour* in antient *Gaul* (where formerly they ſpoke the ſame language with that of *Britain*;) ſuch are, *Durocaſes*, *Durocottorum*, *Duranius*, *Dordonia*, *Durocortum*, *Doromellum*, *Divodurum*, *Breviodurum*, *Batavodurum*, *Ganodurum*, *Octodurum*, and many others, as well in *Gaul* as *Britain*. But the *Saxon* word *Dor-ſetta* is a compound of *Britiſh* and *Engliſh*; and is of the ſame import and ſignification, as *Durotriges*; for *Settan*, among our *Saxon* anceſtors as well as other *Germans*, ſignified *to inhabit*, or *dwell upon*. Thus, we find the dwellers upon mountains call'd in their language, *Dun-ſettan*; thoſe who dwell upon the *Chiltern-hills*, *Cyltera-ſettan*; and thoſe who border upon the river *Arow*, *Arow-ſettan*; as the *Germans* call'd the people

who

who dwelt among the woods, *Holt-ſatten*, from inhabiting the *Holts* or *Woods*. Nor did the *Britains* deviate from the ſenſe of the ancient name, when they call'd theſe *Durotriges*, *Dwr-Gweir*, that is, *Dwellers on the ſea-coaſt*; ſince their country, for about fifty miles together, fronts the *Britiſh* ocean; being ſtretch'd-out in length from eaſt to weſt, with an uneven ſhore, full of turnings and windings.

DORSETSHIRE.

THE county of *Dorſet* is bounded on the north by *Somerſetſhire* and *Wiltſhire*, on the weſt by *Devonſhire*, on the eaſt by *Hantſhire*; and ſouthward (on which ſide it is of the largeſt extent) it is all ſea-coaſt, lying (as I juſt now obſerv'd) ſome 50 miles together upon the *Britiſh* ocean, which ſupplies it with great plenty of the beſt fiſh, and gives it an opportunity to improve itſelf by trade. The inhabitants reckon it much for their honour, what they affirm king *Charles* II. to have declared, "That he never ſaw a finer country either in *England*, or out of it. The ſoil is fruitful, and in the North part it has woods and foreſts ſcattered here and there; whence, with ſeveral green hills that feed great flocks of ſheep, and with pleaſant paſtures, and fruitful vales, it comes down to the ſea-ſhore; which I ſhall follow in my deſcription, knowing no better method or guide.

At the very entrance into this county from *Devonſhire*, the firſt place that appears upon the ſea-coaſt, is *Lyme*, a little town ſtanding upon a ſteep hill, and ſo call'd from a rivulet of that name gliding by it. This formerly could ſcarce be called a ſea-port town, tho' it was frequented by fiſhermen, and hath a kind of harbour below it, which they call the *Cobbe*; well ſecur'd againſt ſtorms, by rocks and lofty trees. But ſince it is much improv'd, having very conſiderable merchants; and the Pier, for the nature and largeneſs of it, being one of the beſt in *England*, tho' very chargeable. It is alſo a borough, conſiſting of ſixteen capital burgeſſes, and a recorder, where of there is a mayor, and two juſtices. The mayor, the next year after his mayoralty, is a juſtice of the peace, and the year following, juſtice

and

and coroner. We ſcarce meet with the name in ancient books; only I have read that king *Kinwulf*, in the year of our Lord 774, gave *the land of one manſion to the church of* Scireburn, *near the weſtern banks of the river* Lim, *not far from the place where it falls into the ſea, that ſalt might be boil'd there to ſupply the neceſſities of that church.* But, in our time, it is made more remarkable, for being the landing-place of the unfortunate duke of *Monmouth*, when he aſſerted his pretended right to the crown. He brought with him but one man of war of thirty guns, and two other ſmall veſſels, with Arms for about four thouſand men, not above one hundred coming over with him. But, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of his forces, in a very ſhort time he was routed in a pitched battle, and his attempt prov'd fatal to him and his followers.

Hard by, the river *Carr* empties itſelf into the ſea, where ſtands *Carmouth*, commonly called *Charmouth*, a little village, at which the pirating *Danes* had the fortune to beat the *Engliſh* in two engagements; firſt conquering king *Egbert* in the year of our Lord 831, and then king *Æthelwulf* eight years after. Next is *Burtport*, or rather *Birtport*, and *Bridport*, and of ſome, ſaith *Leland*, written *Bruteport*, ſeated between two ſmall rivers meeting there, in a ſoil which produces the beſt hemp. In this town an hundred and twenty houſes were computed in *Edward* the confeſſor's-time; but in *William* the conqueror's reign (as appears by Domeſday-book) there were no more than an hundred. It was heretofore ſo famous for making ropes and cables for ſhips, that it was provided by a ſpecial law, which was made to continue for a certain time, that ſuch tackle, for the uſe of the *Engliſh* navy, ſhould be made no where elſe. Nor can this place bear out the name of a port, tho' at the mouth of the river that runs by it, which is incloſ'd with hills on both ſides. Nature has projected a very commodious place for an harbour, and ſeems to call upon art and induſtry to finiſh it. And theſe, it was believed, would have effected it, till the inhabitants of late years made the attempt, and failed in the undertaking; the tydes perpetually barring it with ſand, againſt which they could not find any remedy. North-eaſt from hence, is *Wingford-Eagle*, near which, in a ground called *Eru-down*, upon the road to *Bridport*, is a barrow (among many others thereabouts) which was ſearched and opened ſome years ſince. Upon the firſt removing of the earth, they found it full of large flints, and at length came to a place perfectly like an oven, curiouſly clay'd round; and in the midſt of it a fair urn full of very firm bones, with a great quantity of black aſhes under it. And, what is moſt remarkable, one of the diggers putting his hand into the oven when firſt open'd, pull'd it haſtily back, not being able to endure the heat; and ſeveral others doing the like, affirm'd it to be

hot

hot enough to bake bread. The ſame natural heat is often found by our mineral-men in their mines, ſo as, ſometimes, they are not able to touch them. Digging further, they met with ſixteen urns more, but not in ovens, and in the middle, one with ears; they were all full of found bones and black aſhes. Not far from hence is *Winterborne*; in the pariſh whereof, within an incloſure near the great road to *London*, ſtand certain ſtones, nine in number, in a circular form. The higheſt is ſeven feet, the next higheſt almoſt ſix; the reſt are broken, and now not above a yard high. And upon the ſame road, half a mile further, ſtand three ſtones, which are four feet high. The ſtones of both theſe monuments ſeem to be petrify'd lumps of flint.

From *Bridport*, the ſhore winding very much, runs out into the ſea, where a bank of gravel and pebbles thrown up, and call'd *Cheſil* (with a narrow ſea running between it and the ſhore) continues for nine miles together, which, when the ſouth wind riſes, gives, and commonly cleaves aſunder; but the north wind binds and conſolidates it. By this ſhelf of ſand, *Portland*, formerly an iſland, is now join'd to the continent. As for the etymology of the name, I know it not, unleſs it be call'd *Portland*, becauſe oppoſite to the port call'd *Weymouth*; but it ſeems the better conjecture of the two that it took its name from one *Port*, a gallant *Saxon*, who about the year of our Lord 523 annoy'd this coaſt. This *Portland*, towards the decline of the *Saxon* government (for no mention is made of it by writers before) ſuffer'd as much by the *Danes* as any places whatever. But, after that war was at an end, it came to the church of *Wincheſter*. For when *Emma*, the mother of king *Edward* the confeſſor (having been accus'd of inconſtancy with *Alwin* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and her reputation at ſtake) clear'd her ſelf from the guilt in the cathedral church of *Wincheſter*, by paſſing, barefoot and unhurt, over nine red-hot plough-ſhares (which was a common way of trial in thoſe days, call'd *Ordale*) ſo as the miracle of her deliverance prov'd the memorial of her chaſtity to ſucceeding generations; ſhe, in memory of it, gave nine farms to that church: and her ſon *Edward*, repenting that he had accus'd his mother wrongfully, laid this whole iſland, with other revenues, to it. After which donation of *Edward*, the iſland continued in the church of *Wincheſter* to the time of *Edward* I. in whoſe reign *Gilbert de Clare* earl of *Hertford* and *Glouceſter* (probably looking upon it as an impregnable place) gave other lands to the church in exchange for it, through whoſe heirs it came to the crown. It is ſcarce ſeven miles round; but, ſaith *Leland*, if a man ſhould compaſs it by the very roots, and the deepeſt ſhore, it would amount to ten. A ridge of rocks round it raiſes it higher there than in the middle, where it is flat and low: It is

here

here and there inhabited, and affords good plenty of corn, with commodious pasture for sheep; but so little wood, that they are forced to make use of cow-dung, dried in the sun, for fewel. In the year 1632. it gave the title of earl to *Richard* lord *Weston*, of *Neiland*, lord high treasurer of *England*, who was succeeded by several of the same family. And in the reign of king *William* III. *William Bentinck* was advanced to the honour of earl of *Portland*, in consideration of his great and faithful services to that prince; and was succeeded therein by *Henry* his son and heir, now advanced to the further dignity of duke of *Portland*.

The inhabitants are the most famous of all the *English* for slinging of stones. Among the sea-weeds they often meet with *Isidis Plocamon*, that is, *Isis's hair*, which (as *Pliny* has it from *Juba*) is a sort of shrub produced by the sea, not unlike coral; it has no leaves, and when cut, it changes colour, growing black and hard; and the least fall breaks it. To the east, it has one only church, and a few houses adjoining. [In *Leland*'s time, the island had about eighty in number, and there had been as many more, as appeared by the ruins. To the north, it has a castle, built by king Henry VIII. commanding the mouth of the port called *Weymouth*. This is a small town, at the mouth of the little river *Wey*; which gave the title of viscount to the right honourable *Thomas Thynne* of *Longlete*; created, in the thirty-fourth year of king *Charles* II. baron *Thynne* of *Warminster*, and viscount *Weymouth*. The *Wey* sees upon the opposite bank *Melcombe*, called *Melcombe Regis*, that is, *King's Melcombe*, and parted from *Weymouth* only by the harbour. The privileges of a port were taken from it by act of parliament, but afterwards recover'd. These (standing formerly upon their distinct immunities, and rivalling each other) are now united by act of parliament; (it is to be hoped to the benefit of both) and having communication by a bridge lately * made, are very much enlarged in buildings.

From thence, the shore lies strait, to the isle of *Purbeck*, which is full of hills, woods, and forests, † well stock'd with fallow-deer and stags; but the inland part is very good land: and under ground, here and there it has veins of marble, and many sorts of good stone; from which, as tradition informs us, the cathedral church of *Salisbury* was supplied; and large quantities of it are still carried to *London*, to the great advantage of the inhabitants. In the middle of it there stood an old castle called *Corffe*, a very magnificent ruin, and at last consumed by age; but it is a notable memorial of the spite of mothers-in-law. For *Ælfrith*, to make way for her own son *Edward* to the throne, having a visit paid her here by her son-in-law *Ed-*

* So said, *anno* 1607. † Not so now.

ward, king of *England*, as he came from hunting, ſet certain ruffians [illegible] him, who ſlew him; while his impious ſtep-mother glutted her eyes [illegible] that bloody ſcene. Which impiety ſhe afterwards uſed her utmoſt en[illegible] vours to expiate, by taking the habit of a nun, and building of reli[illegible] houſes. The firſt foundation of this caſtle is not diſtinctly clear'd by hiſtory, tho' there are ſome circumſtances that ſeem to juſtify a conje[illegible] of its being built by king *Edgar*. For by an inquiſition taken, 54. *Hen.* [illegible] concerning the abbeſs of *Shaftsbury*'s claim of *Wreck*, in her manor [illegible] *Kingſton* in *Purbeck*, it is thus mentioned; *Juratores dicunt*, &c. i. e. *The jurors ſay, that before the building of the caſtle of* Corfe, *the abbeſs nuns of St.* Edward *at* Shaſton *had the wreck of the ſea within their ma[illegible] of* Kingſton, *without lett or moleſtation.* Now, the nunnery of *Shaſton* [illegible] founded *an.* 941. by king *Edmund*; after which time the caſtle muſt [illegible] been built: and it is probable, this was not done in either of the two [illegible] ceeding reigns, which were but ſhort; till *Edgar*, the *peaceable*, the [illegible] and the great *builder* too, for he founded and repaired 47 monaſte[illegible] came to the crown. After the ſtrength and ſafety of the realm began [illegible] conſiſt in caſtles, this was one of the chief belonging to the crown; an[illegible] the 42. of *Henry* III. when *Simon Montfort* had taken the king priſone[illegible] was the third caſtle required to be delivered up to that party; and [illegible] afterwards by *Mortimer* look'd upon as the fitteſt place, wherein to [illegible] his priſoner *Edward* II. It was repaired by king *Henry* VII. and [illegible] late civil wars was a garriſon for the king, and defended by the own[illegible] it, the lord chief juſtice *Banks*: nor did it come into the enemies h[illegible] otherwiſe than by the treachery of one, who pretending to have br[illegible] relief, let in the beſiegers. The town is one of the nine boroughs o[illegible] county, which ſend burgeſſes to parliament; and, what is remarkable [illegible] principal members of it, eſpecially as many of them as have born[illegible] office of mayor, are called *barons*; as the chief citizens of *London* and [illegible] were, and the governing part of all the *Cinque-ports* ſtill are. This *P*[illegible] is called an iſland, tho' it be but a peninſula; being every way wash[illegible] the ſea, except weſtward; on which ſide alſo the river *Frome*, and a [illegible] little river, do almoſt make it an iſland: To the eaſt, the bank of t[illegible] winds very much inward, and finding a narrow inlet or paſſage (oppo[illegible] which, within, is an iſland with a block-houſe called *Brenkſey*, now g[illegible] decay) widens itſelf into a bay of great breadth. In this iſland th[illegible] one family of the name of *Clavil*, recorded in *Domeſday-book* to ha[illegible] here in the time of the conqueror.

North of *Purbeck*, in a peninſula hard by, is *Poole*, a ſmall town, ſurrounded every way with water, but to the north, where it is joined to the continent, and has only one gate. It is not unlikely, that it took the name from a bay below it, which, in a calm, looks like a ſtanding water, ſuch as we call a *pool*. This, in the laſt age ſave one, was improved from a ſedge-bar with a few fiſhermens huts, to a well-frequented market-town, and grew exceedingly in wealth, and in fair buildings. *Leland* attributes the riſe of this town to the decay of *Warham*; imagining, that while the ſhips could go up ſo far, and there unlade, it was in a proſperous condition; but when for want of depth of water they loſt that road, they took up at *Poole*, and ſo by little and little enriched it. And yet it ſhould ſeem to have been formerly alſo a town of ſome note, and of good antiquity. For it appears by records, that in the 2. of *Edward* II. the free burgeſſes of *Poole*, *Thomas Plantagenet* earl of *Lancaſter* being then lord of it in right of his wife, paid to the ſaid lord the ſum of 8 *l.* 13 *s.* (equal to about 80 *l.* now) for the farm of their liberties; and in 14. *Edward* III. they ſent burgeſſes to parliament. King *Henry* VI. by act of parliament transferr'd the franchiſes of the port of *Melcombe*, which he had diſfranchiſed, to this place; and gave leave to the mayor to incloſe it with walls, which were afterwards begun at the harbour by *Richard* III. who deſervedly bears the character of one of the worſt of men, and beſt of kings. But from that time, by I know not what ill deſtiny, or rather negligence of the inhabitants, it has been decaying; ſo that now the houſes, for want of inhabitants, are dropping down.

Into the weſt corner of this bay *Frome*, a famous river of this county, diſcharges itſelf; for ſo it is commonly called, tho' the *Saxons*, as we learn from *Aſſerius*, named it *Frau*; and becauſe this bay was formerly called *Wareamouth*, later ages have probably imagined, that the river was called *Wareme*. It has its riſe at *Evarſhot*, near the weſtern bounds of the ſhire, from whence it runs eaſtward by *Frompton*, to which it gave the name; and being joined by a rivulet from the north, that flows by *Corne Abby*, which was built by *Auſtin* the *Engliſh* apoſtle, when he had daſhed to pieces the idol of the pagan *Saxons* there, called *Heil*, and had delivered them from their ſuperſtitious ignorance. A little beneath this, *Frau* or *Frome*, call it which you pleaſe, dividing itſelf, makes a kind of iſland; and firſt viſits that ancient town, which in the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus* is called *Durnovaria*, that is, *the paſſage over the river*. *Ptolemy*, according to different copies, calls it more correctly *Durnium*, and *Dunium*. This has the name of the principal town of the county, and yet it is neither large nor beautiful, the walls having been pulled down by the *Danes*, who have thrown up ſeveral barrows about the town. It has very wide ſtreets, and is delicately ſituated on a riſing

ground, opening at the ſouth and weſt ends into ſweet fields and downs. It is a corporation, formerly governed by two bailiffs and burgeſſes; but it was, in the 5. *Charles* I. incorporated a-new, by the name of bailiffs, aldermen, and burgeſſes; with an enlargement of liberties, chiſes, and immunities. It appears, that in the 39 *Henry* VI. it contained 349 houſes. This place daily diſcovers very viſible tokens of its ſuch are, the *Roman* military or conſular way, with braſs and ſilver the *Roman* emperors, which the common people call *King Dun*, whom they fondly believe from the name to have been the founder of town. In the time of the *Romans*, it was one of the two winter of their legions, mentioned in thoſe parts; *Vindogladia*, now Winſbury, ing the other. And a mile off, there is a ditch with a bulwark on the of an hill, pretty large in circumference, and called *Maiden-caſtle*, one may eaſily ſee was a ſummer camp of the *Romans*. They who curiouſly view'd the place, have traced out the particular uſes of each as, that the weſtern part of it, facing the *Prætorium*, was for the foot, it could not contain leſs than three legions, *i. e.* about 18000 ſoldiers; the eaſt part, behind the *Prætorium*, was for the horſe and carriages; that, between both, on each ſide the *Prætorium*, the tribunes and officers were ſeated. On the ſouth ſide of this work, is a place like the mouth of a hollow cave, which ſome nice obſervers will have to be artificial; but for what uſe it ſhould be contrived is altogether uncertain. The town ſuffer'd moſt, when the cruel and barbarous *Sueno* renew'd the Danish wars; and when *Hugh* the *Norman*, a man of treacherous principles, governour of theſe parts, ſuffered the country to be plundered and deſtroyed. But in what condition it was, about the beginning of the *Norman* reign, we learn, if you pleaſe, from *Domeſday* book. *In king* Edward's *reign there were* 170 *houſes in* Dorcheſter; *theſe defended themſelves for all manner of ſervices, and paid geld for ten hides, but to the work of Haſtards one hide of ſilver, excepting thoſe cuſtoms which were for one night's entertainment. There were in it two mint-maſters. There are now only* 82 *houſes; and 100 have been totally demoliſhed, ſince* Hugh *was ſheriff.* If this language be obſcure and unintelligible, as *Sextus Cæcilius* ſaid in a caſe of the like nature, it is not to be imputed to want of skill in the writer, but to want of capacity in the reader. From this place *Henry* lord *Pierpoint*, earl of *Kingſton*, and *Newark*, and baron of *Holme*, was created marquis of *Dorcheſter*, in the 3d year of king *Charles* I. who dying without iſſue-male ſurviving, this title died, till queen *Anne*, in the 5th year of her reign, advanced the honourable *Evelyn*, earl, and ſince duke of *Kingſton*, to the title of Marquis of *Dorcheſter*.

From hence the river *Frome* runs by *Woodsford*, where formerly *Guido de Briet*, a martial hero, had a small castle; afterwards the habitation of *Humphrey Stafford* of *Sutkwick*, by whose coheir it descended, as I have been told, to Sir *Edmund Cheney*, of *Brook*; and by his daughter to *T. Strangways*, a native of *Lancashire*, who came to a fair estate in this county, and whose posterity built a very fine seat at *Melbery*. From hence it was by *Bindon*, called by the *Saxons Beandun* (which likewise had its monastery) where *Kinegils*, in the year 614. as is commonly said, with great difficulty overcame the *Britains*. But it is observable, that in all the copies of the ancient *Saxon* annals, the place of that victory is called *Beandune*, and not *Beandun*. And I see no reason why this action may not very well be removed to *Bampton*, upon the borders between *Somersetshire* and *Devonshire*. The march of the *Britains*, and all other circumstances, do no less agree to this; and the old name does much better suit it, it being useful for after-ages to add the *p* after *m*, to strengthen as it were the pronunciation. Unless one should suppose that *Beandune* was the ancient name of *Byndon*, and that those works upon a hill south of it, namely, a double-form'd camp, were done by one of those two people. * Some time since, it was the seat of the lord of *Marney*: and afterwards gave the honourable title of viscount to *Thomas Howard*, knight of the garter, whose father, named *Thomas*, second son of *Thomas Howard*, the second duke of *Norfolk* of that name, queen *Elizabeth* created viscount *Howard* of *Byndon*, when by marrying *Elizabeth*, daughter and heir of baron *Marney*, he came to the great estate of the *Newboroughs* in these parts. And in the fifth year of queen *Anne*, *Henry Howard*, lord *Walden*, eldest son to the earl of *Suffolk*, was created baron of *Chesterford*, and earl of *Bindon*. The family just now mentioned, who are called *de Novoburgo*, commonly *Newborough*, to whose estate the family of *Marney* came by *John* lord *Marney*, father of the said *Elizabeth*, marrying the daughter and heir of Sir *Roger Newborough*, derive their pedigree from a younger son of *Henry*, the first earl of *Warwick* of the *Norman* race: and held here *Winfrott*, with the whole hundred, the gift of king *Henry* I. *by service of chamberlain in chief of our lord the king*, as it is in the inquisition. But I have read, that in *Edward* the III.'s reign, it was *held in sergeantry, by holding the bason for the king to wash on his coronation-day*. *Ralph Moien* likewise held the adjoining manour of *Owres*, by *service of sergeantry in the kitchen*; the gift also of king *Henry* I. and since, the possession of the lord *Stourton*, as being descended of *William de Stourton*, who in the time of *Richard* II. married *Elizabeth*, the

* So said, *anno* 1607.

daughter,

daughter, and afterwards heir of Sir *John Moigne*: and R. de Welles held *the manour of* Welles *adjoining, ever since the conquest of* England, by the *ſervice of being baker.* But this by the way.

Where *Frome* diſcharges itſelf into the bay on which *Poole* is ſeated, at the mouth of it ſtands *Warham*, by the *Saxons* called *Wearebarn*, very ſtrong and ſecure on all ſides but the weſt, being every way elſe encompaſſed by the river *Trent*, the *Frome*, and the ſea; and fortified on the weſt ſide, as alſo on the eaſt, with earthen walls, both ſtrong and high. In *Edward* the confeſſor's time, as it is recorded in *Domeſday* book, it had 148 houſes, and two mint-maſters; but in *William* the conqueror's days there were but 70 houſes. Afterwards it re-flouriſhed, and was in great proſperity (compaſſed with walls quite round, had a mint-office, was full of inhabitants, and had a very ſtrong caſtle, built by *William* the conqueror) till the reign of *Henry* II. But from that time it ſuffered much by the wars and the conflagration of fire, together with the ſea's robbing them of their haven, and ſo it was well nigh run to ruin: and the ground that was in the very heart of the ancient town produces great quantities of garlick. It is probable enough, that it aroſe out of the ruins of a little poor place called *Stowborough*, in the ſame manner as the preſent *Salisbury* has riſen out of the ruins of the old; for *Stowborough*, tho' but a mean place, is ſtill governed by a mayor; which ſhews, that it has formerly been much more conſiderable: and the natural ſtrength of *Warham*, among other things, might invite them, in thoſe troubleſome times, to remove thither. At preſent, there are not the leaſt remains of the caſtle before-mentioned; only the ground, upon which it was built, is called *Caſtle-hill.* An argument of its once flouriſhing condition is the number of churches, which they reckon were in all eight, but now only three are uſed. The eaſt part alſo of the town, and much of the weſt, is now turned to gardens; but the principal ſtreets remain ſtill.

The little river *Trent* has likewiſe it's mouth here, named ſo by *Leland*, tho' the inhabitants call it now *Piddle*; from whoſe northern bank, ſcarce three miles off, I ſaw the ruinous walls of an old abby called *Middleton*, which king *Athelſtan* founded by way of atonement for taking away both the life and crown of his brother *Edwin*. For when his ambitious deſire of government had overcome the principles of natural juſtice, he put the poor youth, who was heir apparent to the crown, with his little page, into a ſmall skiff without any tackle, that he might charge the ſea with his own guilt: And *Edwin*, helpleſs, and diſtracted with grief, threw himſelf headlong into the ſea. The greateſt part of the abby is ſtill ſtanding, as having been the ſeat of the *Tregonwells* from the time of the diſſolution; from whom it came, by the marriage of the daughter and heir of *John Tregonwell*, to the *L*[illegible]

...lls, of *Dunſter-caſtle*; and from them, by marriage, to the family of *Banks*. Beneath this *Middleton* another little river riſes, which runs by a ſmall market-town called *Bere*, where for a long time the ancient and famous family *De turbida villa*, commonly called *Turbervill*, had their ſeat.

But to return to the weſt part of the ſhire: at the riſe of *Frome*, where the ſoil is exceeding fruitful, *Blackmore* foreſt (once well wooded, now more naked) affords very good hunting. It is commonly called *The foreſt of White-hart*, tho' long ſince dis-foreſted. The inhabitants have a tradition, concerning the occaſion of the name, That king *Henry* III. hunting here, and having run down ſeveral deer, ſpared the life of a *milk-white hart*, which afterwards *T. de la Linde*, a gentleman of this county, and his company, took and kill'd; but they were ſoon made ſenſible, how dangerous it is to provoke a lion. For the king, being highly incenſed at it, fined them ſeverely; and the very lands they held do to this day pay into the king's *Exchequer* annually a pecuniary acknowledgment by way of fine, called *White-hart-ſilver*. *Shirburn*, which is likewiſe called *Shirburn-caſtle*, borders upon this foreſt; formerly *Scireburn*, that is, *a ſpring of clear water*; and accordingly, as *Leland* ſaith, in ſome old evidences termed *Fons Clarus*. It is placed on the decline of a hill, and is very pleaſant, as *Malmsbury* writes, *by reaſon of the multitude of inhabitants, and a delightful ſituation*: It is at preſent the moſt frequented town in this county, their woollen manufacture turning to great account. *Leland* ſaith, in his time it was about two miles in compaſs; and ſubſiſted partly by making of cloth, but moſtly by all manner of trades jointly. In the year of our Lord 704. an epiſcopal ſee was erected here; and *Aldelm* was conſecrated the firſt biſhop: afterwards, in the reign of king *Ethelred*, *Herman*, biſhop of *Sunning*, being advanced to this biſhoprick, transferred his epiſcopal ſee hither, and annexed the biſhoprick of *Sunning* to it, which in *William* the conqueror's reign he removed to *Salisbury*, reſerving *Shirburn* to his ſucceſſors for a retiring place; to whom it belonged for many ages: and one of them, named *Roger*, built a fortified caſtle in the eaſt part of it; beneath which was a large marſh, and many fiſh-ponds; but theſe being filled up, are converted into fruitful meadows. And as all the old biſhopricks have been cruelly lopped, ſo *Salisbury* has loſt this (the chief rents only reſerved) to the crown. The main uſe it hath ſerved has been to gratify great favourites; none of whom having long enjoyed it, a remark hath been made, from this and other like inſtances, That church-lands will not ſtick by lay-owners.

The

The cathedral church, immediately upon the tranſlation of the ſee, was converted into a monaſtery, and ſeems very ancient; tho' many years ago, in an uproar between the townſmen and the monks, it was ſet on fire; the ſigns of which appear plainly at this day in the blackneſs of the ſtones. This quarrel, as *Leland* tells us, was occaſioned by the monks taking the liberty to baptize in the chapel of *All-hallows*; the font-ſtone whereof one of the townſmen defaced. Below this, the river *Ivell*, of which we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere, with many turnings and windings runs weſtward, to *Clifton*, formerly the ſeat of the family of *Malbanch*, from which it deſcended by inheritance to the family of the *Horſeies*, knights, and from them by purchaſe to the *Helys*; and now it belongs to the *Hervies*; and here the *Ivell* enters *Somerſetſhire*.

More to the eaſt, the famous river *Stoure* (riſing out of ſix ſprings in *Wiltſhire*, and yielding great plenty of tench and eel) flows to *Stourton*, the ſeat of the barons of *Stourton*. When it firſt enters this county, it runs by *Gillingham* foreſt, where *Edmund* ſir-named *Ironſide* defeated the Danes in a memorable battle; and then viſits *Shaftsbury*, three miles off, ſeated on the top of an high hill; by the *Britains* called *Caer Paladur* (as the common people falſly imagine) and *Septonia*; by the *Saxons* *Sceaftesbyrig*, perhaps from the remarkable church-ſpire, which they call a *Scheaft*. A little before the *Normans* came in, it had 104 houſes, and three mint-maſters, as I have read in *Domeſday* book, ſo often cited. It was afterwards more famous for a nunnery founded by the pious lady *Elfgiva*, wife to *Edmund*, great-grandſon of king *Alfred*; and had in it about ten pariſh-churches. But it is moſt remarkable, for what our hiſtorians ſay of one *Aquila*, who propheſied concerning the change of the *Britiſh* government. Some think it was the bird called *aquila*, an eagle; others, that it was a perſon of that name, who foretold that the government of *Britain*, after having been in *Saxon* and *Norman* hands, ſhould return at length to the ancient *Britains*. And theſe would have the town to be older than time itſelf, tho' it was undoubtedly built by king *Alfred*. For *Malmsbury* the hiſtorian has told us, that there was an ancient ſtone in his time, removed out of the ruins of the walls into the chapter-houſe of the nuns, which had this inſcription:

ANNO DOMINICAE INCARNATIONIS AELFRIDUS REX FECIT HANC URBEM. DCCCLXXX. REGNI SUI VIII.

King Alfred *built this city in the year of our Lord* 880. *and the eighth year of his reign.*

I was

I was the more willing to insert this inscription for clearing of the truth, because it is wanting in all the copies I have seen, except one which belongs to the lord *Burghley*, lord treasurer of *England*. This place gave the title of earl to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, lord *Ashley* of *Wimborn St. Giles's*, in the twenty-fourth year of king *Charles* the second; in which year he was also made lord chancellor of *England*.

From thence the *Stoure*, running by *Marnhill* (from which *Henry Howard* had his title of baron *Howard* of *Marnhill*, before he was created earl of *Northampton*, and which is now the possession of the *Hasles*) makes to *Stour-minster*, that is, a monastery or minster upon the *Stoure*, a very mean town, and of low situation; to which *Newton* castle is joyn'd by a stone bridge, where there is a mole of earth rais'd with no small pains, and cut off by a deep and wide ditch from the high land behind it; but nothing remains of the castle, save the name. Nor is there any thing of greater antiquity relating to this place, than that king *Alfred*, by will, gave *Stourminster* to his younger son. In the neighbourhood, at *Gillingston*, are two pretty high hills; one call'd *Hamildon*, with a treble rampire; the other, *Hodde*, only with a single rampire; and it may seem to have been a camp, where the enemies to the more settled garrison in *Hamildon*, lodged. By whom it was cast up is hard to determine; however, we may more safely conclude it to have been a work of the *Danes*, than of the *Romans*, both because of its irregularity, and its being omitted by *Antoninus*. The place where these hills are, is at present call'd *Skillingston*; and more anciently *Aukford-Eskilling*, as having been the possession of the family of *Eskilling*.

Not far off (I cannot be particular in the place) was *Okford*, which, in the reign of king *Stephen*, or before, was the inheritance of the great family of *Lucelina* (call'd by the *French*, *de Lucel*,) and *Alured* being an usual name in that family, it was sometimes named *Auckford Alured*, as in the 9th of *Edward* the 1st; and sometimes *Auckford Nichol*, as in the 10th of *Edward* the 1st; when the lord thereof procured it a fair and market. The difference and reason of the name, is the more worthy of observation, because it secures us against an error, that these might be distinct places. Afterwards, it was the chief barony of *Robert* the son of *Hagan*, commonly called *Fitz-Payne*: He married the daughter of *Guido de Brien*, who also had a barony in these western parts in *Edward* the 3d's reign; but for want of heirs male of the family of *Fitz-Payne* (from whom the common people, to this day, corruptly call the place *Fipenny Okford*,) the titles of baron *Fitz-Payne*, and *Brien*, coming first to the *Poynings* (barons also in that age,) and a daughter of their family, in the reign of *Henry* the 6th, centred (together with the *Poynings*) in the *Percies* earls of *Northumberland*. But within

the memory of the laſt age ſave one, by the favour of *Henry* the 8th, the dignity of baron *Poynings* reviv'd in *Thomas Poynings*, a warlike-man, who had many illegitimate children; and, with him, it ſoon expir'd.

From hence, the *Steare* paſſes by *Brienſton*, that is, *Brientius's* town, the ſeat of the ancient and knightly family of the *Rogers*. In which family it continu'd, till Sir *William Portman* purchas'd it, who left it to *Henry Portman*, his adopted heir; and he, by buildings and otherwiſe, much adorn'd and improv'd it. This was held in grand ſergeantry by a pretty odd jocular tenure, viz. By finding a man to go before the king's army for forty days, when he ſhould make war in *Scotland* (ſome records ſay in *Wales*,) bare-headed and bare-footed, in his ſhirt and linnen-drawers, holding in one hand a bow without a ſtring, in the other an arrow without feathers. Next it goes to *Blandford*, a market-town; which, having been by an accident burnt down in the laſt age ſave one, was rebuilt, with great advantage in point of beauty and number of inhabitants. From thence, flowing by *Tarrent*, (part of the large poſſeſſions of *Henry Portman*) where *Richard Poor*, biſhop of *Salisbury* founded a little nunnery; it haſtens to the ancient town, call'd *Vindogladea*, and mentioned by *Antoninus*; by the *Saxons* call'd *Wynburnham*; now commonly *Winburne*, and from its monaſtery *Winburnminſter*: From hence it is juſt ſixteen miles to *Dorcheſter*; the juſt diſtance that *Antoninus* makes between *Vindogladia* and *Durnovaria*. I ſuppoſe it took the name from its ſituation between two rivers (the *Steare* and *Allen*; for *Windugledy* in *Britiſh* ſignifies between two ſwords; and, that the *Britains* call'd their rivers peculiarly by the name of *ſwords*, is plain from *Aberdugledau* (the *Britiſh* name of *Milford-Haven*,) that is, the mouth of two ſwords, becauſe two rivers call'd *Gledau*, that is, ſwords, run into it. The modern name alſo ſeems to be taken from rivers; for *Winburne* is a compound of *Vin* a piece of the old word, and the *Saxon Burne*, ſignifying a river; by the addition of which word, they were wont to expreſs the names of places that ſtood by the water-ſide. The town is ſeated at the foot of a hill; being large and very well inhabited. It was of great reputation in the *Saxon* times; I believe, upon no other account, but for the remains of the *Roman* magnificence. In the year 713, when *Cuthburg*, ſiſter to *Ina*, king of the *Weſt-Saxons*, being weary of a marry'd life, had procured a divorce from her husband the king of the *Northumbrians*; ſhe founded a nunnery here, which being conſumed by age, a new church was erected in the place, with a fair vault under the choir, and a very high ſpire, beſides the ſteeple, (which is now fall'n, and nothing remains, but the tower on which it ſtood.) Into this prebendaries were introduc'd, inſtead of nuns; where, in the memory of the laſt age ſave one, *Reginald Pole*

...dean, who afterwards was made cardinal, and archbishop of *Canterbury*; ...ding to the nobility of his birth (for he had royal blood in his veins) the ornaments of piety, wisdom, and eloquence. He was son to *Margaret Poole*, countess of *Salisbury*, and daughter to *George* duke of *Clarence*, who was brother to king *Edward* IV. King *Ethelred* (one of the best of princes, and brother of *Alfred*) who was slain in a battle with the *Danes* at *Wimborn*, lies buried in this church; upon whose tomb, not long since repair'd, this inscription is to be read:

IN HOC LOCO QVIESCIT CORPVS S. ETHELDREDI REGIS WEST-SAXONVM, MARTYRIS, QVI ANNO DOMINI DCCCLXXII. XXIII. APRILIS, PER MANVS DANORVM PAGANORVM OCCVBVIT.

Which is *English'd* thus:

In this place rests the body of St. Ethelred, *king of the* West-Saxons, *martyr, who in the year of our Lord* DCCCLXXII, *on the* XXIII *of* April *fell by the hands of the* Pagan Danes.

Near whom lies buried *Gertrude* marchioness of *Exeter*, and mother of *Edw. Courtney*, the last earl of *Devonshire* of that family: and on the other side of the choir, *John de Beaufort* duke of *Somerset*, with his wife; whose daughter *Margaret* countess of *Richmond*, mother of *Henry* VII. a princess of extraordinary piety, founded a school in this place for the education of youth, which hath since been considerably improved by the bounty of queen *Elizabeth*. But to shift the scene from the church to the town. When the *Danes* endeavoured to raise a civil war among the *English*, and had broken the alliance between king *Edward* the elder, and *Athelwald* his kinsman; *Athelwald*, highly ambitious of government, and out of an inveterate hatred to the prince, fortified this place with the strongest works he could contrive. But as soon as *Edward* approach'd with his army, and had encamp'd at *Badbyrig*, now called *Badbury*, he fled to his confederates the *Danes*. This *Badbury* is a hill scarce two miles off, entrench'd with a triple ditch, where, they say, a castle stood, formerly the seat of the *West-saxon* kings. But if there was such a one, it is now so entirely destroy'd, that I could not discover the least footsteps of it. It is probable, that this was a summer-station, or part of a legion, which might have their winter-station at *Winborn*. But, however this may be, that it belong'd to the *Romans*, is evident from their coins found there; where also a *Roman* sword, and di-

vers urns, have been lately dug up; and, what puts it beyond all dispute, is, a *Foſſe-way* beginning there, which leads to *Sorbiodunum*, or *Salisbury*.

In the neighbourhood, I ſaw *Kingſton*, a little village, call'd *Kingſton-Lacy*, becauſe it belong'd to the *Lacies* earls of *Lincoln*, together with *Winburne*; to whom it came by bargain and ſale, thro' the hands of *Quincy* earl of *Winchester*, from the earls of *Leiceſter* (for king *Henry* I. gave it to *Robert* earl of *Mellent* and *Leiceſter*) and at laſt both places came to the houſe of *Lancaſter*, who, as I ſaid, had a particular favour for *Winburne*. It is now called *Kingſton-hall*, and the poſſeſſion of the family of *Banks*, of whom Sir *Ralph Banks* built upon it a ſtately houſe; and his grandfather Sir *John Banks* bought it of the adopted ſon of *Charles Blunt* earl of *Devonſhire*, to whom it was given by King *James* I. having come to the crown by *Henry* IV. ſon of *John of Gaunt* duke of *Lancaſter*. At a little diſtance from *Winburne*, the *Stoure* receives a ſmall river called *Allen*, upon which ſtands St. *Giles Winburne*, the ſeat of the honourable and ancient family of *Aſhley*, knights. It came by deſcent to the earl of *Shaftsbury*, from Sir *Anthony Aſhley* (who was in ſeveral publick employments in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*) he having given his only daughter and heir in marriage to Sir *John Cooper* of *Rockbourn* in *Hampſhire*, who had iſſue by her Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, who in the year 1661. was made a peer of this realm by the title of baron *Aſhley* of *Winburne* St. *Giles*, having choſen that title purſuant to an article in the aforeſaid marriage, That if Sir *John Cooper*, or his heirs ſhould come to be honoured with the degree of peerage, they ſhould take that for their title. Upon the ſame river ſtands *Wickhampton*, once the patrimonial eſtate of the barons of *Maltravers*; the laſt of whom, in the reign of *Edw.* III. left only two daughters; one marry'd to *John de Arundel*, the grandfather of *John* earl of *Arundel*, who left to his heirs the title of baron of *Maltravers*; the other to *Robert le Rous*: and afterwards to *John Keynes* knight. From hence the *Stoure* paſſes by *Canford*; below which, *James* baron of *Montjoy* (a great virtuoſo, particularly in metals) began to make *Coperas* and *Allum*. It was from this place alſo that *John* earl of *Warren* forcibly took away *Alice Lacy*, the wife of *Thomas* earl of *Lancaſter*, to his own great ſhame, and no leſs damage to all *England*; as appears at large by our Chroniclers. Here the river *Stoure* leaves *Dorſetſhire*, and running thro' ſome parts of *Hantſhire*, diſcharges itſelf into the ocean, having firſt received a little river which runs by *Cranborne*, a town very well watered where, in the year of our Lord 930 *Ælfward* a nobleman (ſirnamed *Meaw* from his fair complexion) founded a little monaſtery, which *Robert Fitz-Haimon*, a *Norman*, to whom the eſtate of *Ælfward* deſcended, [illegible]

mov'd to *Tewkesbury*, leaving only a monk or two here. From *Aikward* it came thro' the hands of the *Clares* earls of *Glouceſter*, and *Burbs* earls of *Ulſter*, to *Lionel* duke of *Clarence*, and by him to the crown. *Robert Cecil* was viſcount of *Cranborne*, whom king *James* I. in the firſt year of his reign, did, in conſideration of his great wiſdom, honour with the title of baron *Cecil* of *Eſſendon*; in his ſecond year with that of viſcount *Cranborne*; and in his third with the title of earl of *Salisbury*. On *Hambledon-hill*, at the at the end of *Cranborne-Chaſe*, is an ancient camp, and another near it on *Hod-hill*; in or near the firſt of which *Roman* coins are ſaid to have been dug up.

Touching the earls and marqueſſes of this county, *William the Conqueror*, as ſoon as he had got the crown, made *Oſmund*, who was earl of Setz in *Normandy*, biſhop of *Salisbury*, and firſt earl of *Dorſet*, and alſo his own chancellor, having a great opinion of his piety, wiſdom, and abilities. A long time after, *Richard* II. in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, advanc'd *John de Beaufort*, ſon to *John of Gaunt* and earl of *Somerſet*, to be marquis of *Dorſet*; of which honour he was afterwards deprived by *Henry* IV. out of ſpite to *Richard* II. And when, in full parliament, the houſe of commons, with whom he was much in favour, did earneſtly intercede that his dignity of marquis might be reſtor'd, he utterly refuſed it, as an upſtart title, never known in the world before; and his younger brother *Thomas de Beaufort* was created earl of *Dorſet*, who afterwards, for his great valour, was honour'd by *Henry* V. with the title of duke of *Exeter*, and the government of the county of *Harcourt*. For he gallantly defended *Harfleur* in *Normandy* againſt the *French*, and defeated the earl of *Armeniac* in a pitch'd battle. After his deceaſe without iſſue, *Henry* VI. created *Edmund*, of the ſame houſe of *Lancaſter*, firſt earl, and then marquis of *Dorſet*, and at laſt duke of *Somerſet*; whoſe ſons being all cut off in the civil wars, and the houſe of *Lancaſter* quite routed, *Edward* IV. created *Thomas Grey* of the family of *Ruthin*, who was his ſon-in-law (for the king had marry'd *Grey*'s mother) marquis of *Dorſet*, when in right of his wife he was come to the great eſtate of the *Bonvils* in this and the neighbouring counties. *Thomas* his ſon, and *Henry* his grandſon by the ſaid *Thomas*, ſucceeded him; which laſt was created duke of *Suffolk* by *Edward* VI. upon his marriage with *Frances*, daughter of *Charles Brandon* duke of *Suffolk*, and niece to king *Henry* VIII. by his ſiſter. He ſuffer'd for high treaſon in queen *Mary*'s reign, having had too late experience how dangerous a thing it is to marry into royal families, and to encourage one's ſelf, or others, in that kind of ambition.

From

From this time the title of *Dorset* was conferr'd on none, till king *James* I. in the beginning of his reign, advanced *Thomas Sackvil*, baron of *Buckhurst*, lord treasurer of *England*, a person of great wisdom and application, to the earldom of *Dorset*, as a just reward of his extraordinary merit, and eminent services to the publick. Who dying of an apoplexy, *April* 19. 1608. was succeeded by *Robert* his son and heir; whose second son *Richard* succeeded his father; *Thomas* the eldest son dying before, and unmarried. This *Richard* dying without issue, his younger brother Sir *Edward Sackvil* succeeded him in his honours, who, first, was lord chamberlain to queen *Mary*, wife of king *Charles* I. and afterwards lord chamberlain to the king. His son *Richard* was next earl, and was succeeded by *Charles* his son by the lady *Frances*, daughter to *Lionel* earl of *Middlesex*, and at length heir to *James* earl of *Middlesex*, her brother; upon which account the said *Charles* was created earl of *Middlesex*, by Letters Patents bearing date *April* 14. 27 *Car.* II. in which honours he was succeeded by his only son *Lionel-Cranfield Sackvil*, the present earl.

There are in this County two hundred and forty-eight Parish-Churches.

A Catalogue of rare Plants growing wild in Dorsetshire.

Calamogrostis sive Gramen tomentosum, Park. Gramen tomentosum, Calamograstis quorundam, & vulgi Gramen plumosum, Lob. Belg. Gr. arundinaceum panicula molli spadicea majus, C. B. The soft or woolly Reed-grass. This groweth in the borders of dry fields in many countries of this kingdom, especially in *Dorsetshire*, *Park. p.* 1182. I am suspicious there will be no such grass found in this or any other county of *England*; neither am I satisfied what sort of grass *Lobel* meant by this title. See his description of his own translation out of his *Dutch* Herbal, in *Parkinson*.

Carduus stellatus luteus foliis Cyani, C. B. Solstitialis, G. R. Spina solstitialis, J. B. Cardui stellati varietas, jacea lutea clusii, Lob. St. *Barnaby*'s Thistle. By the hedges not far from *Cirencester* in *Glocestershire*, Mr. *Bobart*.

Cyperus longus, Ger. longus odoratus, Park. odoratus radice longa, seu Cyperus Officinarum, C. B. panicula sparsa speciosa, J. B. The ordinary sweet Cyperus grass or *English* Galingale. Found by Mr. *Newton* in the isle of *Purbeck*, *Dorsetshire*.

Gra-

Gale frutex odoratus ſeptentrionalium, *Elæagnus Cordi*, *J. B.* *Myrtus Brabantica*, *ſive Elæagnus Cordi*, *Ger.* *Rhus myrtifolia Belgica*, *C. B.* *Sylveſtris ſive Myrtus Brabantica vel Anglica*, *C. B.* Gaule, ſweet Willow, or *Dutch* Myrtle. In a low level marſhy ground, near *Wareham* in this county, plentifully.

Malva arborea marina noſtras, *Park.* *Engliſh* Sea Tree-mallow. About the cottages of the village called *Chiſſel*, in *Portland* iſland.

Sedum Portlandicum, *Ad. Lob. majus marinum Anglicum*, *Park.* *Portland* Sengreen. *Lobel* writing ſo ambiguouſly of this plant, and we having not ſeen nor heard of it at *Portland*, I ſhould not have thought it worth mentioning, but that I find it in ſome catalogues of gardens.

Vermicularis frutex minor, *Ger.* *Fruticoſa altera*, *Park.* *Sedum minus fruticoſum*, *C. B.* *Kali ſpecies*, *ſeu Vermicularis marina arboreſcens*, *J. B.* Shrub-Stonecrop, or rather Glaſſwort. On the ſtone baich running from the ſhore of *Dorſetſhire* almoſt to *Portland* iſland.



BELGÆ,

BELGÆ.

NEXT the *Durotriges*, to the north and east, were the *Belgæ*, who, from the name and other good authorities, seem to have come into *Britain* from among the *Belgæ*, a people of *Gaul*. For the *Belgæ*, as *Cæsar* learn'd of the *Rhemi*, were descended from the *Germans*, and passing over the *Rhine*, were induced by the fruitfulness of the place to settle there, after they had expelled the *Gauls*. *From whence*, as the same author has it, *they passed over into* Britain, *to plunder and conquer, and were all called by the names of the cities where they had been born, and from whence they came over thither; and making war upon the inhabitants, they settled there, and began to cultivate the land.* It does not precisely appear, at what time they came over; whether possibly *Divitiacus*, king of the *Suessiones*, who flourished before *Cæsar*, might transplant the *Belgæ* hither. For he had the government of a great part of *Britain*, as well as of *Gaule*. Neither is it clear, from whence the name of *Belgæ* should come. *Hubert Thomas*, of *Leige*, a very learned man, was of opinion, that *Belgæ* is a *German* word, because the *Germans* call the *Gauls* and *Italians*, *Wallen*, and some of them term them *Welgen*. *John Goropius*, a *Belgian*, will have it to come from the *Belgick* word *Belke*, signifying anger, as if they were more prone to anger than others. But since the name of *Belgæ* does not seem to be properly derived from the language used at this day by the *Low-Dutch*, which is almost the same with our *English-Saxon*, for it was carried thither by those *Saxons* which *Charles* the Great transplanted into *Britain*

Brabant and *Flanders*, I am inclined to favour the opinion of those who fetch it from the old *Gaulish* tongue, which our *Welsh* in a great measure retains intire, and who will have the *Belgæ* so named from *Pel*, i. e. *remote*. For they were the remotest people in *Gaul*; and at the greatest distance from the *Roman* province, as well in situation, as in breeding and humanity. And the poet tells us, that the *Morini*, a people of *Gallia Belgica*, were the most remote, when he calls them *extremi hominum*, the remotest part of mankind. But now let us come to our *Belgæ*, whose territories were very large, viz. *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, and the inner part of *Hantshire*.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

THE county of *Somerset*, called by the *Saxons Sumursæteſcyre* (as the inhabitants were called *Sumurſætas*, *Sumorſæte*, and *Sumærſætas*) now commonly *Somerſetſhire*, is a large and plentiful country. On north the *Severn* sea beats upon it, to the west it bounds upon *Devonshire*, to the south upon *Dorſetſhire*, and to the east upon *Wiltſhire*, and part *Glouceſterſhire*. The soil is very rich, and chiefly employed in grain and forage; it is very populous, and tolerably well furnished with harbours. I think, this name was first given it, because the air is gentle, and as it were a *ſummer-air*, in those parts; in which sense the *Britains* at this day call it *glad-arbaſ*, translating the word out of our language. But the truth is, in summer-time it may really be term'd a *ſummer-country*, so no less may it in the winter-season be called a *winter-country*: so wet, moist, and dirty it is for the most part, which makes it very troublesome to travellers. However, I shall not scruple to affirm that this name was certainly given it from *Somerton*, formerly the chief and most celebrated town of the county; which *Aſſer*, a very ancient author, calls it every where the county of *Somerton*.

On the *Severn* sea, where this county borders on the *Dammonii*, the first places we meet with are *Porlock*, in *Saxon Portlocan*, and *Watchet*, by *Weecedpoort*, two harbours, which in the year 886. suffered very much from the fury of the *Danes*. *Watchet* was again harrassed by them *ann.* 997.

and amongſt the reſt of the neighbours in thoſe weſterly parts, ſuffered whatever fire and ſword could inflict. *Porlock* was the place where *Harold* landed from *Ireland*, *ann.* 1052. who, being oppoſed by the inhabitants and neighbouring people, ſlew great numbers of them, and carried off a large booty. Between theſe two lies *Dunſtor* caſtle, in a low ground, every way ſhut up with hills, except on that ſide which faces the ſea. It was built by the *Moions* or *Mohuns*, from whom it came, by bargain, to the *Luterells*. This family of the *Mohuns* was for a long time very famous and powerful, and flouriſhed from the days of *William* the conqueror, under whom the caſtle was built, to the reign of *Richard* II. Of the ſame family were two earls of this county, *William*, and *Reginald*, who was deprived of that honour in the barons wars. From that time their poſterity were in the number of barons, the laſt whereof, *John*, left three daughters, *Philippa* wife of *Edward* duke of *York*, *Elizabeth* married to *William de Monte-acuto* or *Montacute*, ſecond earl of *Saliſbury* of that name, and *Maud* to the lord *Lefrange* of *Knokyn*. The mother of theſe, as the ſtory goes, obtained of her huſband, below this town, ſo much ground as a common to the inhabitants, as ſhe could go about barefoot in one day. Near this caſtle is *Minhead*, which was, with many other lordſhips, given by *William* the conqueror to Sir *William de Mohun*; from whoſe family it came to that of *Luterell*. It is one of the moſt frequented paſſages to *Ireland*, and is of late improved by the catching of herrings, which come up the *Severn* about *Michaelmas*, in mighty ſhoals, and being caught and cured, are ſent hence to markets up the *Mediterranean*, with great advantage. In the 12th year of *William* III. a ſtatute was made, for the recovering, ſecuring, and keeping in repair this harbour, "for the benefit and ſupport of the navigation and trade of this kingdom." On the rocks and pebbles, where the *Severn* waſhes them, more eſpecially near *Old Cleve*, between *Dunſtor* and *Watchet*, grows the *Lichen marinus*, ſea liverwort, commonly called *Laver*. Hither, when the tide is out, the inhabitants come and gather it, and, when cleanſed and pickled, ſend it to a great diſtance; being of a pleaſant taſte, very nouriſhing, a good antiſcorbutick, and of excellent uſe by way of diet and medicine. In this village lies *Orchard-Wyndham*, once belonging to the *Orchards*, who had ſome great poſſeſſions in this country. From them it came to the *Sydenhams*, and from them by marriage to the *Wyndhams*. Near which place, at *Allecomb*, was a ſeat of the *Ratleighs*, whoſe monuments are ſtill to be ſeen in the pariſh-church; and who were ſucceeded by the *Trevelyans*, by Cornish extraction, enriched afterwards by marriages, with great eſtates in Devonſhire and this county, particularly in and near this place. In this [illegible] bourh

bourhood is *Quantocks-head*, for many years one of the ſeats of the ancient family of *Luterell*; of whom, *Robert* was ſummoned to parliament among the barons of this realm in the 23d year of *Edward* I. From *Eaſt Quantock-head*, runs a ridge of hills, of the ſame name, through a rich country, ſouthward, as far as the vale of *Taunton-Dean*; affording a proſpect extremely pleaſing to the eye, by reaſon of its great variety of ſea and land, of barrenneſs and fruitfulneſs. At the ſouth end of which hills is *Cothelſton*, the ancient ſeat of the family of *Stawel*, which is of great antiquity in this county; but the houſe was, in the civil wars, brought to an heap of ruins.

Near the caſtle of *Dunſtor* aforeſaid are two ſmall villages, dedicated to two of their country ſaints: *Carenton* is the name of the one, from *Carenus*, the *Britain*; the other, S. *Decombes*, from *Decumanus*, who ſetting, all out of *South-wales*, landed here, as we find it in an ancient *Agonal*, "in a horrid deſart full of ſhrubs and briars, the woods thick and cloſe, ſtretched out a vaſt way both in length and breadth, ſtrutting up with lofty mountains, ſever'd wonderfully by the hollow valleys." Here, having bid farewell to the vanities of the world, he was ſtab'd by an aſſaſſin, and ſo got the reputation of a ſaint among the common people. *Ke- urey*, a barony ſo named from the lords of it, lies at a little greater diſtance from the ſea; the ſeat of *William de Curcy*, butler to king *Henry* I. of which family was that *John de Curcy*, who ſubdued *Ulſter* in *Ireland*, a man deſigned by nature to be great and honourable, endued with a brave ſpirit, and a majeſty of ſoul; whoſe ſignal valour muſt be learnt from the *Iriſh* hiſtories. More eaſtward from hence, at ſome diſtance from the ſea, is *Cannington*, at or about which place, in the year 1010 we find the Danes practiſing their old methods of burning and plunder. The preſent name agrees well with the ancient *Caningan*, and the ſituation of it with the marches of that army. Nor does the *marſſes* (the marſhes) which is added to it, leſs confirm the opinion, it being, as hath been ſaid, eſpecially in the winter, *extreme wet and fenny*. This place was given by king Charles II. to the lord *Clifford* of *Chudleigh*. From the adjoining coaſt to *Stertpoint*, the ſhore ſhoots out by little and little, where two of the beſt rivers in the whole county meeting together, empty themſelves at one mouth, called by *Ptolomy* the Æſtuary of *Uzella*, from the river *Exell*, which leaves that name before it comes hither. It riſes in *Dorſetſhire*, and at its firſt coming into *Somerſetſhire*, gives name to a well-frequented market-town called *Exell*, and receives a little river, upon which is *Camalet*, a high mountain, of a very difficult aſcent; on the top whereof are the plain ſteps of an old decayed camp, and a triple rampire of earth caſt up,

including twenty acres. The inhabitants call it *Arthur's palace*; but that it was really a work of the *Romans*, is plain from the *Roman* coins dug up there. The hill is a mile in compass at the top, four trenches circling it, and between each of them an earthen wall. On the very top of the hill, as hath been said, is an *area* of twenty acres or more, where in several places, as *Leland* observes, might be seen the foundations of walls. And there was much dusky blue stone, which the people of the adjoining villages had in his time carried away. Besides the coins, &c. which tells us of a silver horse-shoe, there dug up in the memory of that age, and *Leland* describes it in a kind of extasy, "Good Lord, what deep "ditches, what high walls, what precipices are here? In short, I look "upon it as a very great wonder both of art and nature." What the *Romans* might call it, I am altogether ignorant; unless it be that of *Calemon*, which we meet with in *Ninnius*'s Catalogue, by a transposition of letters for *Camelon*. *Cadbury*, the adjoining little village, may probably enough be thought that *Cathregion*, where *Arthur*, as *Nennius* tells us, routed the *Saxons* in a memorable battle. Another town of the name, *North-Cadbury*, was given by king *Henry* III. to *Nicholas de Meles*, who had married *Isabella*, one of the two co-heirs of *James de Norton* near or *New-market*. This man's posterity lived a long time in great splendor till *John*, in *Edward* III.'s time, dying, left only issue two daughters, *Maurica*, and *Isabel*; this married to *William Botereaux*, and the other to *Thomas Courtney*. A funeral inscription upon the northern wall of St. Margaret's, *Westminster*, mentions one *John Malys*, of *Halston* in Dorsetshire, *familia oriundus fuit nomina, quæ insignita erat olim villa de North-Cadbury*, i. e. descended from a family of that name, which was formerly distinguished by the title of *North-Cadbury*. It continued in the family of the *Botereaux*, till the death of *William* the last lord Botereaux, who dying in the second year of *Edward* IV. without issue left this lordship with a very great inheritance, descended to *Margaret* his daughter and sole heir, married to *Robert* lord *Hungerford*, from whom it descended to *Mary* lady *Hungerford*, their great-grand-daughter, who was married to *Edward* lord *Hastings* and *Hungerford*, father to George the first of that sir-name earl of *Huntingdon*; it which family it continued to the reign of king *James* I. that Sir *Francis Hastings*, younger son to *Francis* earl of *Huntingdon*, being possessed of the same, and having children, did alienate it.

From hence the river *Ivell* runs to *Ischalis*, mentioned by *Antonine*, *Ivelcester*, call'd, if I mistake not, in *Ninnius*'s catalogue, *Pontavel-coit*, *Pontivel-coit*, *i.e.* a bridge over the *Ivel* in a wood; and by *Florence of*

ceſter, *Givelceſter*. It is now fameus for nothing but the market, and the antiquity of the place; for now and then they dig up coins of the *Roman* emperors, of gold, braſs, and ſilver. That it was formerly large, and encompaſs'd with a double wall, is evident from the ruins. *Leland* ſays, it is one of the moſt ancient towns in all that quarter, and that it had four pariſh churches; the ruins of two of them were ſtanding in his time, the third was quite demoliſhed, and one uſed. About the coming in of the *Normans* it was a populous place, having in it a hundred and ſeven burgeſſes. And at that time it was a place of ſtrength, and well fortify'd; for in the year of Chriſt 1088. when the nobility of *England* had form'd a wicked conſpiracy to depoſe *William Rufus*, in order to advance *Robert* his brother duke of *Normandy* to the throne, *Robert Mowbray* a warlike man, after he had burnt *Bath*, vigorouſly aſſaulted this place; but in vain. However, time has done what he could not do, having at laſt as it were ſtorm'd and taken it.

A little more inward, the confluence of *Ivel* and *Pedred* form a river iſland called *Muchelney*, *i. e.* the large iſland, wherein are ſome remains of the walls of an old monaſtery, which hiſtorians tell us was built by king *Athelſtan*. *Pedred*, commonly *Parret*, riſes in the very ſouth bound of the county, and with a winding channel, runs by *Crukerne*, in *Saxon Cancerne*, eaſt from whence lies *Chard*, which ſtands ſo high, as to have in it a ſtream of water, that by being turned, as it eaſily may, north or ſouth, will run, as is affirm'd, either into the *Severn*, or the *South-Sea*. Near which lies *Whitlakington*, the ſeat of the *Speke*s, in a rich and healthy ſoil, who have for many centuries flouriſhed in *Devonſhire* and this county, there being reckoned, in the genealogy thereof, from *Richard le Eſpec* to the preſent heir, no leſs than twenty deſcents.

Below *Crook-horne* is *Hinton St. George*, on a plain raiſed higher than the rich feeding country adjacent, and much lower than the neighbouring hills; from which plain, in a clear day, there is a vaſt proſpect, extended wide to both the ſeas. This excellency of the ſituation, by nature, has been greatly improved by new modelling of the park, and adorning it with plantations, and by ſpacious and beautiful gardens. It is the ſeat of *John* earl *Powlet*, whoſe family, being of the ancient gentry of this county, and of great figure in it, was by king *Charles* I. made noble, under the title of baron *Powlet* of *Hinton*, which Queen *Anne* changed into that of baron *Hinton St. George*, with the addition of two other titles, *viz.* viſcount of the ſame place, and earl *Powlet*.

Then the *Pedred* runs near *Eaſt Chenock*, where is a ſalt ſpring above twenty miles from the ſea, and ſo by *Pedderton*, to which it gave the name; formerly *Pedridan*, the palace of king *Ina*, now famous only for a market

and

and fair, procured of Henry VI. by Henry Daubeney. Then the Parret runs into the Ivell, and robs it of its name. Three miles hence to the east, it ſalutes Montacute, ſo nam'd by the earl of Moriton, brother by the mother's ſide to William I. (who built a caſtle on the very top of the hill, and a religious houſe at the bottom of it) becauſe it riſes by degrees into a ſharp point; whereas, before that time, it was named Logresburg, or Logresburgh, and Biſchopeſton. But the caſtle has been quite deſtroy'd and gone theſe many years, and the ſtones carry'd off to build the religious houſe and other things. Afterwards, on the very top of a hill, was a chapel erected, and dedicated to St. Michael, the arch and roof curiouſly built of hard ſtone, and the aſcent to it round the mount up ſtone ſtairs, for near half a mile. Now that the monaſtery and chapel are both demoliſhed, the greateſt ornament it has is a beautiful houſe, which the worthy Sir Edward Phelips, knight, ſerjeant at law (whoſe grandſon, Sir Edward Phelips, dying ſome years ſince, left no iſſue male) built at the foot of the mountain. This is one of the moſt remarkable buildings in the weſt of England, being of free-ſtone ſquared, very large, with a beautiful and magnificent front. The place gave name to the honourable family of the Montacutes, deſcended from Drogo the Young. Of this family there were four earls of Sarisbury, the laſt left iſſue one only daughter, who by Richard Nevil had the famous Richard earl of Warwick (that whirlwind of England) and John marquis of Montacute, both kill'd in the battle of Barnet, in the year 1472. But the title of baron Montacute was conferr'd upon Henry Poole (ſon of Margaret, daughter of George duke of Clarence by a daughter of the ſaid Richard Nevil earl of Warwick) in the time of king Henry VIII. who preſently beheaded him. Queen Mary beſtow'd the title and honour of viſcount Montacute upon Anthony Brown,, whoſe grandmother was daughter of John Nevil marquis of Montacute; and this honour ſtill continues in the ſame family.

Next to this is Odcombe, which, though but a very ſmall town, muſt not be omitted, becauſe it has its baron, William de Briewer (for ſo his father was call'd, as being born in a heath) who having great intereſt at court, and being a particular favourite of Richard I. was reſpected and careſſed by all, and ſo got a very large eſtate, with which, by the marriage of his daughters (for his ſon died without iſſue) he made a great acceſſion to the eſtates of the Brees, Wakes, Mohuns, Laferts, and Percys. And hard by is Brianton, the habitation of Sir Philip Sydenham, baronet, whoſe family hath lived for many centuries in this county with great repute. Below Odcombe, at a little diſtance, is Stoke under Hamden, where the Gornays had their caſtles, and built a college. This family, ſurnam'd de Gornaico, and commonly

monly Gornay, was very ancient and illuſtrious, deſcended from the ſame ſtock with the Warrens earls of Surrey, and the Mortimers. But in the laſt age ſave one it was extinct, and part of that eſtate came by the Hamptons to the knightly family of the Newtons, who value themſelves upon a Welch extraction, and that, not long ago, it was called Caradocks. Nor muſt we forget to mention, that Matthew Gornay was buried here, a ſtout ſoldier in the time of Edw. III who dy'd in the 95th year of his age, after he had been, as the inſcription in French witneſſeth, at the ſiege of D'algizer againſt the Saracens, and at the battles of Penamazin, Scluſe, Creſſie, Ingelos, Poictiers, and Nazara in Spain.

Next, the Parret waters Martock, a little market-town, which formerly William of Bologne, ſon to king Stephen, gave to Faramuſius of Bologne, whoſe only daughter and heir Sibill, was married to Ingelram de Fienes, and from them are deſcended the Fienes barons of Dacre and the barons of Say and Zele. From hence the Parret cuts its way into the north through a muddy plain, by Langport, a market-town pretty well frequented; and by Aulee, a little village of a few ſmall huts, which yet ſeems to have been once a town of better note. For when Alfred had ſhatter'd the Danes, and, ſtraitening them in a ſiege, had forced them to ſurrender, and to take an oath to depart out of his dominions with all expedition, and Godrun their king, as Aſſer tells us, had promiſed to embrace Chriſtianity; then Alfred in this place was his godfather, and *lifted him out of the ſacred font of regeneration*, with great ſolemnity.

The Parret, running from hence, receives the river Thone, which, riſing at a great diſtance in the Weſtern part of the county, next Devonſhire, paſſes through pleaſant fields, near Wivelſcomb, where was found, not long ſince, an urn full of Roman coins, to Wellington, which, in the reign of Edward the Elder, was the ground of ſix manſion-houſes; at which time he gave this, together with Lediard, which was of twelve manſion-houſes, to the biſhop of Shirbourn. It is now a little market-town, receiving its greateſt glory from an honourable inhabitant (for perſons eminent for virtue, and good ſervices to their country, ought never to be forgotten) John Popham, memorable, as for the antiquity of his noble deſcent, ſo for his ſtrict juſtice, and unwearied diligence. This perſon, being chief juſtice of the king's bench, adminiſter'd with ſo much evenneſs, and with ſuch a temper'd ſeverity, that England, for a long time, was mollly indebted to him for its domeſtick peace and ſecurity. He built, in this place, a large, ſtrong, and beautiful houſe, which in the time of the great civil war was turned into a garriſon, and was held againſt the king, not by any of the founder's name, as hath, without juſt reaſon, and contrary to fact, been affirmed, but by

Bover.

Bover of Taunton, who, getting poſſeſſion of the houſe by ſtratagem, &c. together with his accomplices, defend it for ſome time againſt Sir Richard Greenvil, by which means it was turned to ruins.

The Thone going from hence, with a gentle and eaſy courſe, waſhes Thonton, or Taunton, and gives it the name. It is a neat town, delightfully ſeated, and, in ſhort, one of the eyes of this county. Here Ina, king of the Weſt Saxons, built a caſtle, which Desburgia his wife levell'd with the ground, after he had driven Eadbrith, king of the Eaſt Saxons, out of it, who had got poſſeſſion, and made it a kind of curb to a conquer'd country. In the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, *it gelded*, (ſo it is in Domeſday book) *for 54 hides, had 63 burghers, and was held by the biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe pleadings were here kept thrice a year. Theſe cuſtoms belong to Taunton; burgheriſte, robbers, breach of the peace, hamfare, fence of the hundred, and S. Peter's pence, to hold thrice a year the biſhop's pleadings forbear admonition, to go into the army with the biſhop's men.* Let me obſerve here, that what is render'd *Peter-pence*, is in the text *Denarii S. Petri circes*, which the learned Selden thinks ought to be read *circſett*; but I am rather of opinion, that the true reading is *circſceatt*, from the Saxon *ſceat*, revenues, or riches, implying *Peter-pence* to be the revenues of the church. In the tenth year of the reign of king William, an act paſſed for the making and keeping the river Thone navigable from Bridgwater to this place. The country all about is beautify'd with green meadows, and abounds in delightful gardens and orchards, which, with the thickneſs of the villages, does wonderfully charm the eyes of the ſpectator. Among the villages, thoſe of moſt note, are Orchard, which had its Lords of the ſame name, from whom it deſcended by inheritance to the Portmans knights. But that family being extinct in the late Sir William Portman, he left it to the Seymours, his couſin-germans by the mother's ſide, who now enjoy it, and have their reſidence here, taking the name of Portman. Next is Hach-Beauchamp, and then Cory-Mallet, the latter part whereof is added from the name of its lords. For it was the ſeat of the Mallets, who were of Norman extraction, and from whom it came in a ſhort time, by an heireſs, to the Poinzies. Of which family, Hugh, in the time of Edward III. was among the parliamentary barons, and ſome others of it are at this day knights of great figure and ſplendor. But as to the Beauchamps, otherwiſe called de Bello campo, they flouriſh'd in great honour from the time of Henry II. eſpecially after Cecil de Fortibus, deſcended from the earls de Ferrariis, and from that famous Mareſchal of England, William earl of Pembroke, married into this family. But in the reign of Edw. III. the eſtate came to be divided by ſiſters, between Roger de St. Mauro, or Seimore, and

d J. Meriet, both of them deſcended from ancient and honourable ance-
rs. This was the cauſe why Henry 8. after he had marry'd Jane Seimor,
ther of Edward the ſixth, created Edward Seimor her brother, Viſcount
auchamp; whom Edward the ſixth afterwards advanc'd to the honour of
ke of Somerſet. On the ſouth of Taunton is Trull, which gave birth to
George Bond, (Lord Mayor of London in the year 1588;) from whoſe
ghter deſcended the great General of this age, John duke of Marl-
ough.

Where Thone mixes with the Parret, there is made a River-Iſland, for-
ly call'd Æthelingey, i. e. an iſland of Nobles, now commonly Athelney,
ch to us is no leſs remarkable for king Alfred's abſconding there, when
Dane over-ran all before him; than are thoſe Minturnenſian fenns to the
ans, for being a hiding-place to Marius. For to that king, as an antient
writ of him,

Allay'd with grief the cautious joys appear'd,
And when he hop'd the moſt, the moſt he fear'd.
Conqu'ring, he expected ſtill the rallying foe;
O'ercome, he fitted for a ſecond blow.
Whoſe ſweaty hands and garments ſtain'd in blood,
Shew that a crown is but a noble load.

d truly, this iſland is very well made for a place of refuge; for the
ng pools and inundations (which Aſſer call'd by a Latin-Saxon word
nas) make it inacceſſable. "It had formerly a bridge between two
ers, which were built by King Alfred; alſo, a very large ſet of alders,
of goats and deer; but the firm ground not above two acres broad.
on this he built a monaſtery; the whole ſtructure whereof (Malmsbury
ſpeaks for me) is ſupported by four poſts faſten'd in the ground, with
arch'd chancels round it.

Parret, after it has got again into one chanel, does not go far alone,
it is join'd by another river from the Eaſt, which runs by Somerton,
n *Sumarton*, formerly the chief town of the county, as giving name
whole. It had a caſtle belonging to the Weſt-Saxon kings, which
ld king of the Mercians poſſeſs'd himſelf of by ſtorm; but now it
ded to time, ſo that nothing of it appears; and the town would
ſupport that name, were it not for a great beaſt-fair kept there from
nday till the middle of June; for thoſe parts make grazing their great
ment. It gives the title of baron to the chief of the family of the Sta-
in conſideration of whoſe loyalty, king Charles II. advanced Ralph

Stawel to the title of a baron of England, by the name of Lord Stawel
of Somerton. North of the ſame river lies Sedgemoor, where the
king James II. engaged and defeated the duke of Monmouth and his
ard, with the loſs of eighteen men, for no more were killed on
ſide, put a timely end to an inſurrection, which might otherwiſe have
en a civil war. In the tenth year of William III. it was provided by a
then made, that the ancient water-courſes of this moor ſhould be
and new ones made, for rendring it more healthful and profitable to
Labitants.

After the Parret has received this river, it runs at ſome diſtance
more, a ſeat of the Mallets: the laſt gentleman of which name,
this ſeat, having no iſſue male, left one only daughter Elizabeth;
marriage with John Wilmot earl of Rocheſter, this great eſtate was
into that family, and afterwards, for want of an heir male, was
among her three daughters and co-heirs. Buckland Sororum, in
was anciently a nunnery, but lately hath been the ſeat of the lords
Lanamore in Ireland. Somewhat lower, the Parret viſits a large
louſ town, commonly call'd Bridgewater, as 'tis thought from the
and the water; but the ancient charters refute that conjecture,
call it expreſly Burgh-Walteri; and it is highly probable, that it
name from Walter de Doway, who was a ſoldier under William
queror, and had many lands beſtow'd on him in this county. Nor
wiſe call'd in that charter, wherein Fulk Paynel lord of Bampton,
ſeſſion of this place to William de Briewer, to ingratiate himſelf
gentleman, who was a particular favourite of king Richard I.
this William, of the ſame name with the father, having licence
by king John to fortify a taſtle, built one here, which now time
and began a bridge, which was finiſhed at great expence by
man of Cornwall. But when William de Briewer the younger
iſſue, this by partition fell to Margaret his ſiſter; by whoſe
ſhe bore to William de la Fert, it came to the family of the
de Cadurcis, and from them by inheritance to the dukes of
the greateſt honour it ever had, was its being made a county by
ry VIII. upon his creating Henry Daubeney earl of Bridgewater;
Henry dying without iſſue male, this title lay dead till the
James I. when it was conferr'd upon John Egerton, baron of
count Brackley, and ſon to the Lord-chancellor Egerton. He was
by his ſon John; and this John by a ſon of the ſame name; who
ſucceeded by the right honourable Scroop earl of Bridgewater
this place is Chidley-mount, where Roman coins have been

of the ruins of which, as ſome think, the town of Bridgewater ſprang. Weſtward from the ſame river, near Stogurſy, is Fairfield, which formerly belong'd to a branch of the Verneys, but came by marriage to the Suſſex-family of Palmer, in which having continued near two centuries, it has produced great ornaments to this county. And, on the eaſt ſide of the river, a little lower, is Pawlet, a Lordſhip, from which two great and ancient families took their ſirname. For Sir John Pawlet dying in the ſecond year of Richard II. left iſſue two ſons, Sir Thomas Pawlet his ſon and heir, from whom is deſcended the preſent earl Pawlet; and William, from whom is deſcended the preſent duke of Bolton.

Below, at a few miles diſtance, the Parret rolls into the Severn ſea out of a wide mouth, call'd, as we obſerved before, the Æſtuarie Uzella by Ptolemy, and by ſome at this day Evelmouth, but by the ancient Engliſh *Pedred-mouth*, and by the Saxon annals *Pedridan muth*; where, as Marianus tells us, about ann. 845 Ealſtan biſhop of Shirburn utterly routed the diſperſed army of the Danes. At the ſame Æſtuarie, we meet with another river, which ſome call Brius, riſing out of that ſpacious wood in the eaſt part of this country (call'd by the Britains *Coitmaur*, by the Saxons *Selwood*, i. e. as Aſſer interprets it, a great wood) not far from Pen, an inconſiderable village, where the God of war ſeems to have conſpir'd the extirpation of the Britiſh name, and alſo the utter ruin of the Danes. For Keniwalch, the Weſt-Saxon, gave the Britains ſuch an entire defeat in this place, that they were never able to make head againſt the Saxons: and many ages after, in the ſame place, Edmund Ironſide gain'd a memorable victory over the Danes, whilſt he purſu'd Canute the Dane, who had poſſeſs'd himſelf of the kingdom; tho' they were too hard for Ethelred, when he encounter'd them in this very place, ann. 1001. In the adjoining pariſh of Mere are ſtill the remains of theſe engagements, namely, four camps; one whereof, particularly, having a double ditch, appears to have been a Daniſh work. This river firſt viſits Bruiton, and gives it that name; a place famous for the tombs of the Maions, who had a monaſtery there; and for being the ſeat of the Lord Fitz-harding, a younger branch of the family of Berkeley. Not far from which, is Charlton-Mackrell, ſo called, to diſtinguiſh it from the ſeveral other Charltons in this county, from a family of that name, in whoſe poſſeſſion it remain'd for many years. John Muſgrave, of this place, was, by virtue of the eſtate he had in Wiltſhire, ſheriff of that county, in the ſecond year of Richard III. from whoſe ſecond ſon John (the eldeſt dying without iſſue male, and the reſt going with daughters into other families) are deſcended all of this name, in this county, and Devonſhire: The chief of whom, at preſent, is Muſgrave of Nettlecomb in this county. Lower, upon the ſame river,

lies Alford, where ariſes a mineral water of a purging nature, no way inferior to Epſom, or any other of the purging kind, and is of great benefit to the weſtern parts of England, being carried hence to places very remote. Then the river, running a long way thro' nothing but ſmall villages, with the increaſe of a few rivulets, waters many fruitful fields; till, meeting with a ſofter ſoil, it in a manner ſtagnates, and makes an iſland, call'd formerly Avalon, in Britiſh, from the apples there; afterwards Inis-Witrin, i. e. a glaſs iſland, and in the ſame ſenſe *Glaſtney*, in Latin *Glaſconia*. A poet of pretty good antiquity has ſome Latin verſes concerning it, which are thus turn'd into Engliſh:

The iſle of apples, truly fortunate,
Where unforc'd goods and willing comforts meet:
Not there the fields require the ruſtick's hand,
But nature only cultivates the land.
The fertile plains with corn and herbs are proud,
And golden apples ſmile in ev'ry wood.

King Charles II. conferr'd upon John Mordaunt, ſecond ſon of John earl of Peterborough, the title of Lord Mordaunt of Rygate, and viſcount Avalon; who marrying Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Cary, ſecond ſon to Robert earl of Monmouth, had by her the preſent earl of Peterborough and Monmouth.

In this iſland ſtood the monaſtery of Glaſtenbury, which is very ancient, deriving its original from Joſeph of Arimathea, the ſame who bury'd Chriſt's body, and whom Philip the Apoſtle of the Gauls ſent into Britain to preach the goſpel. For this is atteſted by the moſt ancient hiſtories of this monaſtery, and alſo by an epiſtle of St. Patrick the Iriſh apoſtle, who led a monaſtick life here for thirty years together; if it be indeed true that he wrote the account of Avalonia aſcrib'd to him, which Dr. Ryves, in his diſcourſe relating to that ſaint, denies. From hence, this place was by our anceſtors call'd, *The firſt ground of God, The firſt ground of the ſaints in England, The riſe and fountain of all religion in England, The burying-place of the ſaints, The mother of the ſaints; and they ſaid of it, That it was built by the very diſciples of our Lord.* Nor is there any reaſon why we ſhould call this in queſtion, ſince I have before ſhewn, that the Chriſtian religion, in the very infancy of the church, was preach'd in this iſland; and ſince Nicephorus Lexovienſis has told us, *That this Philip brought barbarous nations bordering upon darkneſs, and living upon the ocean, to the light of knowledge and haven of faith.* But let us return to the monaſtery, and deſcribe it as

of Malmesbury's little treatise upon that subject. When that small ancient church founded by Joseph was wasted with age, Devi bishop of St. David's built a new one in the place. And when time had worn out that too, twelve men coming from the north of Britain repair'd it; but Ina (who founded a school at Rome for the education of the English youth, and to maintain that, as also for the distribution of alms at Rome, tax'd every single house in the kingdom at one penny) pull'd this down, and built a stately church dedicated to Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul, afterwards the See of Sevaricus bishop of Bath. Just under the roof whereof, round it, he order'd some Latin verses to be written; which are thus translated into English:

The two fair tops that lofty Sion grace,
Cedars of Lebanus that all surpass!
The world's great lights, and the two gates of heav'n;
Thunder from one, from one is lightning giv'n.
Amongst the bless'd Apostles they excel,
Peter in honour, and in learning Paul.
One ope's mens hearts, and one the starry sphere,
One guides to heav'n, and one receives us there:
One's doctrine shews our journey, and one's keys;
One is the way, and one the gate of bliss.
The builder one, one the foundation laid;
By both a temple for kind heav'n is made.
England be glad, and pay just thanks to Rome,
Eternal health to Glastenbury's come.
Against our foes two fortresses are shown,
That all the world the Faith's great tow'rs shall own.
Bless'd Ina, faithful servant of his God,
These lasting gifts upon his realm bestow'd
Virtue and goodness all his thoughts possess'd,
The church's old revenues he encreas'd,
Our great Melchisedech, our prince and priest.
His equal care of piery and state,
To crowns and mitres an example set.
In heav'n his works their bless'd reward receive,
And here his worthy praise shall ever live.

In those early times, religious persons devote themselves here to the service of God, and especially the Irish, who were maintained at the king's charge, and instructed the youth in religion and the liberal sciences. For they

they made choice of a ſolitary life, that they might attend divine ſervices with greater quiet and retirement, and inure themſelves to a ſevere courſe of life to prepare them for the croſs. But at length, Dunſtan, a man of excellent judgment, after his reputation of ſanctity and learning had given him free acceſs to the converſation of princes, inſtead of theſe brought in monks of a newer order, namely, Benedictines, and was himſelf firſt made abbot over that large body ſettled there: and theſe, by the bounty of good and pious princes, got ſo much wealth as even exceeded that of kings. After they had, for about ſix hundred years together, reign'd as it were in great abundance (for all their neighbours were at their beck) they were driven out by Henry VIII. and the monaſtery, which by degrees had grown to a little city, was demoliſhed, and laid level with the ground: how large and how ſtately it has been, may be learnt from the ruins.

I ſhall be reckon'd among the credulous of our age, if I ſpeak any thing of the Walnut-tree here, which never budded before the feaſt of St. Barnabas, and on that very feaſt-day ſhot out leaves in great abundance: of the Hawthorn-tree, which budded on Chriſtmas-day as if it were in May: and yet, if men be truſted, theſe things were affirmed by ſeveral credible perſons. The Hawthorn-tree has been cut down theſe many years, yet there are ſome ſtill growing in the county from branches of that, as particularly one in the garden of the poſſeſſor of the ground, where the other ſtood; and another in a garden now belonging to an inn there. Mr. Ray thinks, the former of theſe is what is commonly called *Nux Sancti Johannis*, which ſhoots out about Midſummer, or the Nativity of St. John, but twelve days after the feaſt of St. Barnabas; and that the Hawthorn, ſo much talk'd of here, differs but accidentally from the Frutex, commonly ſo called, aſcribing this ſingular effect either to chance or art. Before I leave this head, take in brief what Giraldus Cambrenſis, an eye-witneſs, has deliver'd at large concerning Arthur's grave in this church-yard.

When Henry II. king of England, had learn'd from the ſongs of the Britiſh bards, that Arthur, the moſt noble heroe of the Britains, whoſe valour had ſo often diſcomfited the Saxon forces, was bury'd at Glaſſenbury between two pyramids, he order'd ſearch to be made for the body; and they had ſcarce dug ſeven foot deep, when they light upon a croſs'd ſtone, or a ſtone in the back-part whereof was faſten'd a rude leaden croſs, of good breadth. This being drawn out, appear'd to have an inſcription upon it; and under it, almoſt nine foot deep, they found a coffin made of hollow'd oak, wherein were depoſited the bones of the famous Arthur.

It will not be improper to ſubjoin what our countryman Joſephus Iſcanus, no mean or ordinary poet, has ſaid of Arthur, in his Anticcheis:

From this bleſs'd place immortal Arthur ſprung,
Whoſe wond'rous deeds ſhall be for ever ſung;
Sweet muſick to the ear, ſweet honey to the tongue.
Look back, turn o'er the great records of fame,
Proud Alexander boaſts a mighty name.
The Roman Annals Cæſar's actions lead,
And conquer'd monſters rais'd Alcides to a God.
But neither ſhrubs above tall pines appear,
Nor Phœbus ever fears a rival ſtar:
So would our Arthur, in conteſt, o'ercome
The mightieſt heroes bred in Greece or Rome.
The only prince that hears this juſt applauſe,
Greateſt that e'er ſhall be, and beſt that ever was.

This heroe (to obſerve it, by the way, out of Ninnius, if it be worth our notice, was call'd Mab-Uter, i. e. a horrible ſon, becauſe from his childhood he was of a cruel temper; and Arthur, which ſignifies in Britiſh a horrible bear, or an iron hammer to break the grinders of lyons.

To give a liſt of the Weſt-Saxon kings bury'd here, would be beſide my buſineſs; yet I cannot but mention Edgar the Peaceful (if it were upon no other account but that he always labour'd after peace) and ſubjoin his epitaph, penn'd (in Latin) very well for that age; which we thus tranſlate:

He that good actions did with honours crown,
Enrich'd the realm, the daring vice put down,
Edgar to heav'n, which he deſerv'd, is gone.
Our Solomon in laws and laſting peace,
Yet honour'd more than with a conq'ror's praiſe,
While bold oppreſſion fell, and juſtice kept her place.
Churches to God, to churches monks he gave,
To monks poſſeſſions they ſhould never leave.
Thus for a ſhort, a falſe, a bounded reign,
He knew a vaſt, a true, and endleſs one to gain.

Below Glaſſenbury, the three rivers meeting there, make a fenn; and afterwards diſcharging themſelves together at one little mouth, run weſtward in one chanel to the Æſtuary of Uzella, by Gedney-moore; or, as others will have

have it call'd, Godney-moore, affirming it to import as much as God's iſland, and that it was granted to Joſeph of Arimathea: Then paſt Weadmore, a village of king Alfred's, which he gave by his laſt will to his ſon Edward; and, at the like diſtance, on the other ſide, by Edington, where, about fifty years ſince, were found ſeveral hundreds of moulds of fine clay, for coining, and near them a floor of chequer-work: and then through that fenny ſpacious tract, Brentmerſh, which the monks of Glaſſenbury have interpreted a country of fenn-frogs; and its little town, Brentknol, a little hill of frogs.

From hence to the Eaſt, Mendippe-hills run out a great way both in length and breadth. Leland calls them Minerary-hills, and, I think, not amiſs, ſince in old records they are nam'd Muneduppe: abounding with lead mines, and affording very good paſture. In theſe, it is free for any Engliſhman to work, except he has forfeited his right by ſtealing any of the oar, or tools, of others. And their law or cuſtom in that caſe, is very remarkable. The Groviers (for ſo the miners are call'd, as the pits they ſink are called groves) living at ſome diſtance, leave their tools, and the oar they have got, ſometimes open upon the hill, or at moſt only ſhut up in a ſlight hutt. Whoever among them ſteals any thing, and is found guilty, is thus puniſh'd: He is ſhut up in a hutt, and then dry fearn, furzes, and ſuch other combuſtible matter, is put round it, and fire ſet to it. When it is on fire, the criminal, who has his hands and feet at liberty, may with them, if he can, break down his hutt, and, making himſelf a paſſage out of it, get free and be gone; but he muſt never come to work, nor have to do any more, on the hill. This they call *Burning of the hill.* There is lead alſo dug on Broadwell-down, and other parts thereabouts, lying between Wrinton and Blackwell. About the weſt end of Mendippe-hills is found plenty of Lapis Calaminaris, lying near the ſurface of the earth. This, calcin'd and mix'd with copper, makes braſs. Here are alſo ſome veins of Magneſia, or Mangoneſe, and of Yellow Oker. In theſe hills there is a cave of a vaſt winding length, wherein are diſcover'd ſome wells and rivulets. Ochichole is the name of it, and the inhabitants thereabouts have broach'd as many wild fanciful ſtories concerning it, as the Italians have of their Sibyll's cave in the Apennine alps. But, without doubt, it had the name from Ogo, a Britiſh word, ſignifying a cave; as the iſland Eubæa, from a cave of the ſame nature, was call'd by a name like this, OCHA. By others it is called Wokey-hole, and derived from *Wo*, which ſignifies crooked or creeky; from whence the Britiſh Ogo might alſo come. From a very narrow entrance, it opens into a large vault, the roof whereof (either by reaſon of its height, or the thickneſs of the air) they who go in, cannot diſcover by the light of the candle which they carry with them.

After

After having clamber'd over several rough and unequal passages among the moss rocks, you come at last to a stream of very clear cold water; which did, in all likelyhood, heretofore discharge itself by the mouth of a cave that now is; but, changing its course, and breaking out by an under-current, was the cause that the cave, of consequence, came to be as we now see it. In several places of this cave, one may perceive that the droppings of water encrust the rock, and are turn'd into stone; in some places hanging down like icicles. Not far from this cave, in the reign of Henry VIII. in ploughing they cast up an oblong plate of lead, which had been erected for a trophy, with this inscription:

TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. P. M.
TRIB. P. VIIII. IMP. XVI. De. BRITAN.

This ninth tribuneship of Claudius, fell in with the year 802, from the building of Rome, and with the Consulship of Antistius and M. Suillius; at which time great disturbances happen'd under P. Ostorius Propraetor of Britain. From the circumstances of this time, give me leave to infer some circumstances. That this same year, Claudius had two signal victories over the Britains, is attested by an ancient coin of that emperor, the best evidence that can be. On one side of it is this inscription, TI. CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR. P. VIIII. IMP. XVI. PP. On the reverse, DE BRITAN. *with a triumphal arch, the figure of an horseman at full speed, and two trophies.* Now, who these Britains were that he conquer'd, Tacitus informs us; for he says, that Claudius, by the conduct of Ostorius, subdu'd two of the British People this year, namely, the Iceni and the Cangi.

But seeing the Iceni are at a great distance, and as it were in another Hemisphere; what if we should say, that this trophy was erected in memory of a victory over the Cangi, a small people comprehended under our Belgæ, and that those Cangi were seated here? For not far from hence is the Isle, next which he places the Cangi; and there seem to be remains of the name Cangi in some places hereabouts, as in the hundreds of Cannington and Canings, in Wincanton, which is sometimes call'd Cangton, and Cangham, as much as to say, the *mansion of the Cangi.* But let the reader judge of these matters; for my own part (as I said) I do not go beyond conjecture, but only endeavour to trace out the Cangi, which I still hope to meet with in another place. And yet (if we consider two or three reasons more, that may still be added to strengthen the topography) we may possibly find sufficient inducements to rest here, without searching further. For, 1. The whole course of Ostorius's march seems to convince us, that the Cangi

lay'd

liv'd in this part of the island; especially if the Iceni may, upon the authority and reasons of a late (1) author, be brought to those parts where Ikenild-street pass'd. After he had quell'd the Iceni, he immediately marched against the Cangi; but before he had finish'd his conquests over them, the commotions of the Brigantes requir'd his presence in their country, and brought back the general, as the historian says. Now if the Cangi inhabited Cheshire, they had almost lain in his way to the Brigantes, and therefore could not be said to bring back the general. But after they were subdu'd, he comes back, and settles a Colony at Camulodunum, which, for the resemblance of the name, the nature of the place, and all the [illegible] a Roman station be of any force) we may place at Camalet in this county. Besides, it must needs be in those parts, because the Romans marched thence to subdue the Silures, from whom they march'd against the Ordovices. And can we imagine that any prudent general (as Ostorius no doubt was) would harrass his soldiers with such a needless march, as from Cheshire or Staffordshire into South-Wales, and so leave enemies behind him in North-Wales; into which they would first have bent their course, if Camulodunum had been so near it, as some endeavour to prove? 2. Lipsius's conjecture of reading (instead of the Cenimagni of Cæsar) Iceni, Cangi, confirms my opinion; for if that be allow'd, then from Cæsar's own words those Iceni and Cangi, must be plac'd in the south parts of Britain, near the Bibroci (in Barkshire,) and the Segontiaci (in Hamshire;) so that the first seat of the Cangi will in all probability fall in North-Wiltshire and Somersetshire. 3. The memory of these people, preserv'd in several names of places besides those already mention'd: Such are, Caningan-mærsees in the Saxon chronicle; which are undoubtedly the marshes in Somersetshire. In Wiltshire, there is the hundred of Canings; and in it a town of the same name, call'd in old Writings Caningas; as in another Hundred is Alcanning (so much, possibly, as old, or old Cannings.) And that ancient town of Calne (especially if spell'd as we find it in Domesday, Cauna, or, as at this day, Caun) seems to retain something of the name. 4. Why may not the Severn-sea be that which Tacitus says looks towards Ireland, near which the Cangi liv'd; and Avon in those parts, the Antona of Tacitus, on the banks whereof Ostorius, before the rebellion broke out, had made several garrisons. But this, by the way.

Among the hills, is Chuton, the seat, if I mistake not, of William Bonvill, whom Henry VI. by the name of William de Bonvill and Chu[illegible]

(1) Plot's History of Staffordshire, cap. x. sect 3.

...mon'd to Parliament among the Barons, and made him Knight of the ...ter, and enrich'd his son Lord Waldgrave when Baron Harrington's only ...ghter, who was then but young. Lord Waldgrave, very unfortunately ...the house of York in the Civil wars; and the fatal fury had haunted him ...revenge, he was an eye-witness of the cruel death of that his only ...son, and of Baron Harrington his grandchild by him, slain in the battle of ...efield. And presently after, to make his old age as miserable as it ...d be, whilst he was in some hope and expectation of better days, ...self was taken in the second battle at St. Albans, and, when his glass ...well-nigh run out, was beheaded, leaving behind him Cecilia his grand-...ghter and heir, then very young, but afterwards marry'd to Thomas ...Marquess of Dorset, to whom she brought a large estate. Notwith-...ding, this gentleman's honour was in some measure restor'd to him, by ...act of Parliament declaring him innocent. The said William, and his ...e, lie inter'd in the chancel of the church; and it is now the manour, ...well as title, of the Lord Waldgrave, which family, by king James II. ...e created Barons Waldgrave of Chuton. Towards the north is Chue ...t, or Bishops-Chue, where is dug-up a red *bolus*, call'd by the country ...*Ruddy*, from thence distributed all over England for the marking of ...p, and such other uses: it is also often us'd by Apothecaries instead of ...*Armenus*. And at Stowey, on the side of an hill above the church, ...a large spring, that is never dry. The water coming from thence as it ...runs through Stowey, covers the things that it meets in it's course, with a ...stony crust. This effect it has not, in the very source, nor within ...yards where it rises: the place where it works most, is about forty or ...fifty yards from the rising, at a fall higher than a man's length. There is ...not every thing with stony cases, and makes the sides of the bank a ...rock; and from thence, all along it's stream, it covers sticks, &c. with ...

...Mendipre hills to the north, is the little village Congersbury, so ...from one Congarus a person of great sanctity (Cograve tells us, he ...the son of an Emperor of Constantinople,) who here liv'd a hermit; ...Burgenie, formerly a castle belonging to a family of the same name, ...descended hereditarily to the Gornaies, and from them to the Ab-Adams, ...(as I have read) restored it to the Gornaies, to whom (Weaver tells) the ...present possessors are related. To the north-west from these hills, lies ...Marsh, which gave firname to the family, that happily produced the cele-

(a) Mr. Locke's Letter in Boyle's History of Air, p. 140.

brated hero of this age, John duke of Marlborough. Wroxhall (in f- old writings call'd Wrokefhale) hath been for a long time the ſeat of the Gorges: of which ancient family, Ralph de Gorges was, in the ſeventh year of Henry III. made governor of Shirburn-Caſtle, and a little after, of the caſtle of Exeter; from whoſe time, the family hath been continued here, and is lately reduced to an iſſue-female. But to return. Southward, not far from the famous Cave, at the bottom of Mendippe-hills, is a little city (built upon a rocky ſoil) and an Epiſcopal See. Leland tells us (upon what grounds I know not) that it was formerly call'd Theoderodum: the name of it now is Welles, ſo call'd from the Wells which ſpring up in all parts of it; ſo Suſa in Perſia, Croia in Dalmatia, and Pegaſe in Macedonia, had their names for wells or fountains: from whence all this church is call'd *The Church of Wells*. It may juſtly challenge the pre-eminence in this county, both for populouſneſs and ſtatelineſs of buildings. It has a church and a college, built by king Ina to the honour of St. Andrew, which was preſently endow'd with large revenues by ſeveral great men. Among the reſt, king Kinewulph gave to it a great many neighbouring places in the year 766. For thus his charter runs: "I Kinewulph king of the "Weſt-Saxons, for the Love of God, and (which ſhall not be here particularly mentioned) ſome vexations of our Corniſh enemies, do by the "conſent of my Biſhops and Noble-men, humbly make-over by gift, a certain parcel of ground to the Apoſtle and ſervant of God, St. Andrew, and "xi manſions near the river call'd Welwe, towards the increaſe of the "monaſtery, ſituate near the great fountain call'd Wiclea." Which I ſet down here, both on account of it's antiquity, and becauſe ſome are of opinion that the place took it's name from this river. The church indeed is exceeding beautiful, and nothing can be finer than it's frontiſpiece towards the Weſt, which is one entire pile of ſtatues curiouſly wrought out of the and of great antiquity.

The biſhop's palace is very ſplendid, and towards the ſouth looks like a caſtle, as it is fortify'd with walls and a ditch; and the prebendaries houſes on the other ſide, are exceeding neat. For there are twenty-ſeven prebendaries with nineteen petty-cannons, beſides a dean, a precentor, a treaſurer, a chancellor, and three arch-deacons, that belong to this church. A biſhop's ſee was ſettl'd here in the time of Edward the Elder. For when the Pope had excommunicated this Edward, upon pretence that the diſcipline of the church was quite neglected in this weſterly part of his kingdom; he, knowing himſelf to be a nurſing father of the church, erected three new biſhopricks, Kirton, Cornwall, and this of Wells, where he made Kenulph the biſhop. Not many years after, Giſo was ſet over this dioceſe, whom Elfric

earl of the West-Saxons and of Kent, gaping after the revenues of the church, did so persecute, that this see was almost quite destroy'd. But Will. I. after he had conquer'd Harold, lent a helping hand to Giso, then in exile, and to this distressed church: at which time (as is evident from Domesday-book) *the bishop held the town it self which gelded for fifty hides.* Afterwards, in the reign of Henry I. John de Villula, a Frenchman, of Tours, was elected bishop, and translated the See to Bath, by which means these two grew into one, and the bishop has his title from both; so that the same person is stil'd *Bishop of Bath and Wells*: Which occasion'd some hot disputes between the monks of Bath and the canons of Wells, about the election of the bishops: But yet it is observable, that almost two hundred years after John, the bishops were called bishops of Bath only, and sometimes of Glaston, but not of Wells. For, in the mean time Savaricus bishop of Bath, being also abbot of Glastenbury, translated his See thither, and was stil'd *Bishop of Glastenbury*, but that title dy'd with him: and the difference between the monks and the canons was at last compos'd by that Robert who divided the revenues of his church into so many prebends, and settl'd a dean, a sub-dean, &c. Bishop Joceln also, about the same time augmented the church with new buildings; and in the memory of our grandfathers, Ralph de Shrowsbury (as some call him) built a very neat college for the Vicars and Singing-men, adjoyning to the north part of the church; and also, as is said by some, enclos'd the bishop's palace with a wall. But that was certainly done by Ralph Erghum (the fourth bishop after Shrowsbery) who finish'd this work and his life together, 10 April A. D. 1400. whereas Shrowsbery dy'd 14 Aug. A. D. 1336. The truth of this is evident from a record made by a monk of Bath, who liv'd at the same time, and not long after in a Menology to the 10th of April, wrote as follows: *Obiit Dominus Radulphus Episcopus Bathon. & Well. isto die Sabbati; qui vallavit muris & fossis palatium Episcopi apud Wells, & jacet ibidem, Anno Dom. MCCCC. litera Dominicali C.* i.e. On that Sabbath, dy'd Ralph bishop of Bath and Wells, who made a wall and trench about the Bishop's palace at Wells, where he lies bury'd, A. D. MCCCC. the Dominical Letter C. This book was wrote by the Monk, an. 1428. In the way from the palace to the market, Thomas Bekington, bishop, built a very beautiful gate, and twelve stately stone houses of the same height hard-by in the market-place: In the middle whereof is a market-house supported by seven outer pillars and a curious arch, built by Bishop William Knight and Dean Woollman for the use of the market-people. It is commonly call'd *The Cross*; and beside that, there has been built a fair market-house of late years between the said *Cross*, and the gate which leads to the palace. All these are in the east part of the town. In the west is

a Parish-church dedicated to St. Cuthbert; and near it, an hospital built by Nicholas Bubwith, bishop, for twenty-four poor people. West of W... just under Mendippe-hills, lies Cheddar, famous for the excellent and prodigious great cheeses made there, some of which require more than one man's strength to set them on the table, and are of a delicate taste, equalling if not exceeding that of the Parmesan. Above this place, is a gap that were cut into the hill, which affords a narrow passage for travellers between and has stupendous high rocks on both sides, famous in this country under the name of Cheddar-Cliffs. At the foot of these rocks, rises a great clear spring, which, within a quarter of a mile of the source, drives three mills.

Out of the Mineral-mountains before-mention'd, arises the river Frome, which (springing at some distance from Stratton, from whence Sir J... Berkley, was, for his eminent services to the crown, created by king C... Lord Berkley of Stratton,) hastens eastward by those pits of coal, that are made use of by smiths as most proper to soften iron; and before it has run any great way, wheeling towards the north, it is the boundary between this county and Gloucestershire; and washes Farley, (once) a castle on a hill, but now pull'd down, belonging not many years since to the Hungerfords, where formerly Humphrey Bohun built a monastery; and a little distant from Philips-Norton, a famous market-town, taking it's name from the church, dedicated to St. Philip; and not far from *Wellow*, in which manor was discover'd, Ann. 1685. a Roman chequer'd pavement; as was also another at Bathford, in a room which was found under-ground in digging; the pavement whereof was chequer'd-work of white, blue, and red; and a third, near Knoll-hill in this county.

Lower down, is Selwood before-mentioned, a wood that spreads it self a long way both in length and breadth, and is thick set with trees. From this, as Ethelwerd tells us, the neighbouring country was call'd *Selwoodshire*, and a town near it is to this day call'd Frome-Selwood, supported mostly by the woollen manufacture. Scarce two miles from hence to the west, is a small but pretty neat castle, built by the De la Mares, and thence call'd Nonney de la Mare, which by inheritance descended from them to the Powletts. Not far from whence is Witham, where king Henry II built a nunnery. After the dissolution of religious houses, it came into the Family of Hopton, and was the possession of the famous Lord Hopton, whose fidelity and services to the crown, in the most perilous times, deservedly raised him to that honour.

And now Frome, encreased by some little rivers out of this wood, as it throws it self into the noble river Avon, which with a winding course

ſcarce runs to that ancient city, call'd by Ptolemy, from the Baths, *Hot Waters*; and by Antoninus, *Waters of the Sun*; by the Britains *Ir caint Tarvain*, as alſo *Caer Badon*; by the Saxons, Bathancæſter, hat Bathan, and, from the concourſe of ſick people, Accemanneſceaſter, Ackmancheſter, as much as a city of Valetudinarians; and by Florence of Worceſter, Acamanni Civitas. Stephanus calls it Badiza; we at this day Bathe; and the modern Latin, Bathonia. It lies low in a plain not very large, and is as it were fortify'd on every ſide with hills of an equal height, which ſend down many ſprings into the city, to the great Advantage of the citizens. In the city itſelf, ariſe three hot ſprings, of a blewith and ſea-colour, which exhale a thin ſort of miſt, and ſomething of an ill ſavour, proceeding from corrupt water mix'd with earth and brimſtone; for the water itſelf has a ſulphur, and bituminous matter incorporated with it. They are an effectual remedy to ſuch bodies, as by reaſon of ill humours are dull and heavy; for by virtue of their heat they cauſe ſweating, and by that means the ſtrength of the humour is abated. But it is not at all hours that they are wholeſome; for from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon, they are extream hot, and boyl up violently, by which they are mudded, and throw up a filthy ſort of ſtuff from the bottom: ſo that at theſe times they uſed formerly to be ſhut up; nor did any go into them, till by their ſluices they had eas'd themſelves of that ſtuff, and were purg'd. But now the Bath may be enter'd without danger at any time; and in the hot weather when the ſcum ariſes, the ſluices of the bath take ſome time to cleanſe the water, (which they generally do at their coming-in;) and many bathers are in the morning in bath till dinner-time, without any prejudice from the ſcum. Of theſe three, that which is call'd the *Croſs-bath*, from a croſs formerly erected in the middle of it, is very gentle, and moderately warm. Upon the ſide of it are ſixteen ſtone ſeats; and it is enclos'd with a wall. The ſecond, fifty-eight foot and half diſtant, is much hotter, whereupon it is called *Weſt-bath*, or *Hot-bath*. Near theſe, is an hoſpital built by Reginald Biſhop of Bath, to receive the neceſſities of the ſick; and thoſe two are in the midſt of a ſtreet on the weſt-ſide of the city. The third, which is largeſt, is in the very heart of the city, and is call'd, *the King's* or *Royal Bath*; it is near the cathedral church, and enclos'd alſo with a wall. It is accommodated with twenty-four ſeats arch'd over, and with other ſtone-benches, on which the men and women ſit apart; and both of them, when they go into the water, put on linnen drawers. Where the cathedral church now ſtands, a temple is ſaid to have been formerly dedicated to Minerva. It is out of all doubt that Solinus Polyhiſtor means theſe baths, when he ſays, *In Britain there are hot baths, richly accommodated with all conveniences for the ſervice of mankind;*

their

their tutelar deity is Minerva, *in whose temple those perpetual fires never turn to embers, but when they go out, are converted into round pieces of* [illegible]. Notwithstanding which, Atheræus affirms, that all hot baths naturally [illegible]ing out of the earth, are sacred to Hercules; and, indeed, amongst [illegible] monuments almost quite defac'd by age, there is here upon the walls [illegible] of ancient image of Hercules holding a serpent in his hand. But [illegible] than any difference should arise upon this head, we are willing to [illegible] that baths were dedicated both to Hercules and Minerva. For the [illegible] have told us, that Minerva was the first who furnish'd Hercules [illegible] after he had finished his labours. It is enough, if I am allow'd to [illegible] upon Solinus's authority, that since, as he says, Minerva was [illegible] Goddess of those springs, this must be the same city which the Brit[illegible] call *Caer Palladdur*, that is, in Latin, *Urbs Palladiæ aquæ*, or, [illegible] Pallas's water. For the thing, name, and meaning, do exactly a[illegible].

The finding of these springs, is by our fabulous traditions re[illegible] British king call'd *Bleden Dyth*, i. e. Bleden the sooth-sayer; [illegible] shew of truth, I leave others to determine. However, Pliny af[illegible] us, this art-magick was in such wonderful esteem among the [illegible], that even the Persians seem'd to have derived it from hence; but as to the baths, I dare not attribute their original to that art. Some of our nation, too supinely, affirm, that Julius Cæsar first found them o[illegible]. I cannot but think, that it was late before the Romans come to [illegible] since Solinus is the first that makes any mention of them. The Saxons, indeed, about the forty-fourth year after their landing in Britain, by [illegible] of articles renewing the war, laid siege to this city, but being surpris[illegible] warlike Arthur, they betook themselves to Baden-hill, where, [illegible] desperate condition, they fought it out to the last, and were slain in [illegible] numbers. This seems to be the same hill with that we now call La[illegible] down, hanging over a little village near the city, nam'd Bathalone, [illegible] shewing at this day its bulwarks, and a rampire. I know there are [illegible] who seek for it in Yorkshire; but let Gildas himself restore it to this [illegible]. For in an old manuscript copy of his history, in the Cambridge libr[illegible] where he treats of the victory of Aurelius Ambrosius, he says, *Baden-hill siege, which is not far from the mouth of Severn.* But if this will [illegible] convince them, let them understand farther, that the adjoining [illegible] along the river Avon for a great way together, is called in British *Badon*, i. e. the vale of Badon; and where to seek Baden-hill but [illegible] Badon-valley, I cannot tell. For a long time after this, the Saxons [illegible] couraged from making any more attempts upon this city, left it [illegible] the Britains. But in the year of Christ 577. after Crawlin king of the W[illegible]

Saxons had defeated the Britains at *Deorham*, this city being beſieg'd and ſtorm'd, firſt ſurrender'd to the Saxons, and in a few years, recovering itſelf, took the new name of *Akmanceſter*, and grew up to a good degree of ſplendor. For Osbrich, (or rather *Oſrick*, a petty King of the *Wiccii*,) in the year 676. built a Nunnery; and preſently after, when it came into the hands of the Mercians, King Offa built another church; but both were deſtroy'd in the Daniſh wars. Out of the ruins of theſe, there grew up another church dedicated to S. *Peter*, to which *Edgar* (ſirnam'd the *Peaceful*) becauſe he was here inaugurated, granted ſeveral immunities; the memory whereof the inhabitants ſtill keep up by certain anniverſary ſports. But yet it is ſaid to be found, upon an accurate ſearch into the records of the place, that the church wherein *Edgar* was crown'd, was the very building rais'd by *Offa*, which ſtood ſome years after; and that after *Offa's* time there was no new church built till the year 1010 when *Elphege*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, founded one. In the time of *Edward* the *Confeſſor* (as we read in Domeſday-book) *it geilded for* 20 *hides, when the ſhire geilded. There were were* 64 *Burgeſſes of the King's, and* 30 *of others.* But this flouriſhing condition laſted not long; for preſently after the *Norman* conqueſt, *Robert Mowbray* nephew to the biſhop of *Conſtance*, who rais'd a warm rebellion againſt *William Rufus*, plunder'd and burnt it. But it recover'd in a ſhort time, by the aſſiſtance of *John de Villula* born at *Tours* in *France*, who being biſhop of Wells, did (as *Malmsbury* informs us) for five hundred pounds purchaſe the favour of *Henry* 1. whither he tranſlated his See, tho' [as ſome ſay] ſtill retaining the name of biſhop of Wells, and built him here a new cathedral. But as to the retaining of the name, it muſt be obſerv'd, that biſhop *Godwin* affirms the contrary; and a curious perſon, who examin'd the records, affirms, in his hiſtory of *Bathe*, that he ſubſcribed himſelf only *Johannes Bathoniæ*. The ſaid cathedral, not long ago, being ready to drop down, *Oliver King*, biſhop of *Bath*, laid the foundation of another near it, exceeding it and it ſelf; which he well-nigh finiſh'd; and if he had quite finiſh'd it, without all doubt it had exceeded moſt cathedrals in *England*. But the too early death of that great biſhop, with the publick diſturbances, and avarice of ſome perſons, who (as it is ſaid) convey'd the money gathered thro' *England* for that end, to other uſes, envy'd the place this glory. It is probable, that in memory of him, were engraven theſe two verſes, which are ſtill to be ſeen on the weſt-end of this Church.

The trees going to chooſe a king,
Said, be to us thou, *Oliver*, king.

However, from that time forward, *Bath* has been a flouriſhing place, both for the woollen manufacture, and the great reſort of ſtrangers; and it is encompaſs'd with walls, wherein they have fix'd ſome ancient images and [illegible] inſcriptions, to evidence the antiquity of the place: but age has ſo worn the letters, that they are ſcarce legible. And leſt any thing ſhould be wanting to the dignity of *Bath*, it has honour'd divers of our nobility with the title of earl. For we read that *Philebert de Chandew*, born in *Bretagne* in [illegible] had that title conferr'd upon him by king *Henry* VII. Afterward, king *Henry* VIII. in the 28th year of his reign, created *John Bouchier* lord *Fitz-Warin*, earl of *Bath*; who dying in the 31ſt year of the ſame king, was ſucceeded by *John* his ſon, who dy'd in the third year of queen *Elizabeth*. He before the death of his father, had a ſon, *John* lord *Fitz-Warin*, from whom deſcended *William*, who greatly improv'd the nobility of his birth by the ornaments of learning. *William*, dying 12 *July* 1623. left this honour to *Edward* his only ſon then living, who having no iſſue-male that ſurviv'd him, the title, upon his death, came to Sir *Henry Bouchier* as ſon to Sir *George Bouchier* (who was third ſon to *John*, the ſecond of that name, earl of *Bath*). This *Henry* dying without iſſue, *an.* 1654. the title lay vacant till king *Charles* the 2d's reſtoration, when, among other honours, it was conferr'd (together with the titles of baron of *Kilkhampton* and *Bradford*, and of count *Grenevil* of *Lanſdowne*) upon *John Grenvil*, for his eminent ſervices to that prince, and his being particularly inſtrumental in bringing about that happy change.) Geographers make the longitude of this city to be 20 degrees, and 56 minutes; the latitude, 51 degrees and 21 minutes. For a concluſion, take, if you pleaſe, thoſe Verſes, ſuch as they are, concerning *Bath*; made by *Necham*, who flouriſh'd 400 years ago.

Bathoniæ thermas vix præfero Virgilianas,
Confecto proſunt balnea noſtra ſemi.
Proſunt attritis, colliſis, invalidiſque,
Et quorum morbis frigida cauſa ſubeſt.
Prævenit humanum ſtabilis natura laborem;
Servit naturæ legibus artis opus.
Igne ſuo ſuccenſa quibus data balnea fervent,
Ænea ſubter aquas vaſa latere putant.
Errorem figmenta ſolent inducere paſſim.
Sed quid? ſulphureum novimus eſſe locum.

Scarce ours to Virgil's Baths the preference give,
Here old decrepit wretches find relief.

To bruiſes, ſores, and ev'ry cold diſeaſe,
Apply'd, they never fail of quick ſucceſs,
Thus human ills kind nature does remove;
Thus nature's kindneſs human arts improve.
They're apt to fancy brazen ſtoves below,
To which their conſtant heat the waters owe.
Thus idle tales deluded minds poſſeſs;
But what? we know that 'tis a ſulph'ry place.

The ſoil, for ſome miles about *Bath*, eſpecially to the weſtward, as at *Keyſton* and thereabouts, is ſo very ſtony, that when it is newly plough'd, one would rather take the ridges for ſo many pitch'd cauſeys to walk on, than for a plough'd land to ſow corn in; ſo little of earth is to be ſeen among the ſtones which the plough-ſhare turns up. Yet here, they have excellent corn; tho', perhaps, not altogether ſo much as in deeper land. The country-men attribute their good crops, moſtly, to the ſtones; and if thoſe were carry'd off, the earth left upon the hard rock would be ſo little, that it would not cover their corn; and ſo light, that the wind would blow it away.

Between *Bath* and *Briſtol*, a little river runs into the *Avon*, upon which is *Keynſham-Drew*, the latter part whereof might ſeem to point out ſome relation to the old Druids (but that *Drew* is the name of an ancient family in the weſtern parts;) and the monument there, call'd the *Wedding*, would ſtrengthen ſuch a conjecture. The occaſion of the name *Wedding*, is a tradition which paſſes among the common people, *That as a bride was going to be married, ſhe and the reſt of the company were chang'd into theſe ſtones.* They ſtand in a circular form, five or ſix foot high; and the whole monument is greater than *Stonehenge*, the diameter here being ninety paces; tho' no appearance of a ditch. On the top of a hill between *Bath* and *Cainſham*, is a great camp called *Stanton-bury*; the works whereof are large and double, and they are eſtimated at about thirty acres.

Upon the river *Avon* (which is the bound here between this county and *Glouceſter*) and on the weſtern bank of it, is *Cainſham* aforeſaid, ſo nam'd from *Kena* a devout *britiſh* virgin, (from whom the *Keines* of this county thought themſelves deſcended; and) whom many of the laſt age have (through an over-credulous temper, believ'd to have chang'd ſerpents into ſtones, becauſe they found in the quarries thereabouts, ſome ſuch little ſtony miracles of nature. And I have ſeen a ſtone brought from thence, with a ſerpent, in a round, the head whereof, tho' but imperfect, ſtretch'd (as it ſeemed) in the circumference, and the end of the tail was in the

the center; but moſt of them want the head. (And indeed all our naturaliſts now agree, that ſuch ſtones are form'd in *nautili* ſhells, and that they are no heads belonging to them. Indeed, many of them have rough and broken pieces of ſtone iſſuing from them beyond the moulded wreath at the broad end; which may lead one to imagine that thoſe pieces were imperfect heads; but really they are not ſo. Such kind of ſnake-ſtones of all ſizes, from above a foot to an inch or two diameter, are found frequently in their quarries.) In the neighbouring fields, and other places hereabouts, the herb *Percifier* grows naturally all the year round. It is a plant which hath been ſuppoſed peculiar to *England*; (but Mr. *Ray* affirms, that the ſame is often met with in foreign Countries:) one taſtes in it a ſort of ſaltneſs and bitterneſs; it is never higher than a ſpan, and grows in bulky flowers without a ſtalk. It provokes urine ſtrongly and quickly; and there is a water diſtill'd from it, of great uſe; as *P. Pœna* in his Miſcellanies upon plants has obſerv'd. (Between this place and *Briſtol*, upon the *Avon*, is *Briſtleton*, abounding in the ſame ſort of cole that is brought from *Mendip*. From *Briſtleton* in ſeveral places of the adjacent country, as far as *Sydcot* and *Mendippe-hills*, as alſo northward in *Glouceſterſhire*, are found veins of cole, which afford a ſtrong and cheap firing to all thoſe parts. Theſe veins are covered with a ſhell of a black hard ſtony ſubſtance, called Wark, which will ſplit like blue ſlate, but is much more brittle, and not near ſo hard. Upon dividing this Wark, there is often found, upon one of the ſeparated ſurfaces, the perfect ſhape of a fearn leaf, as if it had, by a skilful hand, been engraven; which, as an exact mould or caſe, receives the protuberant figure of the like leaf ſtanding out on the other ſide.

Scarce five miles from hence, the river Avon parts Briſtol in the middle, called by the Britains Caer Oder Nant Badon, *i. e.* the city Odera in the valley. In the catalogue of ancient cities it is named Caer Brito, and by the Saxon *Brightſtow*, i. e. a famous place. But they who have affirmed it to be the *Venta Belgarum*, have impoſed both upon themſelves and the world. This city is placed partly in Somerſetſhire, and partly in Glouceſterſhire, but does not belong to either, having diſtinct magiſtrates of its own, being a county incorporate by itſelf. It ſtands upon a pretty high ground between the Avon and the little river Frome; and what with walls and rivers, is guarded very well: for it was formerly incloſed with a double wall. It makes ſuch a beautiful ſhow both of publick and private buildings, that it anſwers it's name: and there are what they call Gotes (in Latin *Cloacæ*) built in the ſubterraneous caverns of the earth, to carry off and waſh away the filth; ſo that nothing is wanting here either for neatneſs or health. But by reaſon of theſe, carts are not uſed here, but

ſledges, which do not endanger the arches of the Gentes. It is alſo ſo well furniſhed with the neceſſaries of life, and is ſo populous, that next to London and York, it may juſtly claim the pre-eminence over all the cities in Britain. For the trade of many nations is drawn hither by the convenience of commerce, and of the harbour, which receives veſſels under ſail into the very heart of the city. And the Avon ſwells ſo high by the coming-in of the tide, that ſhips upon the ſhallows are borne up 11 or 12 fathoms. The citizens drive a rich trade throughout Europe, and make voyages to the remoteſt parts of America. At what time, and by whom, it was built, is hard to ſay: but it ſeems to be of a late date, ſince in all the Daniſh wars it is not ſo much as mentioned in our hiſtories. For my part, I am of opinion it aroſe in the declenſion of the Saxon government, ſince it is not anywhere taken notice of before the year of our Lord 1063. when Harold, as Florence of Worceſter has it, ſet ſail from *Brytſtow* to invade Wales. In the beginning of the Norman times, Berton, an adjoining farm, and this Briſtow, *paid to the king*, as it is in Domeſday-book, 110 *marks of ſilver*; *and the burgeſſes return'd, that biſhop G. had* 33 *marks, and* 1 *mark of gold.* Who this biſhop was, is not expreſſed in Domeſday, nor have we any more than the bare initials, either of his name or ſee. If we durſt ſay that G. were inſtead of *S.* for thoſe two letters are not unlike, Sherborn or Saliſbury, under whoſe juriſdiction it ſeems to have formerly been, would ſolve the difficulty; but if that will not do, I find none of the biſhops names about that time beginning with *G.* If we preſerve the reading, Glewam or Gloceſter offers itſelf faireſt, which tho' annexed at times to Litchfield and Worceſter, ſeems notwithſtanding to have had the title of a biſhop's ſee. But this by the way. Afterwards, Geoffry biſhop of Conſtance, raiſing a rebellion againſt William Rufus, choſe this for the ſeat of war, and fortified the little city with that inner wall, I ſuppoſe, part of which remains to this day. But a few years after, the ſuburbs began to enlarge on every ſide; for on the ſouth, Radcliffe, where were ſome little houſes belonging to the ſuburbs, is joined to the reſt of the city by a ſtone bridge, which is ſo thick-ſet with houſes, that you would not think it a bridge, but a ſtreet. This part is included within the walls, and the inhabitants have the privileges of citizens. There are hoſpitals built in all parts for the poor, and elegant churches to the honour of God. Among the reſt, the moſt beautiful by far is S. Mary's of Radcliffe without the walls, into which is a noble aſcent by a great many ſteps. So large is it, and the workmanſhip ſo exquiſite; the roof ſo artificially vaulted with ſtone, and the tower ſo high, that in my opinion it far ſurpaſſes all the pariſh-churches in England that I have yet ſeen. In it, the founder William Canninges has two

hono-

honorary monuments; one in the habit of a magiſtrate, for he was five times mayor of this city; the other in the habit of a clergyman, for in his latter days he took orders, and was dean of the college which himſelf founded at Weſtbury. Hard by it is alſo another church called Temple, the tower whereof, as often as the bell rings, moves to and again, ſo as to be quite parted from the reſt of the building; and there is ſuch a chink from top to bottom, that the gapings is three fingers wide when the bell rings, growing firſt narrower, and then again broader. Nor muſt we omit St. Stephen's church, the ſtately tower whereof was in the memory of our * grandfathers built by one Shipward, a citizen and merchant, with great charge and curious workmanſhip. On the eaſt and north parts alſo it was enlarged with very many buildings, and thoſe included within the walls, being likewiſe defended by the river Frome; which, after it has paſſed by theſe walls, runs calmly into the Avon, making a ſafe harbour for ſhips, and a creek convenient to load and unload wares, which they call the Key. Below this, between the confluence of Avon and Frome, is a campaign ground, which is ſet round with trees, and affords the citizens a pleaſant walk. Upon the ſouth-eaſt, where the rivers do not encompaſs it, Robert, natural ſon to king Henry I. commonly called Robert Rufus, conſul of Gloceſter, becauſe he was earl of Gloceſter, built a large and ſtrong caſtle for the defence of his city; which is now quite demoliſhed, and built into a ſtreet; and out of a pious principle ſet aſide every tenth ſtone, for the building of a chapel near the priory of St. James, which he had alſo erected juſt under the city. He took to wife Mabil, daughter and ſole heir of Robert Fiz-Hamon, who held this city in fealty of William the Conqueror. This caſtle, being yet ſcarce finiſhed, was beſieged by king Stephen; but he was forced to draw off his forces without effecting any thing; and the ſame perſon, not many years after, being a priſoner therein, was a fair inſtance how uncertain the events of war are. Beyond the river Frome, over which at Frome-gate is a bridge, one goes obliquely up a high hill of a ſteep and difficult aſcent, from whence there is a pleaſant proſpect of the city, and of the haven below it. This, on the top, ſpreads into a large and green plain, ſhaded all along the middle with a double row of trees; among which is a pulpit of ſtone, and a chapel, wherein they ſay that Jordan, companion to St. Auſtin the Engliſh apoſtle, was buried: but it is now a free-ſchool. This place, not to mention the private houſes, is beautified on all ſides with publick and ſtately buildings: On one ſide with a collegiate church called Gaunts, from its founder Sir Henry Gaunt, knight,

† So ſaid *ann.* 1607.

who

who quitting the world, did here dedicate himſelf to the ſervice of God; but by the munificence of T. Carre, a wealthy citizen, it was converted into an hoſpital for orphans. On the other ſide over-againſt it, are two churches, dedicated to St. Auſtin; the one but ſmall, and a pariſh church; the other larger, and the biſhop's cathedral, adorned by king Henry VIII. with ſix prebendaries. Now the greateſt part of it is pulled down, and the college gate, which indeed is curiouſly built, has this inſcription:

REX HENRICVS II. ET DOMINVS ROBERTVS FILIVS HARDINGI FILII REGIS DACIAE, HVIVS MONASTERII PRIMI FVNDATORES EXTITERVNT.

That is:

King Henry II. *and Lord Robert, the ſon of Harding, ſon to the king of Denmark, were the firſt founders of this monaſtery.*

This Robert, Harding's ſon, of the blood-royal of Denmark, was a principal man in Britain, and ſo much belov'd by King Henry, that, by his favour, Maurice his ſon marry'd the daughter of the Lord de Barkley: from whence his poſterity, who have flouriſh'd in great ſtate, are to this day ſtil'd Barons of Barkley, ſome whereof were bury'd in this church. The honour of this place hath been increas'd by giving the title of earl to John Lord Digby of Shirburn, created in the twentieth year of James I. to whom ſucceeded in the ſame honour George his ſon, and John his grandſon, who died without iſſue; and the ſame title hath been conferr'd upon the right honourable John Harvey, who had before been created Baron Harley of Ickworth.

Where the Avon paſſes from hence, are high rocks on both ſides the river, as if nature had induſtriouſly contriv'd them. One of theſe, which hangs over the river on the eaſt ſide, is called St. Vincent's, and is ſo ſtock'd with diamonds, that one may gather whole buſhels of them. Nothing but the great plenty leſſens their value among us: for beſides that in tranſparency they even vie with thoſe from the Indies, they do not yield to them in any other reſpect, ſave hardneſs: but their being ſmooth'd or fil'd by nature into ſix or four corners, does, in my mind, render them more admirable: However, if we may truſt our naturaliſts, they aſſure us, that very often Cryſtals, and Berills, and even ſometimes the common Sparrs, in many parts of England, as well as elſewhere, are of that figure. The other rock on the weſtern bank is likewiſe full of diamonds, which, by a wonderful

wonderful contrivance of nature, are contain'd in hollow reddish flints (for the ground here is red) as if these were big with young. The Avon, after it has pass'd by these rocks, is at last, with a full channel, discharg'd into the Severn sea; furnishing Bristol (at the vernal equinox, or there-abouts) with a dish perhaps not to be met with but in this county, which they call Elvers. Some time in the spring, the river about Cainsham is yearly covered over and colour'd black with millions of little eels scarce so big as a goose-quill, tho' some would have them a particular species. These, with small nets, they skim up in great numbers, and, by a peculiar way of ordering them, make them scowr off their skins. Being thus stripped, and looking very white, they make them up into little cakes, which they fry and so eat them.

It remains now, that I give a catalogue of the earls and dukes of this county of Somerset. The first earl of Somerset is said to have been William de Mohun, or Moion, the same probably that Maud the empress, in her charter (whereby she created William de Mandevil earl of Essex) makes use of as a witness, under the name of *Comes W. de Moion*, i. e. Earl W. of Moion. From this time we meet with no distinct mention of the earls of Somerset, unless it be in this rescript of king Henry III. to Peter de Mauley, which I will set down, in order to invite others to spend their judgment upon it. *Know ye, that we have received the homage of our dearest uncle, William earl of Sarum, for all the lands which he holds of us, except for the county of Somerset, which we have given to him, with all the appurtenances, for homage and service, reserving still to our selves the regalities: therefore we command you, that you grant him full seisin of the said county, with all its appurtenances, and for the future not to intermeddle with any thing belonging to the said county, &c. And we charge all our earls, barons, knights, and free-tenants of the county of Somerset, that they do fealty and homage to the said earl, with a reserve only of fidelity to the king; and that for the future they be obedient and answerable to him as their lord.* Whether one may from hence conclude, that he was earl of Somerset, as also of Devonshire (for the king wrote in the same words to Robert Courtney also concerning this William) I leave to the judgment of others. Under the same Henry III. (as we read in a book in French belonging to the family of the Mohuns knights) it is said that pope innocent, on a solemn festival, made Reginald Mahun earl of Este, i. e. (as our author interprets it) of Somerset, by the delivery of a golden rose, with the grant of an annual pension to be paid at the altar of St. Paul's in London. So that he seems not to be strictly and properly an earl, but an apostolical earl, for so such were term'd in that age, who were created by the pope (as these created by

by the emperor, were call'd *imperial* earls, having a power of licenſing notaries and ſcribes, making baſtards legitimate, &c. under ſome certain conditions. A conſiderable time after, John de Beauford, natural ſon to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter by Catherine Swinford, (being, with his brothers and ſiſter, made legitimate by king Richard II, with the aſſent of parliament,) was advanc'd to the honour of earl of Somerſet, and afterwards created marqueſs of Dorſet, but was preſently depriv'd of that honour by Henry IV. and had only the title of Somerſet, remaining. He had three ſons, Henry earl of Somerſet, who dy'd young; John, created by king Henry V, duke of Somerſet, who had an only daughter *Margaret*, mother to king Henry VII; and *Edmund*, who ſucceeded his brother in the dukedom, and was for ſome time regent of *France*. But being recall'd, he was accus'd of having loſt Normandy, on which account he ſuffer'd many indignities from the people; and in that lamentable war between the houſes of Lancaſter and York, he was ſlain in the firſt battle of S. *Albans*. *Henry* his ſon ſucceeded him, who being a time-ſerver (one while ſiding with the houſe of *York*, and another with the houſe of *Lancaſter*) was by the York-party taken priſoner in the battle of *Hexam*, and was puniſh'd for his inconſtancy with the loſs of his head. And his brother *Edmund* who ſucceeded him in this honour, the laſt duke of *Somerſet* of this family, after the defeat of the Lancaſtrian party at *Tewkſbury*, was drag'd (being all over blood) out of the church wherein he had taken ſanctuary, beheaded. The legitimate heirs male of this family being thus extinct, firſt *Henry* VII, honour'd *Edmund* his young ſon with this title, who ſoon after dy'd: and next, *Henry* VIII. his natural ſon *Henry Fitz-Roy*. He dying without iſſue, *Edward* VI. inveſted *Edward de Seuche Maure*, commonly call'd *Seimor*, with the ſame; who being full of honours, and as it were loaded with titles (for he was *duke of Somerſet*, *earl of Hertford*, *viſcount Beauchamp*, *baron of S. Maw*, *uncle to the king*, *protector of his kingdoms*, *dominions*, *and ſubjects*, *lieutenant of his forces by ſea and land*, *treaſurer and earl marſhal of* England, *governor of the iſlands of* Guernſey *and* Jerſey, *&c.*) was, as if he had been fortune's foot-ball, all on a ſudden kick'd down, for a very ſlight crime, and that too contriv'd by the treachery of his enemies; and depriv'd of his honours and life together. (By the attainder of *Edward* duke of *Somerſet*, this title lay vacant for a long time; only Sir *R. Carr*, knight of the Bath, was by the favour of king *James* I. created earl of *Somerſet*; who falling under diſgrace upon the account of Sir *T. Overbury*'s death, and having only a daughter, that honour was again extinct. Upon the reſtoration of king *Charles* II, William Seymour, marqueſs of Hertford, was for his eminent ſervices reſtor'd to the title of duke of Somerſet, and was ſucceeded by William, grand child by Henry his third ſon (William and Robert

bert the two elder brothers dying unmarried:) William alſo dy'd unmarried, and had for his ſucceſſor John lord Seymour his uncle, who dy'd without iſſue. Whereupon, this title devolv'd upon the heirs of Sir Francis Seymour (third ſon to Edward lord Beauchamp, ſon and heir to Edward earl of Hertford) deſcending firſt to Francis, grandſon of the ſaid Francis; who being barbarouſly murther'd in Italy, the title deſcended to Charles his brother, the preſent duke of Somerſet.)

There are in this County 385 *Pariſhes.*

More rare Plants growing wild in Somerſetſhire.

ARia Theophraſti *Ger.* Alni effigie lanato folio major *C. B.* Sorbus Alpina *J. B.* Sorbus ſylveſtris, Aria Theophraſti dicta, *Park.* White-Beam-tree. *On the rocks over-againſt St. Vincent's-rock near Briſtol, and in many other places on hilly and rocky grounds among other ſorts of trees.*

Aſplenium ſive Ceterach *J. B. Ger. Park.* Aſplenium ſive ſcolopendria, Ceterach Officinarum *C. B. Ceterach, Spleenwort, Miltwaſt. On the ſtone walls about Briſtol, plentifully.*

Carduus tomentoſus Anglicus *Lob. Ad. Park.* Engliſh woolly-headed Thiſtle, *Obſerv'd by* Lobel *in many barren fields of this county, particularly near Mr.* Saintloe's *houſe. This plant is without doubt the ſame with* carduus tomentoſus, corona fratrum dictus *of Parkinſon.* Carduus capite tomentoſo *J. B.* eriocephalus *Ger. emac.* capite rotundo tomentoſo *C. B.* Bauhine *and* Parkinſon *deceived by* Lobel, *who in his* Icons *gives two figures of the ſame thiſtle, make two ſpecies of one. This is found in ſeveral other counties of* England, *but not very frequent.*

Ciſtus humilis alpinus durior, Polii noſtratis folio candicante *Plukenet. Phytograph.* Tab. 22. *Dwarf Caſtus or Sunflower with Poley-mountain leaves. Found by Dr. Plukenet on Brent-downs in this county, near the Severn-ſea.*

Colchicum commune *C. B.* Anglicum purpureum *Park. Ger.* Colchicum *J. B. Meadow-ſaffron. In ſome Meadows about Bath. It is alſo found in many Meadows in Glouceſterſhire and Worceſterſhire, and elſewhere in the Weſt of England.*

Equiſetum ſive hippuris lacuſtris foliis muſci arenoſis. *On a bog by Smo-thal a wood nigh Bath.* Phyt. Brit. *See the Synonyma in the Kentiſh Catalogue.*

Pentaphyllum equinum Germanicum ſiliquis in ſummitate *C. B. Ger. emac.* equinum ſecundum *Park.* Ornithopodio affinis, vel potius Soleæ aut Ferro equino *Raii. J. B.* Tufted *Horſhoe-vetch. On the hills about Bath, and between Bath and Marlborough.* Phyt. Brit.

Helxine terreſtris ſaxatilis Lobelii *Park. p.* 677. Saxatilis *Ger. emac.* ſaxat. minor flore *C. B.* Aſarina aut Heredula ſaxatilis *Lob.* item Aſarina ſerilis Sabaudiæ & Narbonenſis agri ejuſdem. *Stone Ale-hoof. In ſome places of Somerſetſhire, as Parkinſon ſaith, he found it quoted among Lobel's papers that came to his hands. I do not much rely upon Lobel's memory as to the kinds of plants, and fear there will be no ſuch herb found in this country; but for the authority of ſo great a Botaniſt, I would not omit it.*

Lunaria minor *Ger. Park.* botrytis *J. B.* racemoſa minor vel vulgaris *C. B. Monet. About the Bath eſpecially at a place call'd Carey, two miles from Bath, on the weſt ſide to the church-yard. Ger. p.* 406. *Scarce a county in England but this plant may ſomewhere or other be found in it; yet becauſe it is not common, and the knowledge of it deſired by many, I thought fit to name a particular place for it, but upon Gerard's authority, not my own obſervation.*

Ornithogalum anguſtifolium majus, floribus ex albo viridiſcentibus *C. B.* Aſphodelus bulboſus *Ger.* bulboſus Galeni, ſeu Ornithog. majus flore ſubviridi *Park.* Aſphodelus bulboſus Dodonæi, ſeu Ornithogalum ſpicatum viridi flore *J. B. Spiked Star of Bethlehem with a greeniſh flower. Obſerved growing wild on a hill, three miles on this ſide Briſtol in the way to Bath. Not in the ſame place mention'd with that in Phyt. Brit. viz. in the way between Bath and Bradford, not far from little Aſhley.*

Polygonum maritimum longius radicatum noſtras, Serpylli folio circinato flore rubente, forte Polygonum lentifolium *C. B.* 282. and *Prod.* 131. Polygonum minus Monſpelienſe *Park.* 446. *Found by Dr. Plukenet on the Severn-ſhore near Weſton* ſuper mare.

Polygonatum Hellebori albi folio, caule purpuraſcente *D. Bobart. Solomon's ſeal with white Hellebore leaves and a purpliſh ſtalk. In the woods on the north-ſide of Mendippe-hills.*

Pentaphyllus Corticulatus montanus *Ger.* flore globoſo purpureo *J. B.* folio rotundo, ſpica orbiculari *C. B.* Alopecuroides orbiculatus *Park. Horned Piſtachius. Between Selbury-hill and Beacon-hill in the way to Bath.* Phyt. Brit. *Upon the credit of which book I do not at all rely; only becauſe the name makes it probable, I have put it down.*

Scorodoprassum primum Clusii *Ger. emac.* Allium Sphæricco capite, foliis latiore, sive Scorodoprassum alterum *C. B. Great round-headed Garlick. Helms Island. Found growing plentifully there by Mr. Merrick.*

Vermicularis frutex minor *Ger.* fruticosa altera *Park.* Sedum minus fruticosum *C. B.* An Cili species seu vermicularis marina arborescens *J. B. Shrub-stone-crop or Glass-wort. Found on the Helms Island in the Severn by Lobel plentifully.*

Vicia sylvatica multiflora maximo *P. B.* perennis multiflora spicata major *Moris. hist. Great-tufted Wood-vetch. In a wood near Frome. Brit. This is also found in many places in the north and west parts of England.*

Virga aurea maxima radice repente *D. Pelert.* aurea ferrata latifolia *C. B.* aurea ferratis foliis *Park.* aurea Arnoldi Villa-novani *Ger. emac.* aurea virga solidago Saracenica latifolia ferrata *J. B. Broad-leaved indented Golden-rod. Found plentifully by the side of a small river between Wells and Glastonbury by Mr. Bobert.*



WIL

WILTSHIRE.

WILTSHIRE, (1) which was likewiſe inhabited by the Belgæ, is a midland county; call'd by the Saxons, *Wiltun-ſcyre* (as the inhabitants were called *Wiltſetas* and *Wiltſæte*,) and by the modern Latin hiſtorians, Wiltonia, from it's once chief town Wilton, which alſo took it's name from the river Willy. It is bounded on the Weſt with Somerſetſhire and on the eaſt with the counties of Berks and Southampton; on the north with Glocesterſhire; on the ſouth with Dorſetſhire and part of Hamſhire. A country, renowned not only for the valour of it's natives, who (as Johannes Sarisburienſis, one of the beſt ſcholars of his age, and biſhop of Chartres in France, tells us in his Polycraticon) together with thoſe of Cornwall and Devonſhire, did on account of their bravery, challenge the honour of being the reſerve in our Engliſh expeditions; but alſo for the extraordinary fertility of the ſoil in all kinds, and for it's delightful variety, which affords a very pleaſant proſpect. This is the largeſt mid-land county in England, as may be eaſily obſerved by the (2) ancient computation of it's Hides, For we find that in Wiltyſire (as it is there term'd) were four thouſand eight hundred Hides, which is more by two thouſand than any ſhire mentioned by that author. The thirty-nine miles in length, and twenty-nine in breadth, which Spede aſſigns it, will be found too little both ways, upon an accurate ſurvey.

(1) Vide Somerſetſhire, in initio.

(2) Appendix to the ſecond Tome of the Engliſh Hiſtorians.

The

The northern part, once over-spread with woods, which are now almost destroy'd, is full of pleasant risings, and water'd with clear streams. The Isis, which is called Tamisis, and is the chief of the British rivers, with others of less note, of which I shall make mention in their proper places, while it is yet but small, glides thro' it. But, upon this first mention of the river Thames, it will not be improper to observe, that tho' the current opinion is, that it had that name from the conjunction of Thame and Isis, it plainly appears that that river was always call'd Thames, or Tems, before it came near the Thame. For Instance: in an ancient charter granted to Abbot Aldhelm, there is particular mention made of certain lands upon the east part of the rivet, *cujus vocabulum* Temis, *juxta vadum qui* Summerford; and this ford is in Wiltshire. The same thing appears from several other charters granted to the Abby of Malmsbury, as well as that of Enesham; and from the old deeds relating to Cricklade. And perhaps it may with safety be affirm'd, that, in any charter or authentick history, it does not ever occur under the name of Isis; which indeed is not to be met as heard of, but among scholars: the common people, all along from the head of it to Oxford, calling it by no other name, but that of Thames. So also, the Saxon Temese (from whence our *Tems* immediately comes) is a plain evidence, that that people never dreampt of any such conjunction. But further; all our historians who mention the incursions of Ethelwald to Wiltshire, A. D. 905. or of Canute, A. D 1016. tells us, that they went over the Thames at Cricklade. As for the original of the word, it seems plainly to be British, because there are several rivers, in several parts of England, of almost the same name with it; as Tame in Staffordshire, Teme in Herefordshire, Tamar in Cornwall, *&c.* And a learned person of that nation, affirms it to be the same with their Taf, which is the name of many rivers in Wales; the Romans changing the pronunciation of the British (t) into (m,) as the Latin word *Demetia*, is in Welsh *Dyfed*.

The south part, being a large champain fruitful country, feeds innumerable flocks of sheep, and is watered with other rivers, land-floods, and running springs. The middle of this shire is for the most plain and level; across which, from east to west, a wonderful ditch is thrown up for many miles together: it is called by the neighbouring inhabitants Wansdike, and they have a groundless tradition, that it was made by the devil on a Wednesday. The Saxons indeed term'd it *Wodenesdic*, that is, Woden's or Mercury's ditch, probably from Woden the false god and father of the heathen Saxons. I have always thought, that it was cast up by the Saxons for a boundary between the Dominions of the West-Saxons and the Mercians; for this country was the seat of war during the contentions between these two Kingdoms

doms for the enlarging of their territories. (But others are of opinion, that it was made long before the ſettlement of the Mercian kingdom, viz. by Cerdic the firſt king of the Weſt-Saxons, or by Kenric his ſon, againſt the incurſions of the Britains, who even in king Ceawlin's time (as Malmsbury tells us) made frequent inroads into this county from their garriſons at Bath, Gloceſter, and Cirenceſter.) And the village Wodensburge (which Brompton, by miſtake, calls Bonebury,) is near this ditch; where Ceawlin the moſt valiant king of the Weſt-Saxons, A. D. 590. endeavouring to defend the frontiers of his kingdom, was routed in a bloody battle by the Britains, and ſome malecontent Saxons, to that degree, that he was forc'd to flie his Country, and, being the pity of his very enemies, dy'd miſerably in exile. But Woodborow, three miles ſouth of the dike, being the only village that has any remains of Woodensburge in the name, and there being not the leaſt ſign or tradition of a battle fought there; others gueſs, that Wanborow, on the borders of Wiltſhire and Barkſhire, is the town mention'd by our hiſtorians. For (ſy they) as Wodenſdic paſs'd into Wanſdic, ſo might Wodensburgh by the ſame reaſon be changed into Wanburgh, or Wanborow. And without doubt this has been formerly a town of great note, as appears by the quantities of Roman coins that have been frequently found at it; and the neighbourhood of a Saxon camp on Badburyhill, ſhews that the battle muſt have been fought hereabouts.) But, that I may omit other actions, (it is certain) that Ina the Weſt-Saxon, and Ceolred the Mercian, fought here, with equal ſucceſs. This ditch is much like that, which Offa made to ſeparate the Britains from his Mercians, call'd Offa-dike to this day: there are others of the like nature to be ſeen in the kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles, whereby they fortified themſelves againſt the incurſions of the Mercians: (of which I ſhall treat more largely in their proper places. The rampire and graff of this, are very large; and the rampire is on the ſouth-ſide. And beſides this ditch, there are ſeveral others of leſs note ſtill viſible upon the plains, eſpecially about Stone-henge; and in the Saxon-Charter of lands belonging to Wilton-Abby, mention is made of no leſs than thirteen diſtinct Dikes; ſo that, probably, the Saxons might draw them, to divide the great Lordſhips, or for ſome ſuch purpoſe.

In north Wiltſhire, the Thames before it comes to Crecklade receives from the north a little river call'd Churn; not far from which, is Pulton, a town that is within the bounds of Gloceſterſhire, yet it belongs to and is reckon'd part of Wiltſhire; where was a Priory of the Order of S. Gilbert, founded in the time of Edward 1. Then the Thames runs by the town call'd Crecklade; and by others, Grekelade, from the greek philoſophers, as ſome credulouſly think; by whom, as it is recorded in the hiſtory of Oxford, an univerſity was here founded, which was afterwards tranſlated to Oxford.

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It is call'd Creckanford, Cricklade, &c. and by the Sax-annals *Creccanford* and *Creccilade*. And here (if the monkish writers could always be rely'd on) we might safely settle a Greek school, which they in a manner unanimously affirm to have been founded, or rather restored, by that learned archbishop of Canterbury Theodorus. But those over-credulous authors seem'd to have no other grounds besides the bare affinity of names; and to make their good argument, they are willing to have it call'd Greklade; which is to their opinion the more plausible. How true the matter of fact may be, I shall not undertake to determine; since that point has been already treated pretty warmly on both sides. It is certain, however, that Cricklade has formerly been a town of great repute: for it appears by the red book of the Exchequer, that there once belong'd to it 1300 hide-lands, and it gave name to the hundred of Cricklade, which is now united to that of Highworth. But if it's greekschool have nothing to support it, besides the similitude of name, it may with more reason be deriv'd either from the british *Crig*, a stony country (to which the nature of the soil does agree,) or from the Saxon *Græca* a *brook*, and *Labian* to *empty*; for here the Churn and Key empty themselves into the Thames. It has now a free-school, founded by Robert Jenner, Esq; and well endow'd by him. Below this place is Latton, Tregoze, the seat of the knightly family of St. Johns, which Maud de Bello Campo, or Beauchamp, a terwards dutchess of Somerset, gave to Oliver St. John her second son. To her it came as heiress to those great names of Patishull, grandson, Tregoze, (and Ewias; from whence it is also called in some records Lediard Ewias.) Near this, is Wotton-Basset, whose additional name shews it sometime belong'd to the noble family of the Bassets. From them it came to Hugh Dispenser, and upon his attainder, to the Crown. King Edward 3d gave it to his son Edmund de Langele duke of York; and in the last century but one, as I have been inform'd, it was the seat of the duke of York, who here enclosed a very large park for deer. All the country hereabouts (once cover'd with Braden-wood, now called Braden-forest) was miserably wasted by Ethelwald Clito and his auxiliary Danes, A. D. 905. On the west-side of this forest, the forementioned river Avon glides on smoothly; which, arising almost in the very north limit of this county, runs toward the south, and was (as Ethelwerd observes) for some time the boundary of the West-Saxon and Mercian kingdoms; at which there were several great battles fought. It is called, for distinction's sake, Lower Avon (probably, the Antona of Tacitus, and the Bladon of William of Malmsbury,) which, at it's first entrance into Wiltshire, crosses the Foss-way, that is still very plain in this part of the county. From Cirencester it comes into thi county near Kemble, and so runs on west of Crud-

well, which gave the title of baroneſs to lady Mary Lucas of Crudwell, whoſe father John lord Lucas built here a free ſchool, with a competent endowment) by Aſhley, to Long Newnton; then weſt of Broken-bridge to Eaſten-Grey; and ſo not far from Sherſton, which appears to have been a Roman ſtation, as well by its ſituation near this conſular way, as by the Roman coins frequently at it. Some of the ſilver ones, viz. of Antoninus, Fauſtina, Gordianus, and Fl. Julianus are depoſited in Aſhmole's Muſæum in Oxford. What its name was in the Roman times, we have no light from hiſtory; but this, probably, was the place of battle between king Edmund and the Danes, A. D. 1016. call'd by the Saxon chronicle *Sceorſtan*. For as the agreement of the names juſtifies the conjecture, ſo do the particular circumſtances, both of the place and action, the ſeveral barrows hereabouts, put it beyond diſpute, that here has been a battle; and the inhabitants have to this day a tradition, that it was againſt the Danes. Now, this of king Edmund's lays the beſt claim to it; both becauſe Sherſton is nearer to Pen (where the laſt battle before this was fought, than any town yet aſſign'd to be the place; and alſo becauſe the account, that Florence of Worceſter has left us of that matter, agrees very well to it. He expreſly ſays, that his Sceorſtan was in Wiccia, within the borders whereof this Sherſton is. For there is no doubt, but Wiccia extended on both ſides the Severn, as far as the kingdom of Mercia did: now, it hath been obſerved, that the Avon was the limit between Mercia and the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons; and the learned Sir Henry Spelman tells us, that Aldhelm abbot of Malmsbury was preſent at a Britiſh ſynod; ſo that, without doubt, this part of Wiltſhire belong'd to Mercia, and conſequently this Sherſton might be in Wiccia. And this is confirmed by that paſſage in Brompton, where he ſays, *that the cities of* Cirencester *and* Chippenham *were in the ſouth part of the country of the* Wiccians.

From Sherſton, the Foſſe paſſes by Alderton and Littleton-Drew; and ſo, weſt of Weſt Kington, in which pariſh, on a down call'd Ebdown, is a ſingle-trench'd camp, ſuppos'd to be Roman. Hence it goes to Caſtle-comb, and ſo weſt of Slaughtenford; the very name of which denotes what the conſtant tradition of the inhabitants has handed down, concerning a great *ſlaughter* of the Danes in this place. Their camp might probably be that double entrenchment in Bury-wood, between Colern and North-Wraxall: not far from which, the Foſſe enters Somerſetſhire, at the Shire-ſtones. But to return to the *Avon*. While it is yet ſhallow, it runs at the bottom of the hill upon which Malmsbury is built; and, having receiv'd another brook, it almoſt encompaſſeth it. This (called by the Saxon annals *Mealdelmesbyrig*) is a great town, and in good repute on account of the cloathing-trade: and was, as the *Malmſbury Hiſtoriarum* reports, together with the caſtles of Lacock and

Tetbury, built by Dunwallo Mulmutius king of the Britains, and by him called Caer Bladon. Geoffrey of Monmouth alſo, without any warrant from authentick hiſtory, affirms it to have been a town in the Roman times, and built ſome hundreds of years before their coming into this iſland. When it had been deſtroy'd by the wars, there aroſe out of it's ruins, as hiſtorians have it upon record, a caſtle, which our anceſtors in their language named *Ingelborne*, at the ſame time that the Saxon petty kings had their palace at Caerdurburge, now Brokenbrige, a village ſcarce a mile from hence. This caſtle belong'd to the biſhops of the Weſt-Saxons, and, in all probability, is the place from whence the charters from Eleutherius to Aldhelm are thus dated, *Actum publice juxta flumen Badon*, *i. e.* dated publickly upon the river Badon. It was known by no other name but that of Ingelborn, for a long time after; till one Maildulphus, an Iriſh Scot, and a great ſcholar, and eminent for his devotion and ſtrictneſs of life, being delighted with the pleaſantneſs of the wood under this hill, lived here an hermit: but afterwards, inſtituting a ſchool, and with his ſcholars devoting himſelf to a monaſtick life, he built a little monaſtery. From this Maildulphus, the town of Ingelborn began to be called Maildulfesburg, and by Bede *Maldulfi urbs*, Maildulf's city, which in proceſs of time was contracted into Malmesbury. In ſome hiſtorians, and ancient charters granted to this place, it is written Meldunum, Maldubury, and Maldunsburg. Among Maildulf's ſcholars, Aldhelm was the moſt eminent; who, being deſigned his ſucceſſor, and by the help of Eleutherius biſhop of Wincheſter, to whom the ground of right belong'd, build here a ſtately monaſtery, of which himſelf was the firſt abbot; and from him this town in a certain MS. is called Aldelmesbyrig. But this name ſoon grew out of uſe, tho' the memory of that holy man, as being canonized, ſtill remains. A meadow alſo near this place is called St. Aldhelm's mead; and before the reformation they had ſeveral other memorials of him, as his Pſalter, the robe wherein he ſaid maſs, and a great bell in the abbey-ſteeple, called St. Aldhelm's bell. The village alſo about ſix or ſeven miles ſouth-eaſt from Malmsbury, called Helmerton, is probably denominated from this ſaint, for in Domeſday-book it is written Aldhelmertone. Upon his feaſt-day, here is a great fair, at which time a company of ſoldiers were uſually liſted, to prevent diſorders amidſt ſuch a concourſe of people; but I think that is diſuſed at preſent. And truly his memory deſerves immortal honour, not only for the ſanctity of his life, but alſo for his learning; due allowances being made for the ignorance of the times he lived in. He was the firſt Saxon that ever wrote in Latin, and the firſt that taught the Saxons the way of compoſing Latin verſe; and ſo perform'd what he promiſed of himſelf, in theſe verſes:

Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita ſuperſit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice muſas.

I to my country firſt, if fates permit,
Will bring the muſes from their native ſeat.

The great Æthelſtan made this Aldhelm his tutelar ſaint, and for his ſake granted the town large immunities, and enriched the monaſtery with ample donations; he choſe this for the place of his burial, and the inhabitants ſhew his monument to this day. Which monument, notwithſtanding, is ſo far from having been erected immediately after his death, that it ſeems to have been ſet up long ſince the conqueſt, and poſſibly ſince the reformation. For William of Malmsbury tells us, that this king was inter'd under the high-altar, whereas the monument is in the nave of the church, and grass now grows where the choir was. In the year of our Lord 956. after the monks had had poſſeſſion of this monaſtery for the ſpace of 270 years, they were turned out by the command of king Eadwy, and ſecular prieſts were put in their room; but the monks were reſtored by king Edgar. Biſhop Herman would willingly have tranſlated the biſhop's ſee hither, but was prevented in his deſign by the diligence of the monks. So that the Abingdon hiſtoriographer is under a miſtake, when he tells us, that the ſeat of the biſhop of Barkſhire and Wiltſhire was at Malmsbury; as is alſo Radulphus de Diceto, when he calls Odo, who was biſhop of Ramesbury, biſhop of Malmsbury; and Gervaſius Tilburienſis, when he ſays that St. Aldhelm had the city of Maidulf, that is, Scireburn. From the time of Æthelſtan, the abbey was famous for it's wealth; and here was educated, beſides many other learned men, William, from this town called Malmsburienſis, to whoſe learned pains the civil and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of England are greatly indebted. The town, entirely ſupported by the abbey, was fortified by Roger biſhop of Salisbury, who, when the war broke out between Henry of Anjou and king Stephen, ſecured it with walls, and a caſtle, which was once beſieged by king Henry II. and, after a brave defence, taken. This magnificent biſhop erected buildings, here and at Salisbury, *for ſpace very large, for coſt very chargeable, for ſhew very beautiful. The ſtones are ſet in ſuch exact order, that the joints cannot be ſeen, and the whole ſtructure ſeems to be but one ſtone.* But the caſtle, not many years after, by the permiſſion of king John, was raſed for the convenience of the monks, that ſo the abbey might be enlarged; which daily increaſed in buildings and revenues, and exceeded all the reſt in Wiltſhire, both in riches and honour, the lord abbot

ſitting in parliament as peer of the realm, till the fatal diſſolution of monaſteries. Then the lands and riches, which had been ſo many years in gathering, were diſſipated, tho' in ancient times accounted *the offerings of Chriſtians, and penances for ſins, and the patrimony of the poor.* Alſo the church itſelf had ſuffered the common fate, had not one Stump, a rich clothier, by a great deal of interceſſion and more money, redeemed it for the uſe of the town's-folk, who turned it into a pariſh-church; and a great part of it is yet remaining. Robert Jenner, goldſmith of London, built an alms-houſe here for eight perſons, and endow'd it with 40*l.* a year.

From Malmsbury the Avon runs to Danteſey, which gave name to the lords of it, a knightly family, once very eminent in theſe parts; from whom it deſcended to the Eaſterlings, commonly known by the name of Straelings; and from them to the family of Danvers. Of which, Henry Danvers was dignified, by the favour of king James I. with the title and honour of baron Danvers of Danteſey, and by king Charles I. with that of earl of Danby. He it was, who built the phyſick-garden in the univerſity of Oxford; and, among many other acts of charity, he founded here an alms-houſe and free-ſchool. Upon the attainder of his brother and heir Sir John Danvers, the town was given by king Charles II. to James then duke of York, whoſe ſecond ſon James was created baron of Danteſey; it was afterwards part of the dowry of Q. Mary, and, ſince the revolution, hath belonged to the earl of Peterborough and Monmouth.

The Avon, bending it's courſe ſouthward from hence, runs near Bradonſtoke; the ſame place, without doubt, to which Æthelwold carry'd his devaſtations, in the year 905. At which time, Brompton ſays, he put to military execution all Brithendune, *i. e.* all in Bradon foreſt, as far as Brandeſtok, or, as Higden more rightly calls it, Bradeneſtoke; ſo that Polydore Virgil, Holinſhed, Speed, and our late hiſtorians, are much miſtaken, in aſſerting this to be Baſingſtoke in Hamſhire. Six miles from Danteſey, the Avon receives, from the eaſt, a rivulet, which riſes at the bottom of Oldbury-hill, whereon is a large oval camp, with double trenches, poſſibly Danish; and runs through Calne, an ancient little town, on a ſtony ſoil, adorned with a neat church: where, during the contention between the monks and ſecular prieſts, about the cœlibacy of the clergy, a great ſynod was convened, A. D. 977. But in the midſt of the diſpute, the houſe, in which the ſtates of the kingdom were aſſembled (the beams breaking, and the timber-frame burſting aſunder) ſuddenly fell to the ground, together with the biſhops and nobility of the kingdom; by which fall moſt were bruis'd, and ſome kill'd: Dunſtan alone, who preſided in the ſynod, and of the monks party, eſcaped unhurt. By which miracle (for ſo it was accounted in thoſe times) the monaſtick in-

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ction was probably very much confirmed, tho' ſome hiſtorians make this a judgment upon the nobility, for betraying and murdering their late king Edward. As for the town of Calne, it probably aroſe out of the ruins of the old Roman colony on the other ſide of the water, near Stucley, where Roman coins are frequently found. It was one of the palaces of the Weſt-Saxon kings; and, at the time of the conqueſt, enjoyed great privileges, one whereof was, that it never gelded. For, ſays Domeſday, *Caune never gelded, and therefore it is not known how many hides are therein.* The name of Caſtle-field, given to the common field adjoining to it, and of Caſtle-ſtreet, given to the ſtreet which leads to that field, ſhew that here hath formerly been a caſtle, but no footſteps of it are now to be ſeen.

Not far from Calne is Cummerford, probably the *Cynemæresford* of the Saxon Chronicle, called by Florence of Worceſter Kimeresford; where Ethelmund, earl of Mercia, making an inroad into the country of the Weſt-Saxons, was met by Werflan earl of Wiltſhire; between whom was a bloody battle, wherein both commanders loſt their lives; but the victory fell to the Wiltſhire-men. Upon ſecond thoughts, the circumſtances of that action ſeem to agree more exactly to this place, than to Kempsford in Glocesterſhire; for ſetting aſide, that the Saxon name is more eaſily melted into Cummerford, Higden tells us it was out of the bounds of Mercia; *Ethelmund* (ſays he) *leaving his own territories, marched out as far as the ford Kimeresford*; and if ſo, it cannot be in Glocesterſhire. There are alſo the remains of a large entrenchment near this Cummerford, which ſets the matter ſo much the more beyond diſpute.

From Calne, the Avon, now grown bigger, runs to Chippenham, by the Saxons called *Cyppanham*; (by Brompton *urbs Chipenham*; one of the chief towns in the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons, and ſo very often mentioned in the hiſtories of thoſe times.) Now it is only famous for its market, from whence it had the name; for *Cyppan* in the Saxon language ſignifies *to traffick*, and *Cyfman, a merchant*; and we yet retain *Cheppen* and *Chappman*, or (as the Germans ſpeak) *Cheppman*; and of the ſame original alſo is Cheapſide in London. In thoſe times it was the country-houſe of the Saxon kings, which king Alfred by will bequeathed to his younger daughter. Now there is nothing worth ſeeing but the church; built, as appears from the coats of arms on the walls, by the lords Hungerford. But whether the church was founded by the Hungerfords or not, which ſome diſpute, it is more than probable that the chapel, ſtill called *Hungerford's chapel*, was founded by Walter lord Hungerford; for 21. Henry VI. he obtained licence for the founding of a chantry in the chapel of our Lady, within the pariſh-church of this place. Queen Mary, in the beginning of her reign, granted her charter to this corporation,

poration, which conſiſts of a bailiff and twelve burgeſſes. Over-against the town, tho' at ſome diſtance from the river, lies Coſham, now a ſmall village, but heretofore the country-palace of king Etheldred, and the reſidence of the earls of Cornwall; of whom, Richard granted them ſeveral privileges, which they ſtill enjoy; and Edmund obtained for them a charter for a weekly market. Since the reſtoration of king Charles II. Margaret Hungerford built here an alms-houſe and a free-ſchool. From Chippenham we ſee Caſtlecomb, an ancient caſtle, famous on account of the Walters de Dunſtavill, lords of it; from whom the Wriotheſleys, earls of Southampton, derive their pedigree. For Petronilla, daughter and heir of the laſt Walter, was married to Robert de Montford, and had a ſon named William, who left this caſtle and the reſt of his lands to Bartholomew Badilſmer; from whom it came, as I have heard, to the Scroops, who have held it ever ſince. But let us now return to the courſe of the river; on which lieth Leckham, the eſtate of the noted family of the Bainards, where Roman coins are often found; and Lacock, where alſo, in a field hard by, as Leland tells us, much Roman money uſed to be found, from which the place was called Silverfield; and where that pious matron Ela, counteſs of Salisbury, in her widowhood, built (as ſhe did likewiſe at Henton in Somerſetſhire) a monaſtery, in the year of our Lord 1232. to the honour of the Bleſſed Virgin and St. Bernard, in which ſhe devoted herſelf, ſoul and body, to the ſervice of God.

The Avon, with banks thick-ſet with trees, hath not run far beyond Brumham, once the ſeat of the lord Samond, before it receives a rivulet from the eaſt, which riſes near the caſtle De Vies, Deviſes, or, the Vies of the Diviſio of Florentius Wigornienſis, the Diviſæ of Neubrigenſis, the Vies of Matthew Weſtminſter, and the Wyſæ of Walter Hemingford. That the town was built by Dunwallo, king of the Britains, is ſcarce probable; neither is it eaſy to imagine that it could be inhabited by the Romans; tho' on the utmoſt part of Rund-way-hill, which overlooks the town, there is a ſquare ſingle-trench'd camp, that ſeems to point out to us the preſence of the Romans in thoſe parts; and there have been diſcovered in the neighbourhood of this place ſeveral hundred pieces of ancient Roman coin of different emperors; and within a few yards, ſeveral pots, without coins, ſuppoſed to be of the ſame antiquity. Very lately alſo, there hath been dug-up a large urn, full of Roman coins; and a number of little braſs ſtatues of ſeveral of the heathen gods and goddeſſes, crowded betwixt two flat ſtones, and covered with a Roman brick. It was once a noble caſtle, ſtrongly fortified by art and nature, but it is now ruined by time. The annotator upon the life of king Alfred hath told us, upon the authority of

tion, that the caſtle here was built by that king; but hiſtorians tell it was built at the vaſt expence of Roger biſhop of Sarum (that it might excell all the caſtles in England:) and, at leaſt, it was repaired by him. This man's fortune had advanc'd him from a poor maſs-prieſt to be the ſecond man in the kingdom. But fortune (as one ſaith) favours no man ſo far, as to exempt him from the fear of loſing what ſhe gave. For king Stephen, conceiving ſome diſpleaſure againſt him, took from him this caſtle, and that of Shirburn, together with his great wealth, and ſo harraſs'd the poor old man in priſon, with hunger and other vexations, that between the fear of death and the torments of life, he was unwilling to live, and knew not how to die. About this time it was very much controverted, whether it be lawful for biſhops by the canon-law, to hold caſtles? or, if this by ſpecial permiſſion was indulg'd, whether in troubleſome times they ought not to be at the king's diſpoſal? Speed ſays, *This was one of the goodlieſt caſtles in Europe*; and Holinſhed, *That it was the ſtrongeſt hold in England.* Which made Ralph Fitz-Stephen in the war between king Stephen and Mawd the empreſs, after he had poſſeſs'd himſelf of it, boaſt, that by the aſſiſtance of it he would ſubdue all the country between London and Wincheſter. The government of this caſtle was formerly look'd upon to be ſuch an honourable poſt, that it has been accepted by the greateſt among the nobility. It was not ſo entirely demoliſh'd, but that ſome ſhew of fortifications were left, till the civil wars; when it was beſieg'd more than once. And ſir Ralph Hopton's being inlos'd herein by ſir William Waller, occaſion'd that memorable battle, call'd Rundway-fight, from the down upon which it was fought. Now, all the fortifications are diſmantled, and the very top of the Keep (which Leland calls a work of *incredible coſt*) is dug-up by gardeners. The town is a very populous corporation, conſiſting of two great pariſhes; and is govern'd by a mayor, recorder, &c.

The Avon, joined by this rivulet, bends its courſe toward the weſt, and preſently another brook from the ſouth runs into it, which gives name to the houſe called Broke, ſituate upon it. This houſe was heretofore the ſeat of John Pavely, lord of the hundred of Weſtbury, and afterward gave the title of baron to Robert Willoughby (becauſe by the Cheneys he was deſcended from the family of Pavely) when king Henry VII. advanced him to that honour; of which king he was a great favourite, and by him, as it is reported, was made for ſome time lord high admiral. For which reaſon he gave the ſadder of a ſhip for his cognizance, (painted alſo in ſeveral windows of his houſe) as Pompey, the admiral of the Roman navy, ſtamped the ſtern on his medals. But this family was ſoon extinct, for he left but one ſon, Robert baron Brooke, who had by his firſt wife a ſon called Edward, who died in his

his father's life-time, and left one daughter, afterwards married to Sir Fulk Greville; by his second wife he had two daughters, by whom this large estate came to the marquess of winchester, and the lord Montjoy.

Not far from hence, to the east, lies Edinden, heretofore Eathandune, without doubt, a Roman town, as is evident from the foundations of houses that have been dug-up here for a mile together, and the finding of silver and copper coins of several Roman emperors; some of which have been given to the Royal Society, and to Ashmole's *Museum* in Oxford. These circumstances, and the situation of this Heddington exactly on the road between Bath and Marlborough, made the learned commentator on king Alfred's life conclude it to be the Verlucio of Antoninus, placed by him 15 miles from *Aquæ Solis*, and 20 from Cunedo. But Heddington not being above 12 from Bath, and but 10 from Marlborough, we must look for Verlucio in some other place. Here king Alfred won the most glorious victory that ever was obtained over the ravaging Danes; and drove them to that extremity, that they took a solemn oath, immediately to depart the land. In this place also, William de Edindon, bishop of Winchester (a great favourite of king Edward III. who was born here, and from hence took his sir-name, founded a college of canons called Bonhommes. South from hence is Steeple-Lavington, or East-Lavington, commonly called Market-Lavington, from the great corn-market weekly kept here on Wednesdays. How long it has been a market does not precisely appear; but in the 35th year of Henry VI. William de Beauchamp, lord St. Amond, bequeathed his body to be buried in the chapel of the chantry of this place: and, at his death, which happened in the same year, he was seiz'd, among several other lordships in Wiltshire, of Capping-Lavington, which is the same with Market-Lavington; and if so, it has been a market above 200 years at least. The manour belongs now to the right honourable Montague earl of Abingdon; as doth also the next village, called West-Lavington, or Lavington-Episcopi, where his lordship hath a very pleasant seat, finely accommodated with a park, gardens, a grotto, and several other conveniences. It came to him by descent from his father, who had it by marriage with the incomparable lady Eleonora, one of the daughters of Sir Henry Lee, by Ann his wife, to whom it descended, as heiress to the Danvers's and Dantesey's, who had been lords of this manour for many generations; two of whom founded and liberally endow'd the free-school and alms-houses in this town. In this parish is Littleton-Painell, now an obscure village, tho' heretofore a market-town; which privilege was obtained for it, 12. Edward II. by John lord Paganel or Painel.

The

The next river that the Avon receives is the Were, which runs [illegible] from Wellbury, a small market-town, that probably [illegible] of the old Roman one, about half a mile to the north; which, without doubt, was once very famous, as appears by the great quantities of Roman coins that have been here found. If the Verlucio of Antoninus were fixed here, the distances from Aquæ Solis and Cunetio, which agree better to this town than in any other, would justify such a conjecture. And Huntingdon calls the rivulet that runs near it Were, which might give name to the town seated upon it, Verlucio. Also, the late learned annotator upon Antoninus chuses to settle it in this place. The new name Wellbury is purely Saxon, and it was natural enough for them to give this name to a town, which they found to be the most considerable in these western parts; calling it by way of eminency *Westanburig*; in the same manner as they did the great neighbouring wood, known by the name of Selwood: for some copies of the Saxon annals read it simply *Westanwuda*, others, *Westan-dele-wuda*. Near Wellbury, is a village called Leigh, or Ley, which is most probably the place where king Alfred encamped, the night before he attacked the Danes at Eddington. For the name comes very near it, it being an easy mistake for the Saxon scribe to write *Æglea* for *æt-Lea*: here is also a field called Courtfield, and a garden adjoining, encompassed with a mote; and a tradition goes, that here was a palace of one of the Saxon kings. Clay-hill, by the sound, might stand fair to be this Æglea; but then it would have been very ill conduct in king Ælfred, to have pitched his tent upon such a high place, visible from all parts of the country, when he intended to surprise the enemy. So that it is more likely, he marched along this vale, which was then over-spread with woods, being part of Selwood forest. Besides, Clay-hill shews no marks of any trenches, or the like; and is too far from Eddington, where the fight was, namely, in the fields, between the town and Bratton-castle; which, without doubt, was the fortification, whither the Danes fled after their rout, and held out a siege of 14 days. For it is seated upon the extremity of an high hill, which commands all the country; being encompassed with two deep ditches, and rampires proportionable. The form of it oval, in length 350 paces, and almost 200 broad in the widest part. Near the middle is a large oblong barrow, 60 paces long, probably the burying-place of some of the Danish nobility slain here. Within this vast entrenchment, there have been several pieces of old iron armour plough'd up. It has but two entrances, fortified with out-works; one toward the south-east, leading to the plain; the other toward the north-east, leading directly down to Eddington. Upon a hill somewhat lower, on the same little river Were, stands Trowbridge, in old time Truwabrig, that is, a strong or true bridge.

But for what reaſon it had this name, does not appear. It is much more probable, that the right name is Trolbridge; for, beſide the natural melting of *l* into *u*, there is a tithing in the liberty and pariſh called Trol, and a large common near it of the ſame name. Alſo in a manuſcript hiſtory of Britain (which is a compendium of Geffrey of Monmouth) the place is written Trolbridge; where it is ſaid to have been built by Malmutius. Now it is very noted for the clothing-trade, and ſhews the ruins of a caſtle, which belongs to the dutchy of Lancaſter. Leland ſaith, in his time, that it was clean down, and that there were in it ſeven great towers, two of which were ſtanding. He adds, that the earls of Sarum were lords of this place then the dukes of Lancaſter, and in his time the earl of Hertford. Now, the court of the dutchy of Lancaſter for the county, is annually held in this town about Michaelmas. The Avon, increaſed by this rivulet, waters Bradford, in old time Bradanford, ſo called from the Broadford, which ſtands on the ſide of a hill, and is built all of ſtone; where a bloody battle was fought in the civil wars between Kenilwachius king of the Weſt-Saxons, and Cuthred his kinſman. It was alſo famous in the Saxon times for the monaſtery built here by Aldhelm, and deſtroyed in the Daniſh wars; as alſo on the account of a ſynod probably held here, A. D. 964. in which St. Dunſtan was elected biſhop of Worceſter. Here the Avon leaves Wiltſhire, and enters into Somerſetſhire, running toward the Bath.

From hence, the weſtern limits of this ſhire go directly ſouthward to Farley-caſtle, which tho' in Somerſetſhire, yet part of the park belonging to it lies in Wiltſhire: and in this part, not many years ago, was dug-up a Roman pavement of chequer-work, a piece whereof was given to Aſhmole's *Muſeum* in Oxford; and by Longleat, the curious and ſplendid houſe (that more than once damnified by fire) of the knightly family of the Thynnes, deſcended from the Boteviles, and ennobled in the perſon of Thomas Thynne, who was created viſcount Weymouth by king Charles II. to Maiden-Bradley, ſo named becauſe one of the daughters and heirs of Manaſſer Biſſet, a famous man in his time, being herſelf a leper, built an hoſpital here for leprous maids, and endowed it with her own inheritance; tho' others account this a vulgar fable, and affirm that the hoſpital was built long before the diviſion of that eſtate among daughters: her father had founded a priory here before, in the reign of king Stephen. Stourton, the ſeat of the barons of Stourton, who were dignified with this title by Henry VI. after a very great eſtate had fallen to them by marriage with the heireſs of the family of Le Moign or Monk (not Mohun, as ſome have erroneouſly imagined;) and from thence their creſt is, *a demi-monk, with a crozier-ſtaff or crook in his hand.* This honour ſtill continues in the ſame family. There

took its name from the river Stour, rifing here out of fix fountains, *between* [proper] the Stourtons lords of this place bear for their arms, *a lion* *in a field fable.* From hence, the fouthern limit goes to Mere, fo called, probably, from being a *meare*, or land-mark; for it is near the borders of Wiltſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Dorſetſhire. In the neighbourhood of this town and Stourton are four entrenchments; one of which, in Stourton park, is double-ditch'd, and is called by Leland *Whiteſbole-hill*, probably the camp of the Danes in one of the battles at Pen.

By the aforeſaid Maiden-Bradley, glides a little river called Dever-ill, becauſe, like Anas in Spain, and the Mole in Surrey, which took their names from thence, it * dives under the earth, and, riſing up again a mile from hence, haſtens to Verlucio, a very ancient town, mentioned by Antoninus the emperor, in his Itinerary; which name it has not yet quite loſt, being, as is ſuppoſed, called Werminſter, a compound of that old name and the Saxon word *minſter*, which ſignifieth a *monaſtery*. But tho' this is the common opinion, it is not back'd with coins, or other remains of the Romans, that have been diſcover'd there; and it is therefore refer'd to the judgment of the reader, upon what is offered before, whether Wellbury is not a more probable place for it. Concerning it's ſtate in the Saxon times, I think our hiſtories are ſilent; only, we may obſerve, that upon the downs on the eaſt ſide of the town, there are two camps; one called Battle-bury, having double works, and ſo probably Daniſh; the other Scratchbury, a ſquare ſingle-trench'd fortification. Heretofore it had peculiar privileges, for it is recorded in the book of William the conqueror, that *nec geldavit nec hidata fuit*, that is, *it paid no tribute.* Now, it is only famous for a great corn market, on Saturdays; and it is ſcarce credible, what quantities of corn are every week carried hither, and preſently ſold.

From this place, toward the ſouth, north, and eaſt, all along the middle of the ſhire, the downs are ſo wide, that ſcarce any bounds can be diſcover'd, from whence they are called the Plains, but thinly inhabited, and infamous heretofore for frequent robberies. The ſouth part of them is watered by two pleaſant rivers, the Willey-bourn (the Guilou of Aſſerius) and the Nadder, commonly called Adder-bourn. Willey-bourn, having its riſe at Werminſter, runs by Heitesbury, or Hegedsbury, the ſeat of the barons of Hungerford, where Walter lord Hungerford, lord high treaſurer of England, founded an hoſpital for twelve poor men and one woman, with an allowance for a chaplain, who was likewiſe to be warden, and to teach a free-ſchool. But this being not fully performed in his life-time, Margaret, widow of his

* Nothing is to be heard of this at preſent.

for Robert lord Hungerford, effected it; and it remains to this day. From hence it runs to a village called Willey. Oppoſite to which there is a very large camp, fortified with a deep double ditch, and called by the neighbouring inhabitants Yanesbury-caſtle. From its figure you may eaſily conclude it to have been a Roman camp. Some think it was Veſpaſian's, who, when lieutenant of the twentieth legion under Claudius, he ſubdued two nations in this part of England to the Roman empire; and ſome remains of Veſpaſian's name are thought to be in Yanesbury. The Nadder, riſing in the ſouth border of this county, with a winding ſtream creeps like an adder (from whence it ſeems to have its name, *naddre* in Saxon ſignifying an adder, which is corruptly written for a *nadder* or *nedder*, as it is ſtill called in the northern parts of England) not far from Wardour, a beautiful caſtle, which once belonged to the ancient family of St. Martin. To omit ſeveral of its intermediate owners, amongſt whom were the lords Lovel, and J. Tuchet lord Audley, it came into the poſſeſſion of John Arundel, created by king James I. lord Arundel of Wardour, of whom very honourable mention ought here to be made, becauſe in his youth he piouſly went to ſerve in the wars againſt the ſworn enemies of Chriſtendom, the Turks; and there, for his valiant behaviour at the ſtorming of Gran, had the honour to be made count of the empire, by patent from the emperor Rodolph II. in the words, *Foraſmuch as he hath behaved himſelf courageouſly in the field, and at the ſiege of ſeveral cities and caſtles; and eſpecially hath given eminent proof of his valour at the aſſault made upon the water-town near Gran, taking the ſame from the Turks with his own hands; We have created, made, and nominated him, and all and every one of his children, his heirs and lineful iſſue of both ſexes for ever, true counts and counteſſes of the ſacred empire; and do hereby inveſt them with the title and honour of a county imperial*, &c. Nobly valiant was the lady Arundel, who in the year 1643. with only 25 men, made good this caſtle for a week, againſt 1300 of the parliament forces, from whom, contrary to the articles of ſurrender, the caſtle and parks received great damage. On the other ſide of the river is Hache, of little note at preſent, but famous in the reign of king Edward I. for its baron Euſtace de Hache, who was then ſummoned to parliament among the reſt of the nobility.

At the conflux of theſe rivers, Willey waters a place denominated from it Wilton, once the chief town of the county, to which alſo it gave name. It was anciently called Ellandunum, as appears from ſome old charters which expreſsly make mention of "Weolſtan earl of Ellandunum, that is of Wilton; (and again) that he built a little monaſtery at Ellandunum, that is, at Wilton." From the name Ellan, I am induced to think this river Alanus which Ptolemy places in this tract. At this place Egbert king of

West-Saxons fought successfully with Peanwulf the Mercian, A. D. 801. but the battle was so bloody on both sides, that the river ran plentifully with the blood of near relations. Here also, at Wilton, A. D. 871. king Ethelred fighting against the Danes, had the advantage at the beginning, but the fortune of the battle changing, he was driven out of the field. In the times of the Saxons it was a very populous place. King Edgar founded here a nunnery, as the historians relate, and made his daughter Edith abbess. But it is evident from an ancient charter of Edgar himself, dated A. D. 974. that the nunnery was much older: for in it are these words; *The religious house which was built by my great grandfather king Edward, in a noted place, by the inhabitants called Wilton.* And we read in the life of Edward the confessor, *Whilst St. Edward was building the abbey of St. Peter at Westminster, Editha his wife, imitating the royal charity of her husband, laid the foundation of a stately monastery of stone, instead of the wooden church at Wilton, where she was educated.* The town did not much decay, tho' miserably plundered by Swain the Dane, until the bishops of Salisbury turn'd the road into the western counties another way; before which time, as Leland saith, it had twelve parish-churches, which are now reduced to one. Since that time it has dwindled, by little and little, into a small village; only it hath the honour of a mayor for its chief magistrate, and the most beautiful house of the earls of Pembroke, built out of the suppressed abbey. But in old time, Sorbiodunum was (as New-Sarum, which arose out of its ruins, is) a mighty injury and detriment to it. Antoninus's Itinerary calls that town *Sorbiodunum*, which the Saxons afterward named *Searysbyrig*, and the modern Latin writers *Sarum* and *Sarisburia*. For the course of the Itinerary, and the remains of the name, evidently shew this without my remarking it. And Searesbirig may seem to have been derived from Sorbiodunum, the Saxon word *byryg*, which denoteth a *town*, being put in the place of *dunum*, which word the Britains and Gauls usually added to places of a high situation, as this Sorbiodunum is. So that, as one very well skill'd in the Welsh language informed me, Sorviodunum signifieth a dry hill; which is a more probable conjecture than the far-fetch'd derivation of it from Saron in Berosus, or from Severus the emperor, from whom they call it *Severia*. Yet others there are, who, tho' compleat masters of the Welsh tongue, cannot discover any thing in it, which both answers the sound of *Sorbiodunum*, and at the same time can possibly be wrested to that sense. The Saxons indeed seem to have drawn their *Searysbyrig* from this quality of the soil, *searu* in that language signifying *to dry*; which I take to be a more probable original of the Saxon name, than either Holinshed's derivation from Salisbury in Germany, or John Ross's, from a tower built here by Julius Cæsar, which he

he ſays might be called *Cæſaris burgus*, and ſo corrupted into *Sarisb.* as *Cæſar Auguſta* in Spain into *Saragoſa*. But ſetting aſide that Julius C. did not purſue his victories thus far, that denomination is not warranted by any author; and to be ſure, Antoninus would have uſed the true ancient Roman name, if there had been any ſuch. How it came by the name *Severia*, I cannot certainly tell; but it is poſſible enough, that Severus the emperor, living moſt of his time in Britain, might ſometimes reſide here, and, either by re-edifying the town, or doing ſome other memorable thing at it, might derive to it that name, which occaſioned the calling of the county *Severnia*, and *Provincia Severorum*. However, in general, that it was much frequented in the times of the late emperors, appears by the coins of Conſtans, Magnentius, Conſtantine, and Criſpus, found here. Agreeable to the other branch of the name, *dunum*, it was built on a high hill, and, as Malmsbury ſaith, *The town was more like a caſtle than a city, being encompaſſed with a high wall; and notwithſtanding it was very well accommodated with all other conveniences, yet ſuch was the want of water, that it was ſold there at a great rate.* This gave occaſion to the diſtich, which was made upon Old Sarum by one that lived in thoſe times:

Eſt tibi defectus lymphæ, ſed copia cretæ,
Sævit ibi ventus, ſed philomela ſilet.

Water's there ſcarce, but chalk in plenty lies,
And thoſe ſweet notes that philomel denies,
The harſher muſick of the wind ſupplies.

By the great pieces of walls and bulwarks yet to be ſeen, it ſeems to have been a very ſtrong place, and about half a mile in circumference. Ceaulin the Saxon, after he had fought the Britains with ſucceſs, A. D. 553. was the firſt of the Saxons who won it; and between his taking it, and king Egbert's age, we meet with no mention of it: but this prince very often reſided here, and king Edgar called here a parliament or great council, A. D. 960. But Swain the Dane damnified it very much by fire, about A. D. 1003. It recover'd its ancient ſplendour, when by the authority of a ſynod, *an.* 1076. decreeing that all biſhops ſees ſhould be removed into great towns, out of the villages) and, by the munificence of William the conqueror, Herman, biſhop of Shirburn and Sunning, tranſlated his ſee hither; and his immediate predeceſſor Osmund built the cathedral church. After the conqueſt, it flouriſhed mightily, the Norman kings very frequently living, and ſometimes holding their parliaments here. And the ſaid William I. after he had made his [illegible]

ver of England, ſummoned all the eſtates of the kingdom hither, to ſwear allegiance to him. At that time, as it is in Domeſday-book, Salisbury gelded for 50 hides; and of the third penny the king had xx s. by weight, and of the increaſe lx lb. by tale. This I obſerve, becauſe not only the Romans, but alſo our anceſtors, uſed to weigh as well as tell their money. Not long after, in the reign of Henry III. by reaſon of the inſolencies of the garriſon ſoldiers, and the ſcarcity of water, the inhabitants began to remove, and ſeated themſelves in a low ground ſcarce a mile off, to the ſouth-eaſt; which, being the conflux of the Avon and the Nadder, is as it were a rendezvous of ſeveral rivers. For the caſtle, which formerly belonged to the biſhop, had, upon the difference between king Stephen and biſhop Roger, been ſeized by the king, who placed a governour and a garriſon in it. But that was look'd upon as a violation of the liberties of the church, and gave occaſion for frequent differences; by which the biſhop and canons were induced to think of removing into a place where they might be leſs diſturbed. This was projected by Herebertus Pauper (brother and immediate predeceſſor of Richard Poor) in the reign of Richard I. But that king dying before the deſign could be effected, and the turbulent reign of king John enſuing, they were forced to lay aſide the thoughts of it till Henry III.'s reign, when it was revived and completed by Richard Poor. Not but the citizens, for the cauſes above-mentioned, began by degrees to remove from Old Sarum in the reign of Richard I. which ſerves to correct the error of thoſe, who think that the biſhop and clergy removed firſt, and that the citizens followed; or, at leaſt, that they removed about the ſame time. Of this removal Petrus Bleſenſis makes mention in his epiſtles; for thus he deſcribes Old Sarum. *It was a place expoſed to the wind, barren, dry, and ſolitary; a tower was there, as in Siloam, by which the inhabitants were for a long time enſlaved.* And afterward; *The church of Salisbury was a captive on that hill: let us therefore in God's name go down into the level: there the vallies will yield plenty of corn, and the champain fields are of a rich ſoil.* And of the ſame place the fore-mentioned poet writes thus:

Quid domini domus in caſtro? niſi fœderis arca
In templo Baalim; carcer uterque locus.

A church within a camp looks juſt as well,
As th' ark of God in the vile houſe of Baal.

And he thus deſcribes the place to which they deſcended:

Eſt

Est in valle locus nemori venatibus apto
Contiguus, celeber fructibus, uber aquis.
Tale creatoris matri natura creata
Hospitium toto quæsit orbe diu.

Nigh a fair chace a happy vale there lies,
Where early fruit the burden'd trees surprise,
And constant springs with gentle murmurs rise.
Not careful nature o'er the world could meet
With such another for our Lady's seat.

Assoon as they were removed, that they might begin at the house of G[illegible] Richard Poor the bishop, in a pleasant meadow, before called Merifield, [illegible] the foundation of the great church, a stately pile of building, on the [illegible] the Kalends of May, A. D. 1220. for the more effectual carrying [illegible] which, we find that the same bishop, in his constitutions, [illegible] all priests in his diocese, to put dying persons in mind of a charitable [illegible] tribution to this intended fabrick. Which, with its high steeple of 410 [illegible] from the ground, and double cross-isles, by a venerable kind of gravity strike the spectators with a sacred joy and admiration. It was, in the space of 43 years finished at vast expence, and dedicated A. D. 1258. in the presence of king Henry III. concerning which that ancient poetaster hath these tolerable verses:

Regis enim virtus templo spectabitur isto,
Præsulis affectus, artificumque fides.

The prince's piety, the workman's skill,
The bishop's care, the stately pile shall tell.

But much better are those of the famous and learned Daniel Rogers:

Mira canam, soles quod continet annus, in una
Tam numerosa, ferunt, æde, fenestra micat.
Mormoreasque capit fusas tot ab arte columnas,
Comprensas horas quot vagus annus habet.
Totque patent portæ, quot mensibus annus abundat.
Res mira, at vera res celebrata fide.

How

How many days in one whole year there be,
So many windows in our church we see.
So many marble pillars there appear,
As there are hours throughout the fleeting year.
So many gates as moons one year does view,
Strange tales to tell, yet not so strange as true.

For they say, this church hath as many windows as there are days in a year, as many pillars and pillasters as there are hours, and as many gates as months. On the south-side of the church, is the cloyster, as great and of as fine workmanship as any in England, to which is adjoin'd the bishop's stately palace; and on the north-side stands, apart from the cathedral, a very strong-built and high bell-tower. This church, in a short time, so increas'd in wealth and revenues, that it maintains a dean, a chanter, a chancellor, a treasurer, and forty one prebendaries, all very well endow'd; some of whom (as those they call Canons Resident) have very good houses near the church: and all these are inclosed with a wall, apart from the town. Besides the forty-one single prebends, there are four annex'd to the dignities of the bishop, dean, chancellor, and treasurer. When the church of New-Sarum was built, it had fifty, besides those annex'd as also said; but by the suppression of, the dissolution of two, and alienation of two more, they were reduced to this number. There were five more alienated, but five others were erected in their stead; of which, Mr. Camden enjoyed that of *Uffercomb* above forty years.

Whilst the bishop was building the church, the citizens in like manner with great zeal founded the city, settled the civil government thereof, and trenched every street with a rivulet; and, having obtained a licence from him the bishop to fortify it, they threw up a ditch on that side which is not defended by the river. And to such splendour did New-Salisbury rise by degrees, out of the ruins of Old-Sorbiodunum, that (presently after the highway into the west was by royal authority turn'd thro' this town) it became the second city in those parts; being very populous, abounding in all necessaries, especially fish; and adorn'd with a very fine council-house of wood, which stands in a spacious Market-place. But it hath nothing of which it may so justly boast, as of John Jewel, bishop of this place; the wonder of his age for his knowledge in divinity, and a most strenuous defender of the reformed religion. After this, Old Sarum, still declining, was, in the reign of Henry VII, wholly deserted; so that now there scarce remains a turret of the castle; which yet, for a long time after the inhabitants had left the town, was the seat of the earls of Salisbury; and in the reign of Edward III, there was a

noted controverſy about it. For Robert biſhop of Sarum, by virtue of a writ which our lawyers call *Breve de Recto*, brought in queſtion the right of William Montacute earl of Sarum to this caſtle. The earl anſwered, that he would defend his right by *combat*. So on the day appointed, the biſhop brought to the liſts his champion clad in a white garment to the mid-leg, over which he had a Surcoat of the biſhop's coat of arms: there follow'd him a knight carrying the ſpear, and a page the ſhield. Preſently after, the earl led-in his champion arrayed after the ſame manner, accompanied by two knights bearing white ſtaves. Juſt as the champions were about to begin the duel, whilſt they withdrew to have their weapons view'd and examin'd, unexpectedly came an order from the king, that the cauſe ſhould not be decided then, leſt the king ſhould loſe his right. In the mean time they compounded the matter; the earl agreeing to ſurrender all his right in the caſtle to the biſhop and his ſucceſſors for ever, upon the receipt of 2500 Marks.

The other ornaments of this place, in ſhort, are, the library, built by biſhop Jewel, and the chapter-houſe of a large octagonal figure, ſuſtain'd only by a ſmall marble pillar in the middle; as alſo the college, built and endow'd by biſhop Ward for 10 Miniſters widows.

In that part of the ſuburbs of Salisbury call'd Harnham, ſtood the college of *Vaulx*, which was built by Giles de Bridport, biſhop of this place, *An.* Dom. 1260. for the entertainment of ſeveral ſcholars who retir'd hither upon account of ſome diſturbances at Oxford. Here, they ſtudy'd univerſity-learning; and, having a teſtimonial from their chancellour of their progreſs in learning, frequently went to Oxford and took their degrees. And ſo this continu'd even till Leland's time, who, ſpeaking of it, has theſe words: *That part of theſe ſcholars remain in the college in* Saresbyri, *and have chaplains to ſerve the church there dedicated to St. Nicholas: the reſidue ſtudy at Oxford, &c.*

Beyond this, is the great bridge call'd Harnham-bridge; built by virtue of a privilege which Richard Poor obtain'd of Henry III, when New-Sarum was incorporated, viz. *That for the benefit of the ſaid city, they may make and remove the ways and bridges leading to it, and do therein what to them ſhall ſeem meet, provided it be without injury to any perſon.* In purſuance of thoſe powers, Robert Bingham, his next ſucceſſor, built this ſtately bridge An. 1245; which I the rather take notice of, becauſe it made ſuch a conſiderable alteration in Wilton, and this place; for by bringing the great Weſtern road this way, the firſt preſently decay'd, and the latter (which by the bye, Matthew Weſtminſter reckons a county of it ſelf diſtinct from Wiltſhire) daily improv'd.

Salisb-

Salisbury had earls very early, whose pedigree I will draw very fully and faithfully, out of the history of Lacock. Not to mention Edrick, duke of Mercia, whom Knighton stiles earl of Salisbury; Walter de Evereux earl of Rosmar in Normandy had by the munificence of William the Conqueror very large possessions in this shire, which he bequeathed to his younger son Edward, surnamed of Salisbury, who was born in England; leaving his other lands in Normandy, with the title of earl of Rosmar, to Walter his eldest son, whose line not long after was extinct. This Edward of Salisbury flourish'd in the twentieth year of William the Conqueror, and is often mention'd in Domesday-book, but without the title of earl. His son Walter founded a small monastery at Bradenstoke, and there, in his old age, after he had a son call'd Patric, who was the first earl of Salisbury, by Sibilla de Cadurcis, or Chaworth, he assum'd the habit of a black Canon. This Patric, the first earl, was slain by Guy of Lusignian, A.D. 1169. in his return from a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, and was succeeded by his son William, who died at Paris in the reign of Richard I. Ela his only daughter (by the favour of the said king Richard) was married to William Longspee, so surnamed from the long sword which he usually bore, a natural son of king Henry II; to whom, upon this marriage with Ela, accrued the title of earl, and her coat of arms, *viz. Az. six Lioncells rampant, or.* His son was also call'd William Longspee, from whom Henry III. being offended, because he *sign'd himself with the cross*, and went to the holy wars without his leave) took the title of earl, and the castle of Sarum. He, notwithstanding, persisted in his design, and went into Egypt with St. Lewis king of France, and, fighting valiantly in the midst of his enemies near Damiata, which the Christians had taken, died in the bed of honour, a little before that holy king was unfortunately taken prisoner. He had a son, called also William, who did not enjoy the title of earl; and had only one daughter named Margaret, who was, notwithstanding, call'd countess of Salisbury, and married to Henry Lacy earl of Lincoln, by whom she had one only daughter, viz. Alice the wife of Thomas earl of Lancaster; who being outlawed, king Edward II. seized the lands that she had made over to her husband: some of which, viz. Troubridge, Winterburn, Ambresbury, and other manours, king Edward III. gave to William de Montacute *in as full and ample manner as ever the Progenitors of* Margaret *countess of* Sarum *held them.* And, at the same time, he made the said William de Montacute earl of Sarum; and *by the Girding on of a sword the said earldom was vested in him and his heirs for ever.* This William was king of the isle of Man; and had two sons, William, who succeeded his father in his honours, and died without issue; and John, a knight, who died before his brother, leaving by

Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of Thomas de Monthermer. John earl of Salisbury, who being a time-ſerver, and conſpiring againſt king Henry IV. was ſlain at Cirencester, A. D. 1400, and afterwards attainted of high treaſon. Notwithſtanding which, his ſon Thomas was reſtored in blood and eſtate; being one of the greateſt generals of his age, whether we conſider his extraordinary diligence in whatever he undertook, his unwearied conſtancy in purſuing, or his quickneſs in executing all his deſigns. Whilſt he beſieged Orleans in France, he was wounded by a dart from a baliſt, of which he died, A. D. 1428. Alice his only daughter was married to Richard Nevil, to whom ſhe broughtt the title of earl of Sarum, who following the York party, was taken priſoner in the battle of Wakefield, and beheaded. He was ſucceeded by Richard his ſon, earl of Warwick and Salisbury; who taking delight in deſperate enterpriſes, engaged his country in a preſent civil war, in which he loſt his own life. Iſabella one of his daughters was married to George duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward IV, by whom he had a ſon call'd Edward, who was unjuſtly beheaded in his childhood and innocence by Henry VII. and his ſiſter Margaret (to whom the title of Countess of Salisbury was reſtor'd) ſuffer'd the ſame fate from Henry VIII, when ſhe was 70 years of age; according to the uſual practice among princes, to put to death or perpetually impriſon their kindred, upon ſlight ſurmiſes, which at all times are eaſily rais'd; that they and their poſterity may be eſtabliſhed in the throne. Ann, the other daughter of Richard Nevil earl of Warwick and Salisbury, was wife to Richard III, and, after ſhe had borne him Edward Prince of Wales (who dy'd young, and whom Edward IV. made earl of Salisbury) ſhe herſelf dy'd, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. From that time this honorary title ceaſed, until A. D. 1605. the moſt potent prince King James the I. digni y'd the ewith Robert Cecil (ſecond ſon of the Nestor of our age and nation, William Cecil) for his great wiſdom, and the eminent ſervices done thereby to his king and country; whom (as I have ſaid) he had before honour'd with the titles of *baron Cecil of Eſſenden, and viſcount Cranburn*, for his extraordinary diligence and merit, in promoting the public weliare of the kingdom. Which honourable titles deſcended to William his ſon and heir; whoſe eldeſt ſon Charles dying in the life time of his father, the honour was next enjoyed by James his grandſon, who was father of James the preſent earl. So much, concerning the earls of Salisbury. Not far from this place, is Weſt-Dean, the ſeat of Sir John Evelyn knight, of the ſame family; and now, being devolved to a daughter, is the poſſeſſion of the right honourable Evelyn duke of Kingſton.

Below Salisbury, upon the Avon, is ſeated Dunſton or Donketon, which is reported to be a very ancient burgh, and famous for the ſeat of [illegible]

of Southampton, who being much celebrated by the bards for his valour, is reckon'd by the common people among our great heroes. Not far from whence is Langford, the ſtately ſeat of the honourable the Hares, viſcounts Colrain in Ireland.

Salisbury is every way encompaſs'd with an open plain, except toward the eaſt, on which ſide it hath the neighbourhood of the large park of Clarendon, very commodious for keeping and breeding of deer, and once beautified with a royal palace. Of this park, and the twenty groves therein, Michael Maſchertus L. L. D. made the following verſes:

Nobilis eſt lucus, cervis cluſura, Saronam
Propter, & a claro vertice nomen habet.
Viginti hinc nemorum, partito limite, boſcis
Amlitus eſt paſſus, mille quique ſuus.

A noble park near Sarum's ſtately town,
In form a mount's clear top call'd *Clarendon.*
Here twenty groves, and each a mile in ſpace,
With grateful ſhades, at once protect the place.

About ſix miles north of Salisbury, on the plains, is to be ſeen *inſana ſubſtructio* (to uſe Cicero's words) that is, a wild kind of ſtructure. For within a trench, are plac'd huge unhewn ſtones in three cirles, one within another, in the figure of a crown, ſome whereof are 28 foot in height, and ſeven in breadth, on which others, like *Architraves*, are born-up, ſo that it ſeems to be a hanging pile; from whence we call it Stone-henge, as the ancient hiſtorians, from it's greatneſs, call'd it *Gigantum Chorea*, the Giants dance. It is ſituated on a riſing ground, environ'd with a deep trench, ſtill appearing, and about 30 foot broad. From the plain, it has had three entrances, the moſt conſiderable of them lying north-eaſt; at each of which were rais'd, on the out-ſide of the trench, two huge ſtones gate-wiſe; parallel whereunto, on the inſide, were two others of leſs proportion. After one has paſs'd this ditch, he aſcends 35 yards before he comes at the work it ſelf, which conſiſts of 4 cirles of ſtones. The outward circle is about 100 foot diameter, the ſtones whereof are very large; 4 yards in height, two in breadth, and one in thickneſs. Two yards and a half within this great circle, is a range of leſſer ſtones. Three yards further is the principal part of the work, call'd by Mr. *Inigo Jones*, *The Cell*, of an irregular figure made up of two rows of ſtones, the outer of which conſiſts of great upright ſtones, in in height 20 foot, in breadth 2 yards, and in thickneſs one yard. Theſe are coupled

coupled at the top, by large tranſome ſtones like *Architraves*, which are 7 foot long, and about three and a half thick. Within this, was alſo another range of leſſer pyramidal ſtones, about 6 foot in height. In the inmoſt part of the cell, Mr. Jones obſerv'd a ſtone (which is now gone) appearing not much above the ſurface of the earth, and lying toward the eaſt, 4 foot broad and ſixteen foot long; which was his ſuppos'd Altar-ſtone.

Our country-men reckon this among the wonders of the nation. For it is unaccountable how ſuch ſtones ſhould come there (ſeeing all that country wants ordinary ſtones for building;) and by what means they were raiſed. Of theſe things I ſhall not attempt any exact account, but only lament, that the founders of this noble monument cannot be traced out. Yet it is the opinion of ſome, that theſe ſtones are not natural, or ſuch as are dug out of the quarries, but artificial, of fine ſand cemented together by a glewy ſort of matter, like thoſe monuments which I have ſeen in Yorkſhire. And this is no new thing: For do not we read in Pliny, that the ſand of Puteoli, if cover'd with water, is preſently turn'd into ſtone? and that ciſterns at Rome, being made of ſand and ſtrong lime, are ſo tempered, that they ſeem to be real ſtone? and that ſmall pieces of marble have been ſo cemented, that ſtatues made of it have been taken for one entire piece of marble? However, others who have viewed them (and particularly Mr. Inigo Jones, who hath written an entire diſcourſe concerning them) affirm, that they are purely natural. The tradition is, that Ambroſious Aurelianus, or Uther his brother, erected it by the help of Merlin the mathematician, in memory of the Britains there ſlain by treachery, in a conference with the Saxons. From whence Alexander Necham, a poet of the middle age, in a poetical way, but without any great fancy, made the following verſes; grounding them on the Britiſh Hiſtory of Geoffrey.

Nobilis eſt lapidum ſtructura, Chorea Gigantum,
Ars experta ſuum poſſe, peregit opus.
Quod ne prodiret in lucem ſegnius, artem
Se, vireſque ſuas conſuluiſſe reor.
Hoc opus adſcribit Merlino garrula fama,
Filia figmenti fabula vana refert.
Illa congerie fertur decorata fuiſſe
Tellus, quæ mittit tot Palamedis aves.
Hinc tantum munus ſuſcepit Hibernia gaudens,
Nam virtus lapidi cuilibet ampla ſatis.
Nam reſperſus aquis magnam transfundit in illa,
Vim, queis curari ſæpius æger eget.

Uther Pendragon molem tranſvexit ad Ambri
Fines, devicto victor ab hoſte means.
O quot nobilium, quot corpora ſacra virorum,
Illic Hengiſti proditione jacent!
Intercepta fuit gens inclyta, gens generoſa
Intercepta, nimis credula, cauta minus.
Sed tunc enituit præclari Conſulis Eldol
Virtus, qui letho ſeptuaginta dedit.

The *Giants Dance*, the ever famous pile,
Where painful art hath ſhew'd her deepeſt skill.
Old ſtories this aſcribe to Merlin's ſpells,
And prating fame the mighty wonder tells.
At firſt the monſtrous work in Scythia ſtood,
Thence joyful Ireland took the happy load.
For all the ſtones ſome uſeful ſecrets have,
And ſteep'd in waters, healing virtues leave.
Renown'd Pendragon from the conquer'd iſle
Remov'd to Amber's plains his wondrous ſpoil.
Of what brave ſouls are there the reliques laid,
By wicked Hengiſt's treacherous arts betray'd!
Stout hearts they had, and ſtrength unmatch'd in war,
But too much credit, and too little care.
Yet furious Eldor here his valour ſhow'd,
And clear'd his way with ſev'nty traytors blood.

Others relate, that the Britains built this as a magnificent monument for the ſame Ambroſius, in the place where he was ſlain by the enemy; that this pile might be as it were an altar erected at the publick charge, to the eternal memory of his valour.

This celebrated piece of antiquity hath engaged the pens of ſeveral curious and learned perſons; and almoſt as many as have written have fallen into ſeveral and diſtinct opinions concerning the occaſion and antiquity of it. Which opinions, with ſome few remarks upon them, it may not be improper to ſubjoin; and ſuch a ſhort view is all that the nature of our preſent deſign will admit. The opinions about it may be reduced to theſe ſeven heads; 1. That it is a work of the Phœnicians, as Mr. Sammes in his *Britannia* conceits; a conjecture, that has met with ſo little approbation, that I ſhall not ſtay to confute it. 2. That it was a temple of the Druids long before the coming-in of the Romans; which Mr. John Aubrey, fellow of the Royal Society,

Society, endeavours to prove, in his manuſcript treatiſe, entided *Monumenta Britannica.* 3. That it was an old triumphal Britiſh monument erected to Anaraith the goddeſs of Victory, after a bloody battle won by the illustrious Stanings and his Cangick giants, againſt Divitiacus and his Belgæ; and that the captives and ſpoils were ſacrificed to the ſaid idol in this temple. An opinion advanced (upon what grounds I know not) in an anonymous MS. written about the year 1666. 4. That it was a monument raiſed by the Britains in memory of queen Boadicea; which is advanced by the author of *Nero-Cæſar.* 5. That it was a temple, built by the Romans to the god Cæ*lum* or *Terminus*, of the Tuſcan order; which is Mr. Jones's opinion in his ingenious conjectures upon this ſubject. 6. That it was the burial-place of Uther Pendragon, Conſtantine, Ambroſius, and other Britiſh kings; or, as others would have it, a monument ſet-up by Ambroſius in memory of the Britains ſlain here. 7. That it was a Daniſh monument, erected either for a burial-place, or as a trophy for ſome victory, or for the election and coronation of their kings.

Theſe are all the opinions, that have been advanc'd about it. And in general, I think, we need not ſcruple to affirm, that it is a Britiſh monument, ſince it does not appear that any other nation had ſo much footing in this kingdom, as to be authors of ſuch a huge and magnificent pile. For, to paſs by the Phœnicians; that it could not be built by the Romans, is evident from the rudneſs of the whole work. So then (as "Mr. Aubrey *has very well obſerv'd*) whilſt Mr. Jones pleaſes himſelf with retrieving a piece of "Architecture out of Vitruvius, he abuſes his reader by a falſe ſcheme of "the work." For the cell is not of an exact Hexagonal figure, but very irregular, and comes nearer a Heptagon; ſo that the whole work cannot be form'd upon the baſis of four equilateral triangles, as Mr. Jones ſuppos'd. Neither are the entrances into the trench ſo equidiſtant, as that author would make them. Till theſe and ſome other doubts (which may be rais'd from the order of the building) be reſolv'd, and till we are aſſur'd from good authority, that the Romans us'd to build ſuch ſtupendous piles, 6 or 7 miles from any of their ſtations (no inſcription nor Roman coin being found near this) it cannot be ſafe to cloſe with Mr. Jones, tho' his book otherwiſe is a learned and ingenious peice.

Nor could it be built by the Danes; as for many other reaſons, ſo particularly becauſe it is mention'd in ſome manuſcripts of Ninnius; who, as every-body knows, wrote almoſt 200 years before the Danes were maſters of any conſiderable part of this iſland. Other arguments which make againſt this, may be found in Mr. Webb's vindication of Stonehenge reſtor'd, wherein he has endeavour'd, with great learning, to defend his father-in-law, Mr. Jones's ſcheme; tho' that is in it ſelf falſe.

One

One great argument by which Mr. Jones eſtabliſhes his own opinion, is, that it is a thing altogether improbable, that the Britains could build ſuch a monument. But the contrary is evident from the fortifications of Caratacus's camp; from the vaſt ſtones mention'd by Dr. Plott to be in or near the Britiſh city or fortification hard by Wrotteſly in Staffordſhire; and from the parcels of ſtones (not unlike Stonehenge) that are in ſome parts of Scotland and Wales, whither the Romans and Danes never came. It is true, thoſe *Architraves* (which Stonehenge has, not only in the ſtones round the cell, but alſo of the great ſtones of the utmoſt circle;) and this makes it probable, that ſtonehenge was built after the Romans came in, and in imitation of ſome of their ſtructures; tho', as to the general part of the work, it appears to have been unartificial, and ſavours of their primitive rudeneſs. For that the Britains, among other parts of humanity and elegance, learn'd ſomething of Architecture from the Romans, is plain from the life of Agricola.

In that other point, namely, the occaſion upon which it was built; it is eaſier to confute thoſe opinions that have already appear'd, than to deliver a true one. There is no authority to convince us of the truth of what *Nero-Ca[illegible]*, or Mr. Paſchal's MS. have laid down; and it is not eaſy to aſſent to the later Britiſh writers, who tell us it was the ſepulchre of the Britiſh kings, or elſe rais'd in memory of the Britains here maſſacred by the Saxons. For, not to mention the improbability of what thoſe authors have deliver'd, they tell us further, that the kings bury'd, or Britains martyr'd, in this place, were Chriſtians. Now, if ſo, it is ſtrange, that there ſhould be no Croſs, nor any other token of the Chriſtian faith, about this monument. What reaſon can be given, why the ſurviving friends of theſe princes and noblemen, ſhould not be ſo careful of their memory, as they of the ſame age were of king Arthur's in whoſe monument at Glaſſenbury was found ſo diſtinct an Inſcription? But what makes more againſt this opinion, are the aſhes and pieces of burnt bones frequently found here; by which it is plain, that it could be no Chriſtian burial-place; ſince ſacrifices, and the cuſtom of burning the dead, grew out of uſe, upon the receiving Chriſtian faith.

For the *name*; Leland's opinion that the Britiſh one, *Choir gaure*, ſhould not be tranſlated *Chorea gigantum*, a choir of Giants, but *Chorea nobilis*, a noble Choir; or elſe that *gaure* is put for *vaure*, which makes it *Chorea magna*, a great Choir; is probable enough. But the true Saxon name ſeems to be *Hangengeſt* (and ſo it is written in the Monaſticon, out of a manuſcript of good authority,) from the memorable ſlaughter which Hengiſt the Saxon here made of the Britains. For tho' it is not very probable, that they were erected by Ambroſius in memory of the Britains; yet without doubt that treacherous

ſlaughter was made at or near this place. If this etymology may be allow'd, then that other receiv'd derivation from the *hanging* of the ſtones, may be as far from the truth, as that of the vulgar, *Stone-edge*, from *Stones ſet on edge*. However, it is not likely, that by *Heethanne Byrgelſe* mention'd in the Saxon Chartulary of Wilton-abby, Stonehenge is to be meant, as the editors of the Monaſticon would have it. For, not only the words may be well attributed to any barrow rais'd by the Romans or Danes (by the latter eſpecially, who are often call'd in the Saxon annals *Hæthene-men*, and accordingly by latin writers, *Pagani* ;) but the bounds alſo of thoſe places, where this *Paganorum ſepulchretum* is noted for a land-mark, could never extend ſo far by a great many miles, as to *Stone-henge*. But, which ſoever of theſe opinions is true; theſe two things are certain; That, as we obſerved before, men's bones are frequently dug up here; and that a village hard by which lies upon the Avon, is call'd Ambresbury, that is, Ambroſe's Town, by Matthew Weſtminſter *Pagus Ambri*; where, a Britiſh hiſtory tells us, ſome ancient kings lie buried: and the *Eulogium* relates, that here was a monaſtery of 300 monks, to pray for the ſouls of thoſe who were ſlain by the treachery of Hengiſt; which monaſtery was deſtroy'd by a barbarous villain, one Gurmundus, who no body elſe ever heard of. It alſo ſaid to have been the burial-place of Quinever, wife to the victorious king Arthur, whoſe tomb was found here within the laſt Century, and this inſcription on the wall in maſſy-gold letters R. G. A. C. 600. The antiquity of which is very ſuſpicious, not only becauſe, by this computation, ſhe muſt have liv'd almoſt 50 years after king Arthur; but alſo becauſe ſeveral hiſtorians of good credit affirm that ſhe was bury'd at Glaſſenbury. Alfritha wife to king Edgar (to expiate her crime, in killing her ſon-in-law king Edward, by penance and good works) built and endow'd a ſtately nunnery in this place: Here, alſo, was a ſynod held in king Edgar's reign; and here, A. D. 995. Elfric was elected archbiſhop of Canterbury. It enjoy'd great privileges at the time of the conqueſt; for in domeſday-book we find, Amblesbury *nunquam geldavit, nec hidata fuit*. In year 1177. the abbeſs and 30 nuns were for their incontinence and looſe lives, expell'd, and diſpers'd into other religious houſes, to be kept under ſtricter diſcipline; whereupon king Henry gave this monaſtery to the abby of *Fontevralt*, and a convent of thoſe nuns were ſent over the ſame year, and admitted into full poſſeſſion of this abby. After, it came to be in great repute, and Mary, daughter of king Edward I, and thirteen noblemen's daughters, were veil'd here on aſſumption day, A.D. 1285; as afterwards alſo, queen Eleanor widow of king Henry III, renouncing all royal pomp, devoted her ſelf to God here among the nuns. Ambroſius Aurelianus (who gave name to the place) in the decay of the Roman empire took upon him the government of Britain,

Britain, as P. Diaconus reports, and ſuccour'd his ſinking country, and by the aſſiſtance of the valiant Arthur repell'd the aſſaults of the enemy: conquering great armies compoſed of the moſt warlike nations of Germany: and, at length, in a ſet battle upon theſe plains, he loſt his life in the ſervice of his country. But Gildas and Bede write, that his anceſtors were emperors, and ſlain here; and if ſo, why may not I poſitively affirm that he was deſcended from that Conſtantine, who (in the fourth conſulſhip of Theodoſius the younger, from the hope they had that good fortune would attend the name,) was choſen emperor in Britain, and afterwards murder'd at Arles?

About four miles from Ambresbury, on this ſide the Avon, is a warren, commonly called Everly-Warren; where is a great breed of hares, which afford the recreation of hunting to the neighbouring gentry. But the number is not ſo great, as that the adjacent inhabitants are forced to demand a guard of ſoldiers againſt them; as Pliny reports that the inhabitants of the *Baleares* did; altho' they are alike miſchievous to the harveſts. This was the country ſeat of king *Ina*; above which, in the way to Lurgeſhall, on the higheſt hill in Wiltſhire, call'd Suthbury-hill, is a vaſt fortification, encompaſs'd with two deep ditches, and of an oval figure. All along the declivity of the hill, there runs a deep trench ditch'd on both ſides; made probably, to ſecure their communication with ſome watering-place in the neighbouring Bourn. It plainly appears to have been a Daniſh camp, whereby they ſeem to have commanded all this part of the Country; and ſix or ſeven barrows in the plain beneath, may be thought to preſerve the memory of a battle here. Near this is Lutgerſhall, heretofore the caſtle of Geoffry Fitz-Peters the earl of Eſſex, and lord chief Juſtice of England. Nigh to which, is Eſcourt, where (not far from a great cauſey ſuppos'd to be a Roman vincial way) there was dug-up, in the year 1693, a large earthen veſſel with two leſſer pots in it; one of which was full of aſhes, or bones. The largeſt of theſe might probably be an *Urnendarium* of the Romans, wherein they incloſ'd their *Vaſcula Cinerari*, &c. About four miles north of this place, is Great Bedwyn, which in the Saxon-times was the metropolis of the bounds of Ciſſa, a viceroy of Wiltſhire and Berkſhire, under the king of the Weſt-Saxons. This Ciſſa built a caſtle in the ſouth part of that city, and call'd it Ciſſe; the ditches of which are yet to be ſeen. Here it was, that Wulfere and Eſcwin fought a bloody battle, An. 675; and the place has been honour'd in our age, by giving to the world the moſt famous phyſician of his time Dr. Thomas Willis. Not far from hence, is Tokenham, a ſeat of the duke of Somerſet; and Wolfhall, the noble family of the Seimours or *de Sancto Mauro*, who became lords of great poſſeſſions in this county by marriage with an heireſs of the Eſturmys, who bore Argent, three Demi-lions Gul. and had been, ever ſince the

time of Henry 2, hereditary bailiffs and keepers of the neighbouring forest of Savernac (famous for plenty of game, and for a ſort of ſweet-ſmelling Fern.) In memory whereof, their great hunting-horn, tip'd with ſilver, is ſtill preſerv'd by the Seimours.

Being now return'd to the banks of the Avon, we meet with Uphaven, for which Peter de Manly procur'd a weekly market of Henry III, by preſenting to him a Palfrey. About a mile to the weſt is a large irregular camp called Caſterly; it has but a ſingle trench; and the name ſeems to point-out to us ſomething of the Roman. About two miles north-weſt, is Merdon, which might probably enough be the *Meretune* or *Meredune* in the Saxon annals, famous for the battle between king Ethelred and the Danes. For here remain to this day the marks of entrenchments, and the largeſt barrow in theſe parts, except Silbury; together with the tradition of a fight, and of ſome great man's being bury'd under the barrow.

A little more weſtward, the river Cunetio, by the Saxons call'd Cynan but vulgarly Kennet, riſes near a village of the ſame name; which ſome would have to be the Cuneto mention'd by Antoninus: but the diſtances on both ſides contradict that aſſertion. Here Selbury, a round hill, juſt now mention'd, riſes to a conſiderable height, and ſeems by the faſhion of it, and by the ſliding down of the earth about it, to have been caſt-up by men's hands. Of this ſort there are many in this county, round and copped, which are call'd Burrows or Barrows; perhaps raiſed in memory of the ſoldiers ſlain there. For bones are found in them; and I have read, that it was a cuſtom among the northern people, that every ſoldier who ſurviv'd a battle ſhould bring a helmet full of earth toward the raiſing of monuments for their ſlain fellows. Tho' I rather think this Selbury-hill to have been made for a boundary, if not by the Romans, yet by the Saxons, as well as the ditch call'd Wodenſdike; ſeeing there were frequent battles in this country between the Mercians and Weſt-Saxons about their limits; and Boetius, and the writers who treat of Surveying, tell us, that ſuch heaps were often rais'd for land-marks. This is the largeſt, and moſt uniform barrow in the county. Upon what account it was rais'd, we have no light from antiquity; the tradition is, that king Sill or king Silber was bury'd here, which if compar'd with hiſtory, who comes neareſt to Ceol king of the Weſt-Saxons, who might poſſibly be ſlain hereabouts, as his uncle and predeceſſor Ceawlin was ſlain at Wodenſdike; unleſs one ſhould ſay that it comes from *great* and *beorg* a *hill* or *barrow*. Upon theſe Downs, are ſeveral ſorts of Barrows, 1. Small circular trenches with very little elevation in the middle. 2. Ordinary barrows. 3. Barrows with ditches round them. 4. Large oblong barrows, ſome with trenches round them, others without. 5. Oblong barrows

barrows with ſtones ſet-up all round them. It is very probable, that few, or none, of theſe are land-marks.

About half a mile from Silbury, is Aubury, a monument more conſiderable in it ſelf, than known to the world. For a village of the ſame name being built within the circumference of it, and (by the way) out of it's ſtones too; what by gardens, orchards, incloſures, and the like, the proſpect is ſo interrupted, that it is very hard to diſcover the form of it. It is environed with an extraordinary Vallum or Rampire, as great and as high as that at Wincheſter; and, within it, is a graff of a depth and breadth proportionable: from which we may infer, that it could not be deſign'd for a fortification, becauſe then the graff would have been on the outſide. From the north to the ſouth port are 60 paces, and as many from the weſt port to the eaſt. The breadth of the rampire is four perches, and that of the graff the ſame. The graff hath been ſurrounded, all along the edge of it, with large ſtones pitch'd on end, moſt of which are now taken away; but ſome marks remaining, give liberty of a conjecture, that they ſtood quite round.

From this place to Weſt-Kennet, is a walk that has been enclos'd on each ſide with large ſtones; one ſide, at preſent, wants a great many, but the other is almoſt, if not wholly, entire; above which place, on the brow of the hill, is another monument, encompaſs'd with a circular trench, and a double circle of ſtones, four or five foot high, tho' moſt of them are now fallen down; the diameter of the outer circle is 40 yards, and of the inner, 15. Between Weſt-Kennet and this place, is a walk much like that from Aubury thither, at leaſt a quarter of a mile in length. About 80 yards from this monument, is an exact plain round it, there were ſome years ago great quantities of human bones and ſkeletons dug-up; which probably were the bones of the Saxons and Danes ſlain at the battle of Kennet, A.D. 1006. In the plough'd field near Kennet, ſtand three hughe upright ſtones, call *the Devil's coits*; which (if Dr. Plot's opinion be true) may be Britiſh deities. Upon the ſouth-ſide of the Kennet, on the eaſt part of the Martenſall-hill, is a ſingle-trench'd quadrangular camp; the form whereof argues it to be Roman; and a braſs coin of Conſtantine which was found near this hill, ſtrengthens that conjecture.

On the north ſide of the Avon, are barrows, &c. ſcatter'd all over the downs. That large oblong barrow in Munkton-field, call'd Milbarrow, is more eſpecially remarkable, as being environ'd with great ſtones about 6 or 7 foot high. And, in this, as well as in all other circumſtances, it is ſo like thoſe which Wormius deſcribes, that there is no doubt, but it was the ſepulchre of ſome Daniſh commander. About four miles north from hence, is

Barbury-

Barbury-caſtle, ſeated on the top of a high hill, and encompaſs'd with a double ditch; the vaſt fortification whereof, the barrows on the adjacent plain, the ſimilitude of names, the courſe and time of the Saxon victories, with all other circumſtances, ſeem to point out this as the *Beranbyrig*, where Kenrick king of the Weſt-Saxons and his ſon Ceaulin fought againſt the Britains, in the year 556. Beſides, the modern name of this place comes much nearer to *Beuanbyrig*, than Banbury doth, where this battle hath been fixed. For it is obſervable, that (*an*) when it is in the ſecond ſyllable of the Saxon name of a place, is generally left out, in our modern pronunciation. So *Baddanbyrig* is now Badbury, *Ottanford* now Otford, *Exanceaſter* now *Exceſter*. Nor is it at all probable, that the Saxons could carry their conqueſts ſo far as the borders of Northamptonſhire, by that year. Add to this, that the name of *Baneſbyrig* is not to be found in any copy of the Saxon chronicle; ſo that an argument drawn thence, is of no force. But now let us follow the courſe of the Kennet. At firſt it runs through fields, wherein are abundance of rocky ſtones ſtanding-up (from whence there is a village call'd Rockley.) Among theſe ſtones there now and then breaks out a water on a ſudden like a Land-flood, which the country-people call Hungerborn; believing it a prognoſtick of great ſcarcity. From thence the Kennet runs to a town of it's own name, call'd *Cunetio* by Antoninus, and placed 20 miles from *Verlucio*. At which diſtance, the old town, called by the new name of *Marleborough* (heretofore *Marleburge*,) is ſeated along the ſide of a hill from eaſt to weſt, upon the banks of the river *Cunetio*. I ſhall not pretend to determine, whether this new name came from *Marga*, which in our language we call Marle, and uſe it for the improvement of our Lands. But this is certain, that it lies at the foot of a hill of white ſtone, which our forefathers called Marle, before they had borrowed the word Chalk from the latin *Calx*. The derivation of this place Merlin's tomb, which Alexander Necham, in his book of Divine Wiſdom, hammer'd out in this diſtich, is ridiculous:

Merlini tumulus tibi Merlebrigia nomen
Fecit, teſtis erit Anglica lingua mihi.

——————Great *Merlin*'s grave
The name to *Marlborough* in *Saxon* gave.

The caſtle here ſeems to have been a Roman work, by the braſs Roman coins that were found in ſhaping the mount, now belonging to the duke of Somerſet; which was contrived out of the Keep of the Caſtle.

The

The hiſtory of the fortune, as well as the name and antiquity, of this *Cunetio*, were all bury'd in oblivion, from the coming-in of the Saxons, to the Norman conqueſt; for in that interval, not ſo much as it's name occurs in any of our annals, (except the reverſe of a Saxon coin, on which is engraven CVH ⁘ NET ⁘ TI.; and the learned annotator's obſervation, is, that it is to be meant of *Cunetium*.) In the next age, we read that John, ſirnamed *Sine terra* or Lack-land, who was afterwards king of England, had a caſtle here, which in his rebellion againſt his brother king Richard I. was taken by Hubert archbiſhop of Canterbury. The thing that it was afterwards moſt famous for, was the great parliament here aſſembled, which unanimouſly made a law for the ſuppreſſing of riots, commonly call'd *Statutum de Marleborow*. This caſtle is now, by the injury of time, nothing but ruins; there are only, within the ditch, ſome few remains of the walls, and near it, an ale-houſe, with a caſtle for the ſign. But the inhabitants boaſt of nothing more, than of the font (probably of touch-ſtone) in the neigbouring church of Preſhut; in which, as the tradition goes among them, ſeveral princes were baptiſed. And I cannot omit what I have read, namely, that every free-man, by ancient cuſtom, gave to the mayor, at his admiſſion, a couple of greyhounds, two white-capons, and a white bull. (Now, they only pay ſomething in money, in lieu of it; but the arms of the town plainly point to this cuſtom, being blazon'd thus: *Party per ſaltier Gules and Azure, in the firſt quarter Gules a Bull on the ſecond Azure a Cock or Capon Arg. the third as the ſecond, and on the baſe Gules are three Grey-hounds, currant Arg. between two Roſes Gules.* This place afforded the title of earl to James Lord Ley, Lord high treaſurer of England, created Feb. 5. 3 Car. I. to whom ſucceeded his ſon, and grandſon; but the laſt being ſlain in the ſea-fight againſt the Dutch, 1665, without iſſue; the honour came to William his uncle, who alſo dy'd without iſſue. In the year 1689, John lord Churchil (who had, before, been created by king Charles the ſecond baron of Aymouth in Scotland, and by king James the ſecond, lord Churchil of Sandridge) was advanced by king William and queen Mary to the dignity of earl of Marlborough; and by queen Anne, in the year 1702, was honoured with the title of marquiſs of Blandford and duke of Marlborough, and with other ſignal favours ſince; which he had highly merited by a long courſe of the greateſt and moſt important ſervices that a ſubject could perform to his prince and country. Which honours, in default of male-male, have, ſince the death of his only Son, John, ſtiled marquis of Blandford, been ſettled, ſucceſſively, upon the ſeveral daughters of the ſaid duke, and their iſſue; according to the tenor of a particular ſtature, made for that purpoſe.

On

On the ſame ſide of this river, lies Ramesbury, a ſmall village, now only famous for it's pleaſant meadows; tho' once honoured with the See of a biſhop, who was Dioceſan of this county: but the See being joyn'd to Sherburn by Herman the eighth biſhop, was at laſt (as I have ſaid before) tranſlated to Salisbury, and carried with it all the glory from this place; becauſe at *Ramesbury there was neither a chapter of the clergy, nor maintenance.* On the other ſide the river, more to the eaſt, is Littlecot, to be mention'd on account of John Popham lord of it, who, being chief juſtice of the king's bench, diſcharged that office with the greateſt applauſe; as I have ſaid before.

Hitherto, we have ſurveyed the county of Wilts; which, as it is in domeſday-book (for I do not think it improper to note this) paid the king 10 *l. for an Hawk*, 20 *s. for a Sumpter-horſe, one hundred ſhillings and five Ores for Hay.* I am wholly ignorant what ſort of money theſe Ores were; only, thus much I have obſerved out of the regiſter of Burton-Abbey, that 20 Ores were worth 2 marks of ſilver.

The earls of this ſhire have been but few (tho' of divers Families,) beſides thoſe of Salisbury, which I have mention'd before. For, excepting Weolſthan before the Norman conqueſt, (and Ethelhelm, about the year 886,) it had none, that I know of, till Richard the 2d's time; who advanc'd William le Scrope to that honour; but this man's grandeur ſtood and fell with his prince: for when that king was dethron'd, this earl was beheaded. Not many years after, he was ſucceeded by James Butler earl of Ormond, who was raiſed to this dignity by king Henry VI. But when the houſe of Lancaſter was in a declining condition, he was attainted; and king Edward IV. conferr'd this title on John Stafford, younger ſon of Humphrey duke of Buckingham, to whom ſucceeded his ſon Edward, who died without iſſue. King Henry VIII. afterwards beſtow'd this honour upon Henry Stafford, deſcended from the Buckingham-family, who, having for ſome time enjoy'd this title, died without iſſue. At laſt, it came to the family of the Bollens, by the favour of the ſame king; who made Thomas Bollen viſcount Rochford (deſcended from one of the two coheirs of Thomas Butler earl of Ormond,) earl of Wiltſhire; whoſe daughter Ann the king married; a match, unfortunate to her ſelf, her brother, and her parents; but very fortunate to England; becauſe ſhe it was that gave birth to that excellent princeſs queen Elizabeth, who deſerves immortal honour, for her moſt prudent adminiſtration, and for her own perſonal virtues; great, and heroical, beyond her ſex. But when this Thomas Bollen died, without iſſue-male, grief, occaſioned by the unhappy fate of his children; this title lay dorment, till king Edward VI. dignify'd therewith William Powlet lord S. John of Baſing, whom afterwards

he raiſed to be marquiſs of Wincheſter, and lord high treaſurer of England; and in whoſe family it ſtill remains. For, to William, ſucceeded John his ſon and heir; to whom ſucceeded in theſe honours his only ſon, William; and to him, John his ſon; the father of Charles, who, in the firſt year of King William and Queen Mary, was alſo created duke of Bolton; and to whom ſucceeded, in his honours and eſtate, Charles, the preſent earl of Wiltſhire, marquiſs of Wincheſter, and duke of Bolton.

There are in this County 304 *Pariſhes.*

More rare Plants growing wild in Wiltſhire.

A Griſolium baccis luteis nondum deſcriptum *Phyt. Brit. Yellow-berried Holly. By Warder-caſtle, belonging to the Lord Arundel. This I take be rather an accidental variety of Holly, than a diſtinct ſpecies. It hath lſo been found elſewhere, as at Wiſton in Suffolk.*

Filix fœmina odorata *Phyt. Brit. Sweet-ſcented Female Fern. Somewhere bout the Marquiſs of Hartford's foreſt of* Severnake, *which I remember the Earl took ſo much notice of, that he cauſed a fair inſcription to be made in garden-pond, at his houſe of Totnam near it, to direct to it. Mr. Stone-ſe. This may be enquired into by thoſe Herbariſts that live hereabouts.*

Gramen caninum ſupinum longiſſimum nondum deſcriptum *Phyt. Brit. ng trailing Dog's graſs. By Mr. Tucker's, at Madington ſome nine miles m Salisbury, with which they fat hogs, and which is four and twenty long. We are not yet ſatisfied what ſort of graſs this might be; and re-mend the inquiſition thereof to the induſtrious and skilful Herbariſts of this ntry.*

Gramen geniculatum aquaticum majus & minus *Park. who blames* Caſp. hine *for referring this to the* Iſchæmon, *calling it* Gramen dactylon aquati-. *He tells us, they both grow in ſundry places of England, but have eſpecially obſerved, the greater to grow about Wilton, and a great meadow among the bridges at the town's end; and the other at Warminſter, in this County. I fear they were neither of them well known to* Parkin- *and wiſh they do not loſe their labour that ſearch for them in thoſe places.*

aſturtium ſylveſtre Erucæ affine *C. B.* ſylv. Valentinum Cluſio. *J. B.* . Eruca Naſturtio cognata tenuifolia *Ger. Creſſo-Rocket. Found by Mr. ſon on Salisbury-plain not far from Stone-henge.*

Onobrychis seu caput gallinaceum *Ger.* vulgaris *Park.* foliis viciæ, fructu echinato major *C. B.* Polygalon Gesneri *J. B. Medick Vetchlin or Cocksfoot, commonly but falsly call'd Saint-foint. It is said to grow on the further end of Salisbury-plain: and likely enough it may, though I never happen'd to see it there, because the soil seems to be of the same nature with Gogmagog hills and Newmarket heath, on the borders whereof it grows plentifully.*

Polygonatum vulgare *Park. Solomon's Seal. See the Synonymes in the Kent. Cat. In a bushy close belonging to the Parsonage of Alderbury near Clarendon, two miles from Salisbury.* Park. pag. 699.

Polygonatum humile Anglicum *D. Bobert. Dwarf-English Solomon's Seal. Found by Mr. Philip More, Gardener of Gray's-Inn, in the Woods of Wiltshire.*

HAMPSHIRE.

NEXT to Wiltſhire, is that Country, which by the Saxons was call'd *Hamtunſcyre*, and by later writers *Haniteſchyre*, and *Hamteſhire*; now commonly Hamſhire. Florence of Worceſter calls it *Hantunſcyre* (a miſtake of the Librarian, for *Hamtunſcyre*; ſince the Saxon-Annals call it ſo, and he tranſcrib'd from them) om whence however, and from the names *Hantſcyre* and *Hentſcyre* in Domeſ-y-book, our modern Hants and Hantſhire (generally us'd as the true names) plainly proceed. The inner part of this county, without doubt belong'd to *Belgæ*; and that which lies along the ſea-coaſt, to the *Regni*, an ancient ople of Britain. It is bounded on the weſt, by Dorſetſhire and Wiltſhire; the ſouth, by the ocean; on the eaſt, by Suſſex and Surrey; on the rth, by Barkſhire. It is a ſmall county, very fruitful in corn, and in ma- places well wooded; it is rich in herbage, and has ſea-commodities in eat plenty; being well contriv'd, by it's many creeks and harbours, for all rts of traffick. It is thought to have been one of the firſt, that was reduc'd the power of the Romans; ſince our hiſtories report, that it was conquer'd Veſpaſian; and there are ſufficient grounds to believe it. For Dio tells us, utius and Veſpaſian, when they were ſent by the emperor Claudius againſt Britains, divided their forces into three parties for the greater conveni- e of landing; leſt they ſhould be repuls'd once for all if they attempted a cent, all at one place. And from Suetonius we learn, that Veſpaſian in expedition engag'd the enemy 30 times, and brought under the Roman e the Iſle of Wight (which lies oppoſite to this County) and two other ant people; for which victories by land, and his fortunate voyages at ſea,

Valerius Flaccus compliments him, and makes him more proſperous than Julius Cæſar:

——— *O tu Pelagi cui major aperti*
Fama, Caledonius poſtquam tua Carbaſa vexit
Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.

——— O you, whoſe glorious reign
Can boaſt new triumphs o're the conquer'd main,
Since your bold navy paſs'd the Britiſh ſea,
That ſcorn'd the Cæſars and the Roman ſway.

And Apollonius Collatius *Novarienſis* writes thus of him:

Ille quidem nuper felici Marte Britnanos
Fuderat.——

———The Britains he of late o'recame
In proſp'rous war.——

How, in the courſe of this war, Titus reſcu'd his father Veſpaſian from imminent danger, when he was cloſely beſieg'd by the Britains; and how a ſnake twiſted round him at that time, without doing him any harm, which he interpreted an omen of being afterwards emperor; theſe things you may learn from Dio and Forcatulus.

I, confining my ſelf to my own Province, ſhall begin with the weſt-ſide of this County; and, having firſt ſurvey'd the ſea-coaſts, and the rivers that fall into the ocean, ſhall then paſs to the inland parts.

Near the weſtern bounds of the county, runs the gentle ſtream of the Avon; which, as ſoon as it enters Hampſhire, comes to the ford of Cerdic, call'd formerly Cerdicks-ford, (from the Saxon *Cerdiceſ-ford*,) afterward Cerdeford, and now by contradiction Chardford; all from Cerdick, a valiant Saxon. For, in this place, the famous Cerdick engaged the Britains and gave them ſo terrible a defeat, that he not only enlarg'd the limits of his own government, but left it eaſie for poſterity to maintain his conquests. Before this, in the year of our Lord 508. he had, in a ſharp engagement conquer'd Natanleod (call'd by others Nazaleod, a potent king of the Britains together with great numbers of that people; and from his name a tract of and reaching to this place was call'd Natanleod, as we read in the Saxon Annals; in the ſearch of which tract I have been very curious, but cannot yet find the leaſt footſteps of the name. It is indeed more than probable that

this king's namwas not *Natanleod* but rather *Natan* or *Nata*, which, by the addition of *leod*, i. e. *a country*, ſignifies *the tract or country of Natan*; and one of the copies of the Saxon Annals calls it *Natanleag*, that is, *the field of Natan*; which ſuggeſts what cannot be ſo well inferr'd from the other, viz. ſome remains of the old name; as in Netley and Nutley, in this County. Who this *Natanleod* or *Natan*, was, I cannot imagine: yet, it is moſt certain, that at the ſame time Aurelius Ambroſius had many conflicts with the Saxons in theſe parts, with various ſucceſs: notwihſtanding which, this great man is never mention'd in the Annals of our Saxon anceſtors; who, as I obſerve, have been forward enough in reciting thoſe battles, wherein they had the advantage, but mention none of thoſe wherein they were worſted; therein betraying too great partiality to their own cauſe. Hence, the river runs by Regnewood, or Ringwood, in Domeſday-book Rincewed, which was that *Regnum*, (a town of the *Regni*) mention'd by Antoninus; as is plain from the courſe of the Itinerary, the remainder of the old name, and the ſignification of the preſent. For Ringwood, with the Saxon addition, ſeems to ſignify *The wood of the Regni*. That this was formerly a place of note and diſtinction, is probable from the adjacent hundred which derives the name from it; but it is now only famous for a good market. The Avon running from hence, takes-in the river Stour, which comes out of Dorſetſhire; and at the confluence of theſe two, there ſtands a ſmall, but well-frequented, market-town, now called Chriſt-church, from the Church dedicated to Chriſt; and heretofore, from it's ſituation between two rivers, called Twinamburne; on the ſame account, as the *Interamna* in Italy. It was formerly defended by a caſtle, and adorn'd with an ancient church of prebendaries; which, being built in the Saxon age, was in the reign of William Rufus repaired by Ralph Flammard biſhop of Durham (who had been dean here) and plentifully endow'd by Richard de Rivers earl of Devonſhire, to whom king Henry I. gave this place *in fee*; and it continu'd in great repute to the time of Henry VIII, and the fatal period of monaſteries. Below this town, the Stour and the Avon joining, empty themſelves into the ſea at one mouth, which Ptolemy call'd *the mouth of the river Alaun*; and very truly. For I can ſcarce believe, that Avon was the proper name of this river, ſince that word is an appellative, and the name by which the Britains call'd *rivers* in general. I rather think it was call'd Alaun, becauſe there ſtill remain ſome footſteps of that word in the villages which ſtand upon it, as Allinton, Allingham, &c. On the eaſt-ſide of this river, William the Conqueror deſtroy'd all the towns, villages, and churches; and, turning-out the poor inhabitants, made a foreſt for wild beaſts about thirty miles in curcuit, which the Engliſh in that age call'd *Yiene*, we at this day *the Foreſt*; of which, Walter Mapes, who liv'd in the next age, writes thus:

thus: *The Conqueror took away much land from God and men, and made a sacrifice of it to the wild-beasts, and his hunting-dogs, by which he destroyed [illegible] fix Mother-churches, and drove away the poor inhabitants belonging [illegible]* This he did, either to make a more easy passage for his Normans to [illegible] to England, for it lies opposite to Normandy, in case of a new insurrection on the island, after his suppos'd conquest; or to indulge himself in hunting; or to raise money by any methods, how unjust soever. For he, more merciful to beasts than to men, appointed a most grievous pecuniary mulct, and other severe penalties, to be inflicted on those who should trespass on his game. But divine vengeance closely pursued this impious project of the king: for Richard his second son, and William Rufus king of England another of his sons, both lost their lives in this Forest; the latter casually shot with an arrow by Walter Tirrel; the other struck dead by a [illegible] (The place where William Rufus was kill'd (saith Leland) *Throughout, where there yet standeth a Chapel.*) And also Henry his grandchild by Robert his eldest son, while he was eagerly pursuing his sport, was caught by the head in the boughs, and there ended his life; to teach us, that the crimes of parents are often punish'd upon their childrens children. In this forest are nine walks, and to every one a keeper. It has two Rangers, a Bow-bearer, and a Lord-Warden; which office (as Leland says) formerly belong'd, by right of inheritance, to the earls of Arundel; but it is at present in the hands of the duke of Bolton. In it also is the castle of Malwood, the *area* whereof contains many acres. The form of it inclines towards a square; and on it's banks or works (which are single, and not very great) there grow oaks. On the north-side hard by it, is the oak that buds on Christmas-day, and withers again before night; which was order'd by king Charles the second to be pal'd round. The tradition is, that William Rufus was kill'd near this castle; and that this is the tree upon which Tirrel's arrow glanced. In the same forest, at Godshill near Fordingbridge, is a camp, upon the hill, which is overgrown with oaks: on one side is a steep cliff, and the other double-trench'd. Of this forest, there are extant some verses of John White bishop of Winchester; which falsly attribute the making of it to William Rufus: however, because many readers are pleas'd with them, it may not be amiss to insert them in this place.

Templa adimit Divis, fora civibus, arva colonis
Rufus, & instituit Beaulensi in rure forestam:
Rex cervum insequitur, Regem vindicta, Tirellus
Non bene provisum transfixit acumine ferri.

Town,

Towns, Fields, and Churches, took from God and Men,
A ſpacious foreſt made in *Beaulin*-plain:
The king a Hart, Vengance the king purſu'd,
And *Tirrel*'s arrow drunk his guilty blood.

He calls it *Rus Beaulenſe*; becauſe nigh this place king John founded a ſmall Monaſtery called Beaulieu, from it's pleaſant ſituation; which continu'd very famous, till within the memory of the laſt age ſave one: for here was an inviolable ſanctuary, and a ſafe refuge for criminals; and our forefathers thought it an unpardonable ſin, to take from hence the moſt bloody murderers or traitors. But ſure, when our anceſtors did in ſeveral parts of England erect theſe Sanctuaries or Temples of Mercy (as they call'd them,) they ſeem rather to have follow'd the example of Romulus, than of Moſes, who commanded that they who were guilty of wilful murder ſhould be taken from the altar, and put to death; and appointed a city of refuge only for them who ſhould ſlay a man by chance, without laying in wait for him.

But that ſo great a tract of ground as this foreſt, on the ſea-coaſt, might not lie defenceleſs and expos'd to the enemy, Henry VIII. began to ſecure it with caſtles: for in that neck of land that runs into the ſea, from whence is the ſhorteſt paſſage to the Iſle of Wight, he built Hurſt-Caſtle, which commands the ſea on all ſides. And more to the weſt, he built another ſtrong Fort, call'd Calſhot inſtead of Caldſhore, to ſecure the entrance of South-hampton-Bay. For here, by the great diſtance of the two ſhores, and the oppoſite ſituation of the Iſle of White, is a very commodious harbour, which Ptolemy calls the mouth of the river Triſanton; in my opinion, for Traith Anton, that is, the Bay of Anton (for Ninnius, an ancient author, calls it almoſt by the ſame name, the Mouth of the Tranon:) if Traith do indeed ſignify a Bay; which, according to Dr. Davis, implies only a Treaty, or Treatiſe. The river that runs into this bay, which we now call Teſt, was in former times (as we learn from the Lives of the Saints) nam'd Terſtan; and that it was before call'd Ant or Anton, is probable from the towns upon it, Antport, Andover, and Hanton. So far am I from thinking that it was ſo call'd from one Hammon a Roman kill'd there; which yet Geoffry of Monmouth delivers in his romancing way, and is follow'd by a Poet, who has this paſſage concerning that Hammon:

——— *Ruit huc, illucque ruentem*
Occupat Arviragus, ejuſque in margine ripæ
Amputat enſe caput; nomen tenet inde peremptis
Hammonis Portus, longumque tenebit in ævum.

As

------ As to the bank he fled,
Enrag'd *Arviragus* with happier ſpeed
Aim'd a fierce blow, and fell'd his trembling head.
And thus great Hammon's death, proclaim'd by fame,
To Hampton gave an everlaſting name.

This was, poſſibly, the *Cerdiceſora* of the Saxons; which ſeems to have been in the weſtern parts of England. For the ſame perſons that Matthew Weſtminſter affirms to have landed *in Occidentali parte Britanniæ*, (in the weſt part of Britain) are ſaid by the Saxon-Annals to have come aſhore at *Cerdiceſora*. If, upon ſuch a conjecture, we might remove it from Yarmouth into theſe parts, I know no place can lay better claim to it than this, whether we conſider the ſituation, or the other circumſtances.

At this port is ſituated the town of Southanton; near which, to the north-eaſt, ſtood once another town of the ſame name, which was the *Clauſentum* of Antoninus; as is probable by the diſtance from *Regnum* on one ſide, and *Venta* on the other: and as *Triſanton* ſignifies *the Bay of Anton*, ſo *Clauſentum* ſignifies in Britiſh the Port *Entum*; for I have learnt, that *Clauſa* implies the ſame among the Britains as *chutos limeen* did among the Greeks, that is, *a haven made by caſting-up banks*. That this place was called Hanton and Henton, no one need queſtion; becauſe in Domeſday-book, the whole county is expreſly call'd *Hantſcyre*, and in another place *Hentſcyre*; and the town it ſelf, from its Southern ſituation, Southanton. However, it muſt be confeſs'd, that in the Saxon-Annals, which are of greater antiquity, the county is call'd *Hamtunſcyre*, and this town *Hamtun*; which are of a pure Saxon original, and can have no relation to *Anton*, the ſuppoſed name of the river Teſt. What the condition of the ancient town was, is difficult to determine; but it was ſituated in that place where now is the Field of St. *Maries*, and reach'd as far as the harbour; and ſeems to have extended to the other ſide of the river alſo. For a little higher, at Bittern (a place juſt oppoſite) Francis Mills, a worthy Gentleman, who liv'd there, ſhew'd me ſome rubbiſh, and pieces of old walls, and the trenches of an ancient caſtle half a mile in compaſs; which at full tide is three parts ſurrounded with water. The antiquity of it is ſo ſufficiently atteſted by the Roman coins which have been dug up here, that if it was not the caſtle of the ancient *Clauſcentum*, you may well judge it to have been one of thoſe ſorts which the Romans erected on the ſouthern coaſt (as *Gildas* tells us) to prevent the Saxon piracies and inroads. It is not long ſince, that a golden coin was found here; but the place where coins were formerly dug-up, is now a Dock for the building of Men of War.

When

When all parts were miserably harrass'd with the Danish wars, Old Hanton fell a prey to that people in the year 980; and in the time of William the conqueror (to use the expression of his own book) the king had in that town only 80 *men or tenents in Demesne*. But about 400 years ago, when king Edward III, and Philip of Valois contended for the kingdom of France, it was burnt by the French. Out of the ashes whereof, there sprang up another, more conveniently situated, between two rivers; the same that we see at this day; once famous for the number and neatness of it's buildings, the wealth of the inhabitants, and resort of merchants. But now, it is not in the same flourishing condition, as formerly it was; for, having lost a great part of it's trade, it has lost most of it's inhabitants too, and the great houses of merchants are now dropping to the ground, and only shew it's ancient magnificence. It hath a double ditch, and strong walls, with several battlements; and, for the security of the harbour, a strong castle of square stone was built, upon a high-rais'd mount, by Richard II. That action of Canute, the most potent king of England and Denmark, (reproving the baseness of a flattering courtier, who pretended that all things would obey his royal will and pleasure) was in this place, and is well worth the mentioning. *When he came* (says Henry of Huntingdon) *to shore, he commanded a chair to be set for him, and said to the sea flowing up to him, Thou art under my dominion, and the ground on which I sit is mine, nor did ever any man disobey my commands with impunity: Therefore, I command thee, not to come upon my ground, nor to wet the cloaths or the feet of me thy Lord and Master. But the rude Waves presently came up, and wet his royal feet: upon which he stept back, and said, Let all the inhabitants of the world know, That the power of Monarchs is a vain and empty thing, and that none deserves the name of a King, but he whose will, by an eternal decree, the Heaven, Earth, and Sea do all obey. Nor would he ever after suffer the crown to be put on his head*, &c.

Of the two rivers between which this town is plac'd, the western one (now call'd Test, but formerly, I think, Anton,) rising out of the forest of Bere, runs first to Andover, in Saxon *Andeararan*, and *Andereran*, that is, *A ferry or passage of the river Ande*; where, in the year 893. Æthelred king of England (when the Danes were plundering his kingdom) that he might bless his harrass'd nation with a safe and lasting peace, did adopt Anlaf the Dane: tho' this league of friendship was soon broken; for so great an honour could not restrain that barbarous foreigner from his usual rapines. It is now a populous corporation; where is a free-school founded by John Hanmer A. D. 1569. and an hospital for the maintenance of six men, built and endowed by John Pellen. About a mile from this town, is a Roman camp,

called Bere-hill; and half a mile hence, is another large camp [illegible] works; and there is a third, ſome miles to the north, near a village call'd Egdbury. At Quarley-hill, alſo, is a great fortification, with quadruple works on one ſide. The two outward trenches are diſtant farther than ordinary, one from another: from the outer to the ſecond, are 60 paces, from the ſecond to the third, 36 paces. This is anſwered by another great camp called Dunbury, near Grately; and about ſix miles hence is Okelbury, another large Roman camp, which ſeems to be anſwer'd by Frippesbury, about five miles diſtant from it. From Andover, this river runs near Whorwellwell, where queen Ælfrith built a monaſtery, to expiate her henious crime of murthering king Edward her ſon-in-law, and alſo to atone for the murder of her former huſband, the noble earl of Athelwold, whom king Edgar, upon an invitation to go a hunting, ſlew in this place, becauſe he had put a trick upon him in a love-intriegue, and had by indirect arts got from him his lady Ælfrith, the greateſt beauty of her age. After this, the Teſt takes in another ſmall river call'd Walop, or rather Welop, that is (if we interpret it by our own ancient language) *a little fountain on the ſide of a hill*; which gave name to the ancient and knightly family of the Wallops, who live near it. Hence, the river runs in ſearch of Brige or Brage, an ancient town placed by Antoninus 9 miles from old *Sorbiodunum*; at which diſtance, it paſſes between Salisbury and Wincheſter, and not far from its banks, a ſmall country-village call'd Broughton; and if the old Brage was not at this place, I am of opinion it was entirely demoliſh'd, when William the Conqueror converted theſe parts into the foreſt we juſt now mention'd. Next, Romſey, in Saxon *Rumſeg* (where king Edgar built a nunnery, the church whereof is ſtill ſtanding,) is viſited by this river; which preſently falls into Southampton-bay at the *Vadum Arundinis*, as Bede calls it, which he interprets Redford; but now, from the bridge where the ford was, inſtead of Redford it is call'd Redbridge; where, in the infancy of the Saxon-church, ſtood a monaſtery. Of this one Cymberth was abbot, who bapti'd (as Bede tells us) two young brothers of Arvandus, petty king of the *iſle of Wight*, juſt as they were about to be murder'd. For, when Cedwalla the Saxon invaded that Iſland, theſe two boys made their eſcape, and hid themſelves at a little town called *ad Lapidem*; till, being betray'd, they were kill'd at the command of Cedwallo. If you ask where this little town *ad Lapidem* ſtood, I ſhould gueſs at Stoneham, a ſmall village next to Redbridge, as the name it ſelf very plainly directs me. The other river which runs on the eaſt of Southampton, (now called Itchin, from a town of that name near its head,) ſeems to have been formerly call'd Alre; for a market-town on the bank of it, not far from the lake out of which it raiſes, is now call'd Alre-

ford, i. e. the ford of Alre. Which place (in the words of an old regiſter of the church of Wincheſter) *the religious king Kinewalc, out of a moſt pious diſpoſition, gave to the church of Wincheſter, after he had receiv'd the chriſtian Sacraments from biſhop Birinus, at the beginning of chriſtianity* in thoſe parts. In the year 1220. Godfrey Lucy, biſhop of Wincheſter reſtor'd the market here, and call'd the place New-market, perhaps in reſpect of the old Alresford that lies near it. But this new name did not laſt long with the people, who have the ſole prerogative in words and names. The town, on May-day 1690, was deſtroy'd by a fire, which began in ſeveral parts of it, almoſt at the ſame time; and burnt down alſo their market-houſe and church: but the houſes and the market-houſe, are rebuilt. Before this fire, the place was in ſo good a condition, that there was not one inhabitant who receiv'd aſſiſtance out of the collections for the poor. From this place to Aulton, goes along a Roman highway; and nearer the river's head, are three noted ſeats: Chilton-Candover, built by the late Sir Robert Worſley; the Grainge, by the late Sir Robert Henley; and Abbotſton, by the late duke of Bolton. North Alresford, lies Tichborn, which I muſt not omit, becauſe it has given name to an eminent and ancient family.

On the weſtern bank of this river lies the famous city of the Britiſh *Belſæ*, which Ptolemy and Antoninus call *Venta Belgarum*, the Britains to this day *Caer Gwent*, the Saxons *Wincealter*, *Wincester*, *Wintancester*, *Wintoceaster*, the Latin-writers commonly *Wintonia*, and we at this day Wincheſter. Yet there are ſome writers who would have this to be the *Venta Simenorum*, and give Briſtol the honour of being the *Venta Belgarium*: but that there was no ſuch people as the *Simeni* in this iſland, I ſhall prove when I come to the *Iceni*. In the mean time, be they ever ſo deſirous to confirm that conjecture, by ſeeking any where elſe for the towns which Antoninus places near *Venta*; they may depend upon it, they will find nothing to their purpoſe.

The original of *Venta* (from which, the biſhop of Wincheſter is often call'd in our hiſtories, *Epiſcopus Vintanus* and *Wentanus*) is by ſome fetch'd from *Ventus* (wind;) by others from *Vinum* (Wine,) and again, by others from *Wina* a biſhop; who all of them might be aſham'd of ſuch trifling derivations. I ſhould rather ſubſcribe to the opinion of our country-man Leland, who derives the word from the britiſh Guin or Guen, that is, white, as if it were Caer Guen, the White City. And why ſhould it not? ſince from this colour the old latins gave name to the cities *Alba Longa* and *Alba Regia*; and the Greeks to *Leuca*, *Leucas*, and other places. For this *Venta* (as alſo two other towns of the ſame name, *Venta Silurum*, and *Venta Icenorum*) is ſituate in a ſoil of chalk and whitiſh clay.

This city, without doubt, was very famous in the Roman times; for it was here, that the Roman emperors seem to have had their imperial Weaving-shops; this being the chief of all the British *Vintæ*, and lying nearest [illegible]. For, in the *Notitia*, there is mention made of a procurator or governor of the *Cynegium Ventense* or *Bentense* in Britain; which *Jacobus Cujacius*, the eminent civilian, reads *Gynæcium*, and interprets the Royal Weavery, in his Paratitles to the Codes. Guidus Pancirollus is of the same opinion, and writes, that these *Gynæcia* were appointed for weaving the cloaths of the emperor and army, and for the making of sails, linnen, shrouds, and other necessaries for the furniture of their houses, or quarters. Yet Wolphangus Lazius thinks, that this Procurator had the care of the emperors's dogs in this place. And thus much is certain, that British dogs have been thought preferable to all others in Europe; insomuch, that Strabo says, they have served as soldiers; and the ancient Gauls us'd them in their wars, and they were brought-up by the Romans for their sports in the Amphitheatre, and the pleasures of hunting: for they were (as Strabo says) *euparei prosagogegesias*, that is, *naturally made for hunters*. Hence Nemesianus,

------ *Divisa Britannia mittit*
Veloces, nostrique orbis venatibus aptos.
------ The Britans from this world disjoined,
Fleet dogs, and useful for our hunting, send.

And *Gratius*, of their goodness and value:

Quod freta si Morinum dubio refluentia ponto
Veneris, atque ipsos libeat penetrare Britannos,
O quanta est merces, & quantum impendia supra!
But if at fartheſt Calais you arrive,
Where doubtful tides the paſſive ſhore deceive;
And thence your dang'rous courſe to Britain ſteer,
What ſtore you'll find, and how exceſſive dear!

The ancient Greeks also were acquainted with, and highly esteem'd, that kind of dogs among us, which was called *Agazeus*, and we yet term a Gaze-hound; as Oppian will tell you in the first book of his Cynegeticks. Which Bodinus renders thus in latin:

Est etiam catuli species indaine clara,
Corpus huic breve, magnifico sed corpore digna;
Picta Brittannorum gens illos effera bello

Natu[illegible]

Nutrit, Agaſæoſque vocat viliſſima forma
Corporis, ut credas paraſitos eſſe latrantes.

Another ſort of dogs for lurching known,
Tho' ſmall in bulk, in value yield to none.
In Britain bred, they thence the name receive
Of Gaze-hounds; by their bigneſs you'd believe
They're mungril Curs that under tables live.

Claudian likewiſe ſpeaks thus of our Maſtiffs dogs:

Magnaque taurorum fracturi colla Britanni

And Engliſh Maſtiffs us'd to bend the necks
Of furious bulls——.

But this by way of digreſſion only.

In this city (as our Hiſtorians tell you) in the time of the Romans, liv'd that Conſtans the monk, who was firſt made Cæſar and afterwards emperor by his father Conſtantine; and who uſurped the government in oppoſition to Honorius, out of a conceit that ſucceſs would attend the name. *For long before this* (as Zoſimus, ſpeaking of that time, delivers it) *there were, as well in cities as villages, large colleges of monks*, who before had led a ſolitary life in mountains, woods, and dens, from whence they derive their name. That old piece of wall of great ſtrength and thickneſs, ſtill to be ſeen towards the weſtgate of the cathedral church, ſeems to be the remains of this ancient college. But the monk who was here declar'd Cæſar, after he left this place, ſoon met death, as a juſt judgment upon his father's ambition, and his own contempt of religion. During the Saxon Heptarchy, tho' this place was once or twice ſack'd, yet it recover'd, and was the palace of the Weſt-Saxon kings, and adorn'd with magnificent churches, and was honour'd with an Epiſcopal See; and had from king Ethelſtan the privilege of ſix Money-mints. In the Norman times alſo, it flouriſh'd very much, and the Archives (or Repoſitory of publick Records) were in it. Thus it continu'd long in a proſperous condition, excepting one or two accidents of fire, and that it was plunder'd by the ſoldiers in the civil war between king Stephen and Maud the empreſs. Hence, our poet Neckam, who liv'd in that age:

Guintoniam titulis claram, gaziſque repletam
Noverunt veterum tempora priſca patrum.

Sed jam ſacra fames auri, jam cæcus habendi
Urbibus egregiis parcere nescit amor

For wealth and ſtate, for honour and renown,
In good old times fair Wincheſter was known:
But in our age, in our degenerate days,
When all the World tyrannick gold obeys,
The richeſt Cities are the ſureſt preys.

In the beginning of the late civil wars (to obſerve this by the way) the ſoldiers, opening the marble-coffin of William Rufus, which lies in the choir, found on his thumb a golden ring with a ruby ſet in it.

But to return: All the foremention'd loſſes were ſufficiently repair'd by king Edward III. when he ſettled here the Staple for cloth and wool. What figure this city made in former ages, is not now to be known; which (as the ſame Necham writes.)

--------Flammis toties gens aliena dedit.
Hinc facies urbis toties mutata, dolorem
Prætendit, caſus nuntia vera ſui.

-------So oft the hapleſs town
The rage of foreign flames hath undergone;
She ſhow'd her ſad misfortunes in her face,
And diſmal looks her ancient griefs expreſs.

At this day, the city is pretty populous, and well water'd by the divided ſtreams of the river; extended length-ways from eaſt to weſt, and about a mile in compaaſs within the walls, which have ſix gates, the paſſage alſo to each, for a conſiderable way, being Suburbs.

At the ſouth-ſide of the weſt-gate, ſtands an ancient caſtle, which has been often beſieged; but never ſo ſtraightly, as when Maud the empreſs maintain'd it againſt king Stephen. At laſt the empreſs cauſed a report to be ſpread of her death, and was put in a coffin to deceive the enemy, and ſo was carry'd off as one dead. In the place where this caſtle ſtood, is now a royal palace, begun by king Charles II. The foundation was laid the 23 of March, 1683, (in the digging for which they found a pavement of brick, and coins of Conſtantine the Great and others;) but, being not finiſh'd before the death of that prince, it remains only the model of a noble deſign. There was particularly intended a large Cupola, 30 foot above the roof, which would have been ſeen a great

way to the ſea; and alſo a fair ſtreet leading to the Cathedral-gate in a direct line from the front of the houſe; for which, and for the parks, the ground was procured. The ſouth-ſide is 216 foot, and the weſt 326; and the Shell, as it remains, is ſaid to have 25000 pounds. Of the Round Table which now hangs up, and which the common people take for king Arthur's table, I ſhall obſerve no more than this, that it plainly appears to be of a much later date. For in former ages, when thoſe military exerciſes call'd Tournaments (inſtituted for the trial and improvement of warlike ſpirits) were much in vogue; they had this kind of round tables, that there might be no diſpute for precedency among the noblity. And this ſeems to be a very ancient cuſtom. For Athenæus tells us, that the old Gauls ſat at round tables, and that their armour-bearers ſtood at their backs with their ſhields. Almoſt in the middle of the city, only a little more to the ſouth, Kenelwalch king of the Weſt-Saxons (after that college of monks, of the Roman age, was deſtroy'd) *built here a church*, as Malmesbury writes, *very ſplendid for thoſe times; on the ſite whereof was afterwards erected a cathedral of the ſame model, tho' more ſtately.* In this ſee, from Wina whom Kenelwalch made firſt biſhop, there has been a long ſeries of ſucceſſors no leſs eminent for wealth and honour, than for piety and devotion; and by a peculiar privilege they are chancellors to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and prelates of the garter. Some of theſe at great expence from time to time beautify'd and enlarged this church; particularly, Edington and Walkelin; but above all Wickham, who at a prodigious charge built the weſt part of the church from the choir: a neat curious piece of work; in the middle of which, between two pillars, is his own monument. The church has been accordingly dedicated to ſeveral patrons, Amphibalus, S. Peter, S. Swithin, and laſtly to the *Holy Trinity*; by which name it is call'd at preſent. Among the Saxons, it was in great repute, for its being honour'd with the ſepulture of ſome of their kings; whoſe bones were gathered by Richard Fox, biſhop, and put into little gilded coffins, which, with their ſeveral inſcriptions, he placed upon a wall that runs along the upper part of the quire. It was formerly call'd *Alden-minſter*, i. e. the old Monaſtry or Minſter, to diſtinguiſh it from the more modern one, *Newan-mynſter*, i. e. New Minſter; which king Ælfred founded, and, for a place on which *to build the offices belonging to it, bought of the biſhop a certain piece of ground, for every foot whereof he paid one mark, according to the publick Standard.* This new College, as well as the old one, was at firſt founded for marry'd prieſts; who were afterwards expelled by Dunſtan archbiſhop of Canterbury, upon the miracle of a Croſs ſpeaking, and condemning the Order: and ſo, monks were brought into their room. Theſe two monaſteries had their walls ſo near one another, that when they were

ſinging

ſinging in one, the noiſe was a diſturbance to the other; upon which there aroſe ſome quarrels between the two Societies, and theſe [illegible] out into open feuds. This reaſon, and another inconvenience of a great flow of water (which ran down the ſtreets from the weſtgate, and, ſtagnating at this new monaſtery, infected the air) caus'd the church, 200 years after its firſt building, to be remov'd into the northern ſuburbs to a place call'd Hide; where, by the licence of Henry I, the monks built a monaſtery which within a few years was burnt down by the treachery and contrivance of Henry of Blois biſhop of Wincheſter; as a private hiſtory of that place tells it. By this fire, was conſum'd that famous croſs the gift of Canute the Dane (as records deliver it) coſt him one year's Revenue of the whole kingdom. But the monaſtery roſe again in a noble fabrick (as the ruins teſtify) growing by degrees, till the fatal period for the deſtruction of monks. For then this was demoliſh'd; and that other of the Holy Trinity, which is the cathedral church, upon the ejection of the monks, had a new foundation of a dean and 12 prebendaries. On the eaſt-ſide of the cathedral, ſtood a ſpacious palace of the biſhop's, call'd Wolveſey built ann. Dom. 11[illegible] by Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, and fortify'd with ſeveral turrets, and almoſt ſurrounded by the river, and reaching to the city-walls. This was ſeized in the late civil wars, and pull'd down to make money of the lead and other materials; but, ſince the reſtoration, biſhop Morley laid out a great Sum on a handſome ſtructure for that uſe, and dying before it was finiſh'd, left 500 pounds to complete it. Over the door is this inſcription: *Georgius Morley Epiſcopus has ædes propriis impenſis de novo ſtruxit*, A. D. 1684 i.e. George Morley, biſhop, built this houſe a-new at his own charge, A.D. 1684. In the South-ſuburbs, there is a neat college within it's view, which William of Wickham biſhop of this See (one of the greateſt patrons and encourager of learning that England had, whoſe memory will by that means be conveyed to all poſterity,) built for a publick ſchool, and which ſends out great numbers of learned men, into church and ſtate. In this, there is a plentiful maintenance for a warden, ten fellows, two maſters, ſeventy ſcholars, three chaplains, three clerks, an organiſt, ſixteen choriſters, and the ſtatutable ſervants. There were alſo other noble buildings in this city (moſtly conſecrated to religious uſes) which I ſhall not mention, becauſe time has deſtroy'd them; tho' I cannot but take notice of the nunnery, founded by Ælſwith wife to king Alfred; it having been ſo noble a pile (as the ruins of it ſtill ſhew,) and the place out of which Henry I. took his wife Maud daughter of Malcom king of Scots, by whom the royal families of the Saxons and Normans were united: whereby that prince gain'd much on the affections of the Engliſh. For ſhe was grand-daughter to Edmund Ironſide, by his ſon Edward

Edward, The baniſhed; and a lady endow'd with all the vertues becoming a queen, but more eſpecially eminent for piety and devotion. Whereupon, this old Tetraſtick was made in her commendation:

Proſpera non lætam fecere, nec aſpera triſtem:
Aſpera riſus ei, proſpera terro erant.
Non decor efficit fragilem, non ſceptra ſuperbum;
Sola potens humilis, ſola pudica decens.

Nor bleſs'd, rejoyc'd; nor when unhappy, mourn'd
To laughter, grief; and joy to fear ſhe turn'd.
Nor beauty made her frail; nor ſcepters, proud;
Humble, tho' great; and ſcarce more fair than good.

There have been in this city (as appears by biſhop Andrews's regiſtry) parish-churches, which are now all demoliſh'd, ſave eight. In the cathedral-church-yard, is a college erected by the late biſhop Morley, An. 1672. for ten miniſters widows, and by him very well endow'd with a yearly Revenue.

Of Guy earl of Warwick ſo famous in ſtory, (who here in ſingle combat overcame Colbrand the Daniſh giant?) and of Waltheof earl of Huntington, beheaded in this place, where afterwards was the chappel of St. Giles; and of the famous ajoyning hoſpital of St. Croſs, founded by Henry de Blois, brother of king Stephen and biſhop of this city, and farther endow'd by Henry de Beaufort cardinal: Of theſe I ſhall ſay nothing, becauſe they are treated at large in our common hiſtories.

As to the earls of Wincheſter; to paſs by Clito a Saxon, who, at the coming-in of the Normans, was depriv'd of this hereditary honour; king William made Saer Quincy, earl of Wincheſter; whoſe arms were a *Feſſe with a label of ſeven*, as I learn'd from his ſeal. To him ſucceeded Roger his ſon, who bore *in a field Gules ſeven Maſcles voided Or*. But he dying without iſſue-male, the honour was extinct in him: for he marry'd the eldeſt daughter and co-heir by a former wife, of Alan lord of Galloway in Scotland, in whoſe right he was conſtable of Scotland. But he had only three daughters by her; the eldeſt, marry'd to William de Ferrariis earl of Derby, the ſecond, to Aland de la Zouche, the youngeſt, to Comine earl of Buchan in Scotland. A long time after, Hugh le Deſpencer was honour'd with the title, during life, by king Edward II, who doted much on him; but he and his ſon had too late Experience, how fatal it often proves to be the favourite of a prince: for both were put to death by the fury of the people

A good while after, by the bounty of king Edward IV, Lewis de Bruges a Belgian, lord of Gruthuſe, and prince of Steinhuſe (who had entertain'd that prince in Flanders when he fled for refuge,) obtain'd this title, with Arms not much differing from thoſe of Roger de Quincy; but, after the death of king Edward, he ſurrender'd it to king Henry the VII. In the laſt age, ſave one, William Powlet, lord treaſurer of England, was honour'd by Edward VI, with a new title of marqueſs of Wincheſter, which his poſterity now enjoys, with the additional title of duke of Bolton in Yorkſhire. Wincheſter ſtands in the longitude of 22, and the latitude of 51; according to the Obſervations of latter ages. On St. Katherine's-hill near Wincheſter, there is a camp with a ſingle work, and ſingle graff, neither exactly round nor ſquare; but according to the ground of the hill. Eaſt from Wincheſter, the river Hamble diſcharges it ſelf out of a large mouth into the ſea: Bede calls it Homelea, ſays it runs through the country of the Jutes, and falls into the *Solente*; for ſo he calls the chanel between Britain and the Iſle of Wight; into which the two oppoſite tides come-up at certain hours from the Ocean, and meet here with great violence, and were ſo aſtoniſhing a ſight to thoſe ancient inhabitants, that they reckon'd it one of the wonders of Britain. Of which, take Bede's own words: *Two tides which flow round the Britiſh Iſland out of the vaſt northern Ocean, do daily meet together and encounter each other beyond the mouth of the river* Homelea, *and, the conflict ended, the waves retire into the ſea from whence they came.* Into this chanel, another ſmall river empties it ſelf, which, riſing near Warnford, runs between the foreſt of Waltham (where was a ſtately ſeat of the biſhops of Wincheſter, ruin'd in the late civil wars) and the foreſt of Bere, by Titchfield, where was formerly a ſmall monaſtery, built by Peter de Rupibus biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſince, the chief ſeat of the Wriotheſlys earls of Southampton; the laſt of whom dying without iſſue-male, this eſtate came to Edward, firſt earl of Gainsborough, by marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of the ſaid earl; whoſe ſon dying without iſſue-male, it deſcended to two daughters, co-heirs.

Hence, the ſhore winds inwards, and, together with the iſland call'd Portſey, makes a creek; at the upper-part of which flouriſhed formerly Portperis, where tradition ſays that Veſpaſian landed. Our Anceſtors gave it the new name of Portcheſter, not from Port, the Saxon, but from *portus* a harbour. For Ptolemy, from it's largeneſs, calls it *Megas limen*, i. e. a *ſpacious Port*; and ſo, a place in Africa was call'd *Portus magnus*, as we learn from Pliny. There is a large caſtle ſtill remaining, which commands a full proſpect to the harbour below. But when the ſea, retiring from the ſhore, made the harbour by degrees leſs commodious, they remov'd hence to Portſ-

Portſey, an adjoyning Iſland, about fourteen miles round. At high tide it is encompaſs'd with ſea-water, of which they make ſalt; and is join'd to the continent by a bridge, which had a Fort to defend it. Athelſled, vaſſe of king Edgar, gave this iſland to New-Minſter in Wincheſter; and, at the entrance or mouth of the creek, our anceſtors built a town, which from thence they call'd Portſmouth, i. e. the mouth of the Port. This, in the time of war, is very populous, but not ſo in time of peace; and they apply themſelves more to war and navigation, than to the politer ſtudies. It has a church, of ancient work; and an hoſpital (which they call God's-houſe) founded by Peter de Rupibus biſhop of Wincheſter. It was fortify'd with a wall of timber lin'd with mud, and a high mount to the north-eaſt, near the gate, and two forts of free-ſtone at the entrance of the harbour, which the inhabitants ſay were begun by king Edward IV, and finiſh'd by Henry VII, who, they add, ſettled a garriſon in this town. But queen Elizabeth, at a vaſt expence, ſo fortify'd it by new works, that it was hard to ſay how a place could poſſibly be made ſtronger. And the garriſon keep guard night and day, ſome at the towngates, and others upon the top of the church-tower, where, by the tolling of a bell, they give notice what numbers of horſe and foot at any time coming toward the town, and, by hanging out the colours, ſhew from what quarter they come. The appearance of this place (as to the extent, ſtrength and magnificence of the land-fortifications, as well as things belonging to marine affairs) is very much improved of late years. For through the growth of naval action in England, is now reckon'd amongſt the principal chambers of the kingdom, for the laying-up of it's royal navy; as being furniſh'd on ſhore with docks wet and dry, ſtore-houſes, rope-yards, materials and requiſites of all kinds for the building, repairing, rigging, arming, victualling, and compleat fitting to ſea, ſhips of the higheſt rates. It has alſo dwelling-houſes and ample accommodations for a commiſſioner, and all the ſubordinate officers and maſter-artizans, needful for the conſtant attending and executing the day and night-ſervices of the navy in this port, both in peace and war. It hath given the title of dutcheſs, to Loviſe de Queronalle, created by king Charles the II, in the year 1673.

Hence, from Portes-bridge, upon a little turning of the ſhore, I ſaw Hant, a ſmall market-town; and near it Warblinton, formerly a beautiful ſeat of the earls of Salisbury, now of the family of the Cottons. Before theſe, there lie two iſlands; the larger, call'd Haling, the leſs, Thorney, from the thorns; and each has it's pariſh-church. In ſeveral places along this ſhore, out of the ſea-water that comes up, they make ſalt; which at firſt is ſort of pale green colour, but by an art they have, it is afterwards boil'd in-

to pure white. And it is of this ſea-ſalt, not of the other which is made in our Engliſh pits, that St. Ambroſe is to be underſtood: *Let us look on thoſe things which are common, and withal full of kindneſs to man; how the water is turn'd into ſuch firm and ſolid ſalt, that it is often cut with inſtruments of iron; which is uſually ſeen in the Britiſh ſalts, that are congeal'd into a ſubſtance as hard and white as marble, and are very wholeſom*, &c.

At a great diſtance from the ſea, liv'd the Meanvari, whoſe country (together with the Iſle of Wight) Edilwalch king of the South-ſaxons receiv'd from Wulpher king of the Mercians, who was his god-father, and at his baptiſm gave him this as a token of adoption. Their country is now divided into three hundreds, with a very little change from the ancient name, viz. Meansborow, Eſtmean, Weaſtmean, (this laſt has the name of a Tything within which, is a high hill fortify'd at the top with a large trench, and call'd Old Wincheſter, where tradition tells us there was an ancient city; but now there is not the leaſt mark or ſign of it; ſo that it ſeems to have been only a Roman Summer-camp. In theſe parts, the learned Annotator upon the Itinerary, places a people of the Iceni (diſtinct from thoſe that are commonly known by that name) about the river Itchin; and indeed Cæſar himſelf ſpeaks of the *Icenimagni* or *Cenimagni* (deſcended probably from the *Cenimanni* in Gaule) as neighbours to the Segontiaci, and names of Meanſtoke, Meansborrow, and Mean, are ſuppoſed by him to be the remains of the ancient name Cenimagni; how truly, I dare not ſay.

Below the forementioned fort, lies Warnford, where Adam de Portu, a man of great wealth and figure in thoſe parts, under William the Conqueror, built the church, as we learn from this rude diſtich in the wall:

Addæ hic portu, benedicat ſolis ab ortu,
Gens Deo dicata, per quem ſic ſum renovata.

Good folks, in your devotions every day,
For *Adam Portu*, who thus repair'd me pray.

Now, the Inſcription is thus;

Ade hic de Portu Solis benedicat ab ortu,
Gens cruce ſignata, per quem ſic ſum renovata

And, as by theſe the Repairer is diſcover'd, ſo is the Founder of it by three others upon the South-ſide:

Franc

Fratres orate, prece veſtra ſanctificate,
Templi factores, ſeniores, & juniores,
Wilfrid ſunædvit, bonus Adam ſic renovavit.

All you that come here,
Beſtow a kind prayer
On the Church's builders,
Both youngers and elders;
What pious *Wilfrid* rais'd
Good *Adam* increas'd.

More inward, there border upon theſe, the Segontiaci; who ſubmitted themſelves to Cæſar, and inhabited the Northern limits of this county, in the hundred of Holeſhot: in which we meet with Aulton, a market-town that king Alfred left by will to the keeper of Leodre; and Baſingſtoke, a well-frequented market, which ſhows a very neat chapel, dedicated to the Holy Ghoſt, built by William the firſt lord Sands, who lies bury'd there. Upon the roof, the hiſtory of the Prophets, Apoſtles, and Diſciples of Chriſt, is very curiouſly deſcrib'd with their ſeveral pictures. Below this place to the eaſt, lies Baſing memorable of old for a battle of Etheldred and Alfred againſt the Danes, wherein the latter were conquerors; and ſince, famous for it's lord's of that ſirname, and the St. Johns, Poynings and Powlets. For when Adam de Portu, lord of Baſing, marry'd the daughter and heir of Roger de Aurevall, whoſe wife was daughter and heir of the noble family of the St. Johns; William, ſon of the ſaid Adam, in great reſpect, took the name of St. John, which was derived to his poſterity, in a lineal Succeſſion. But when Edmund de St. John in the time of Edward III, died without iſſue, Margaret his ſiſter brought to her huſband, John de St. Philibert, the eſtate of the lords St. John. She likewiſe dying without iſſue, Iſabel her other ſiſter, wife of Luke Poynings, had by him Thomas lord of Baſing, whoſe grand-child Conſtantia, by his ſon Hugh, was heir to this part of the eſtate; and marrying into the family of the Powlets, was the great grandmother of that William Powlet, who by king Henry VIII. was made baron St. John of Baſing; and by king Edward VI. earl of Wiltſhire, and marqueſs of Winchester. He was lord high treaſurer of England, and, after he had in the moſt troubleſome times paſſed through a courſe of the higheſt honours, he dy'd in a good old age: a happineſs, that courtiers ſeldom find. He built here a ſeat, both for largeneſs and beauty exceeding magnificent; but ſo overcharg'd with it's own weight, that his poſterity were forc'd to pull down part of it.

Nigh

Nigh this place we ſee The Vine, a beautiful houſe of the baron Sandes, and ſo call'd from Vines, which have had in Britain, more for ſhade than fruit, ever ſince the time of Probus the emperor. For it was he, who gave liberty to the Britains and others, to have Vines. The firſt baron of this family, was William Sandes, whom king Henry VIII. advanc'd to that honour, when, being his chamberlain he had increaſed his eſtate by marrying with Margery Bray, daughter and heir of John Bray, and couſin of Reginald Bray knight of the garter, and a knight-banneret of great name. To him was born Thomas lord Sandes, who was ſucceeded by three of the ſame family, and of the name of William; the laſt of whom, was ſucceeded by Henry lord Sandes or Sandys. Nigh this place, to the ſouth-eaſt, lies Odiam, adorn'd with a palace of the kings; and once the priſon of David 2d, king of Scots. It was formerly a free burrough of the biſhops of Wincheſter; the caſtle whereof in the reign of king John was defended by 13 Engliſh-men, for 15 days together, againſt Lewis Dauphin of France, who attack'd it vigorouſly on all ſides.

Higher up, amongſt theſe *Segontiaci*, upon the north-border of the county, lay the city of the *Segontiaci*, call'd *Vindinum*; and in Manuſcripts (ſaith Dr. Gale) *Vindini*, from *Vindinum* in Gaule, the chief city of the *Ambarri Cisalpini*; who ſettled here. This *Vindonum*, leaving it's old name, took that of the inhabitants; as *Lutetiaci*, in France borrow'd it's new name from the *Pariſians*. For this place was call'd by the Britains *Caer Segont*, that is, the city of the *Segontiaci*, (and ſo Ninnius terms it in his catalogue of cities) we at this day call it Silceſter; and Higden ſeems to give it the name of *Britenden*, from the Britains. I am induc'd to call this the antient *Vindonum*, becauſe it agrees with the diſtances of *Vindonum*, from *Gallena* or *Gallefford*, and from *Vinta* or *Wincheſter*, in the itinerary of Antoninus; and further, becauſe a military way is ſtill viſible between this Silceſter and Wincheſter. Ninnius tells us, that this city was built by Conſtantius ſon of Conſtantine the Great, and that it was once call'd *Murimintum*, perhaps for *Muri-vindun*, that is, the Walls of *Vindonum*; for the Britains retain the word *Mure*, which they borrow'd from the Roman language; and as to V conſonant, they often, in pronunciation, change it into M. *On the ground whereon this city was built* (I ſpeak in Ninnius's words) *the emperor Conſtantius ſow'd three grains of corn, that no perſon inhabiting there, might ever be poor.* So *Dinocrates*, at the building of Alexandria in Egypt (as Marcellinus has it) ſtrewed all the out-lines with Wheat, by which Omen he foretold, that that city ſhould always be ſupply'd with plenty of proviſions. The ſame author reports, that Conſtantius dy'd here, and that his tomb was to be ſeen at the gate of the city, as appear'd by the inſcription. But in theſe matters let Ninnius vindicate his own credit; who, indeed, has

ſtuff'd that little hiſtory with many trifling lies. But thus much I dare affirm, that this was a flouriſhing city in that age; and I my ſelf have found ſeveral coins of Conſtantine Junior, ſon of Conſtantine the Great, which on the reverſe have the figure of a building, with this inſcription, PROVIDENTIAE CAESS. But all writers agree that Conſtantius, whom Ninnius makes the builder of this city, dy'd at *Mopſueſtia*, or *Mobſete*, in Cilicia, and was thence carry'd to Conſtantinople to be interr'd among his anceſtors. I deny not, but that a *Cenotaphium* or honorary Tomb might be ſet-up here for the emperor; for ſuch like Barrows of earth were often made in the memory of the dead; round which, the ſoldiers had yearly ſolemn courſes or exerciſes, in honour of the deceas'd party.

When the Roman empire began to decline, and the barbarous nations made incurſions on all ſides into the provinces; the Britiſh armies, fearing that they might be involv'd in the calamity of their neighbours, choſe themſelves emperors, firſt Marcus, and then Gratian; and preſently murder'd both. And laſt of all, in the year 407, and in this city Caer Segont, they choſe one Conſtantine, purely for the ſake of his name and againſt his own will; as Ninnius and Gervaſius Dorobernenſis, tells us. He ſetting ſail from Britain, arriv'd at Bologne in France, and got all the Roman forces, as far as the Alps, to joyn him. He defended Valence a city of Gaul with great reſolution againſt the forces of Honorius the emperor, and placed garriſons upon the Rhine, which had been a long time neglected. He alſo built fortreſſes at ſeveral paſſes of the Alps. In Spain, by the aſſiſtance of Conſtans his ſon, whom from a monk he had rais'd to the title of Auguſtus, he was very ſucceſsful; and then ſending letters to Honorius to beg pardon for ſuffering the ſoldiers to caſt the purple upon him, he receiv'd an imperial robe from the emperor. Buoy'd up with this, he paſs'd the Alps with deſign to march to Rome; but hearing of the death of Alaric the Goth, who had been a friend to his cauſe, he retreated to Arles, where he fixed the imperial ſeat, and commanded the city to be call'd after his own name, and ſummon'd thither a ſolemn meeting of ſeven Provinces. In the mean time, Gerontius rais'd a faction againſt his maſter; and, after he had traiterouſly ſlain Conſtans his ſon at Vienne in Gaul, beſieged Conſtantine the father, in Arles: but when one, whom the hiſtorians call Conſtantius (ſent by the emperor Honorius,) was marching againſt him with an army; Gerontius laid violent hands upon himſelf. In the mean time, Conſtantine, being reduc'd to great ſtraits, and by ſome unſucceſsful ſallies brought to deſpair, quitted his burthenſome honour, and, entring into the church, took on him the Order of a prieſt: upon which, the city was preſently ſurrender'd, and he led priſoner into Italy, where he was beheaded, with Julian his ſon (whom he had entitled the moſt noble) and Sebaſtian his brother. The hiſtory of theſe affairs, which is be-

fore

fore deliver'd more at large, I have here abridg'd from Zosimus, Zosimen. Nicephorus, Orosius, and Olympiodorus; that Truth may triumph over the vanity of those, who by the help of their own invention have adulterated this history with idle and ridiculous fables.

Our historians report, that in this city was the inauguration of our valiant king Arthur; and soon after, the place was demolished, either in the Saxon wars, or when Athelwolf (in rebellion against king Edward his brother, and assisted by that crew of Danish robbers) destroy'd all this country as far as Basingstoke. Nothing now remains, but the walls, which (though they have lost their coping and battlements) seem to have been exceeding high. For by the rubbish and ruins, the earth is grown so high, that I could scarce thrust my self through a passage which they call Onion's-hole, though I stoop'd low. The walls remain in good measure entire; only, with some few gaps in those places, where the gates have been; and out of these walls, there grow Oaks of such a vast bigness, incorporated as it were with the stones, and their roots and boughs are spread so far round, that they raise admiration in all that behold them. The walls are about two Italian miles in compass; so that, perhaps, it was from the largeness of the place, that the Saxons call'd it Selcester, that is, the great City. For Sel seems in their language to have signified great; since Asserius Menevesis interprets the Saxon word Selwood, by *Sylva magna*, i. e. *a great wood*. On the west-side of the walls, where it is level, there runs a ridge, cast-up for a Defence to the place. It contains about 80 acres, being a very good soil, now divided into separate fields, with a little grove to the west; and eastward, near the gate, a farm-house, with a small church of modern building; in which, I search'd for ancient inscriptions, but found only some coats of arms in the windows, viz. *in a field seven Fusils argent Bendwise*; as also, *in a field sable a Fesse between two chevrons Or*, and *in a field Or an eagle display'd with two heads, gules*. I find these last to be the arms of the Blewets, to whom this estate came, after the time of William the Conqueror; the second, are the arms of the noble family of Bainard of Leckham; and the first is the coat of the family of Cusanz, through whom the estate past by inheritance from the Blewets to the Bainards. But in the reign of William the conqueror, this was the estate of William de Ow the Norman, who, being accus'd of high treason, chose to maintain his innocence by duel; but, being conquer'd he was by command of William Rufus punish'd with the loss of his eyes and testicles. The inhabitants of the place told me, it had been a constant observation among them, that tho' the soil here is fat and fertile, yet in a sort of baulks that cross one another, the corn never grows so thick as in other parts of the field; and along these they believe the streets of

of the old city to have run. They very frequently dig up Britiſh tiles, and get plenty of Roman coins, which they call Onion-pennies, from one Onna whom they fooliſhly fancy to have been a giant, and an inhabitant of this city. They alſo often find inſcriptions, which the ignorance of the country-people has deſtroyed, and rendered uſeleſs to the world. There is only one remaining, which was brought up to London, and plac'd in the garden of the honourable William Cecil baron of Burghley, and lord high treaſurer of England:

MEMORIÆ
FL. VICTRI-
NÆ. T. TAM:
VICTOR CONIUX
POSVIT.

I ſhall not be poſitive, as ſome are, that this was a monument in memory of Victorina, who was call'd Mater Caſtrorum, i. e. Mother of the camps; and who ſet up the Victorini, ſon and grandſon, and Poſthumus, Lollianus, Marius, and Tetricus, in Gaul and Britain, againſt Gallienus the emperor. But I have ſomewhere read, that there were two Victors in Britain, and theſe at the ſame time; one, ſon of Maximus the emperor; the other, captain of the forces to the ſame emperor, and mention'd by St. Ambroſe in his epiſtles. However, I dare affirm, that neither of theſe was the Victor, who ſet up this monument in memory of his wife.

As there is one Roman military way that runs ſouth from hence, directly to Winchester; ſo is there another that goes weſtward, thro' Pamber (a thick and woody foreſt;) thence, by ſome places now uninhabited, near Sidfield, that is, *the field of carcaſſes*; and ſo to the foreſt of Chute, very famous by reaſon of its ſhady trees, and the diverſions of hunting; where huntſmen and foreſters admire the paved Ridge, which is plainly viſible, here and there interrupted.

More to the North, almoſt on the limits of this county, I ſaw Kings-clare, merely a ſeat of the Saxon kings, now a well frequented market; within a mile which is an ancient ſquare camp, and ſome obſcure remains of a large building that is ſaid to have been a caſtle: Sidmanton, the ſeat of the knighty family of Kinſmils; (within half a mile of which, on Ladle-hill, is another great encampment;) and Bur-clare, under a high hill, on the top of which a military camp (ſuch as our anceſtors call'd Burgh,) ſurrounded with a deep treach: and there being a proſpect from hence all the country round, a beacon was built upon it, which by fire gave notice to the neigbouring parts of the approach of an enemy. And a very proper place this was;

for ſuch a purpoſe; there being from hence a clear proſpect northward to Cuckhamſley-hill (where another Beacon was uſed to be kept) and Eaſtward almoſt as far as Reading, and Southward all over Hampſhire, as far as the Iſle of Wight. This kind of watch-towers have the name of Beacons, from the old word *Beacnian*, i. e. to Beacon: They have been in uſe, here in England, for ſeveral ages; in ſome places made of a high pile of wood, and in others, of little barrels fill'd with pitch, ſet on the top of a high pole in places moſt expos'd to view, where ſome always keep watch in the night; and formerly the horſemen, call'd by our anceſtors Hobelers, were ſettl'd in ſeveral places, to ſignify the approach of an enemy by cry. Northweſt from hence, on the edge of Barkſhire, is a ſquare camp, nigh unto Woodhay, in a place call'd Wallborough; which, without doubt, took the name from the Fortifications.

This county (as well as all the reſt which we have been hitherto deſcribing) belong'd to the Weſt-Saxon kings; and (as Marianus tells us,) when Sigebert was depos'd for tyrannical oppreſſions of his Subjects, he had this county aſſign'd him, that he might not ſeem intirely diveſted of government. But, for his repeated crimes, they afterwards expell'd him out of thoſe parts too; and the miſerable condition of this depos'd prince was ſo far from moving pity, that, concealing himſelf in the wood Anderida, he was there kill'd by a Swine-herd.

This county has had very few earls, beſides thoſe of Wincheſter, which I have mention'd before. In the Saxon times, particularly in the year 86[illegible] (in the time of king Ethelbert) Oſric ſeems to have had this honour, by his leading up the Hampſhire-men againſt the Danes, together with Ethelwulf and his Berkſhire-men tho' by the Saxon-annals they are both ſtyl'd *Eldormen*. Whether, in king Edgar's time, Ælfhere, and afterwards Ælfhelm, had the ſame honour, I dare not be poſitive. About the coming in of the Normans, one Bogo, or Beavoyſe, a Saxon, had this title; who in the battle at Cardiff in Wales, engaged the Normans. He was a man mightily fam'd for his valour and conduct; but while the monks endeavour to extol him by legendary tales, they have obſcured and drowned his real noble exploits. From that time, we read of no earl of this county, till the reign of Henry VIII, who advanced William Fitz-Williams (deſcended from the daughter of the marqueſs Montacute, and then very old,) to the honours of earl of Southampton, and lord high admiral of England. But he ſoon dying without iſſue, king Edward VI. in the firſt year of his reign, conferr'd that honour upon Thomas Wriotheſley lord chancellor of England; and his grandſon Henry, by Henry his ſon, enjoy'd the ſame title; who in his young years improv'd the nobility of his birth with the additional ornaments of learn[illegible]

learning and military arts; that in his riper age he might employ them in the ſervice of his king and country. After his death, this honour deſcended to Thomas his ſon, who, upon the reſtoration of king Charles II, was created knight of the garter, and made lord high treaſurer of England. He was thrice marry'd, but left no iſſue-male, nor any other to inherit his title; ſo that Charles Fitz-Roy, eldeſt ſon to the dutcheſs of Cleaveland, had the honour of duke of Southampton conferr'd upon him by king Charles the II, in the 17th year of his reign; being alſo created, at the ſame time, baron of Newbery and earl of Chicheſter.

There are in this County 253 *Pariſhes, and* 18 *Market-Towns.*

ISLE of WIGHT.

TO this county of Southampton, there belongs an Iſland which is ſtretch'd out over-againſt it, to the South; by the Romans call'd *Vict*, *Victis* and *Victerſis*; by Ptolemy, *Ouiktee*; by the Britains, *Guith*; by the Saxons, *Wiht* and *Wigh* and *Wuicla*, and *Wico-ea*, (for they call'd an Iſland, *Ea*,) and that by us at this day, The Iſle of Wight, and Whight. It is ſeparated from the continent of Britain by ſuch a ſmall rapid chanel (formerly call'd *Solent*,) that it ſeems to have been joyn'd to it; whence (as Ninius obſerves) the Britains call'd it Guith, which ſignifies a Separation: As Sicily in the opinion of Julius Scaliger, had it's name from the latin Seco; becauſe it was broken off, and as it were *diſſected* from Italy. Whence (with ſubmiſſion always to the criticks) I would read that paſſage in the ſixth of Seneca's Natural Queſtions, *Ab Italia Sicilia* reſecta; and not *rejecta*, as it is commonly read. But this opinion concerning the original of the name, however plauſible, is not univerſally agreed to. For tho' Ninnius, a Britain, has call'd it Guith; yet it was after the coming-in of that people which our hiſtorians call *Jutæ*, and the Saxons *Jotas* and *Jutna cynn*; and, at the ſame time, all agree that this Iſland fell to their ſhare, upon the expulſion of the Britains. Now, Bede expreſly names them *Vitæ*, which the Saxon Idonum, of courſe, would make *Witæ*, as it changed *Vir* into *Wer*. And the Interpreter of Bede calls the *Jutes* who came over, *Geatas*, or *Getes*, which carries out to us their firſt original from the Goths, once ſo conſiderable a people in Germany. In the Laws of Edward the Confeſſor, they are

named Guti, which (as Sir Henry Spelman obſerves) by a cuſtom of changing Gu into Wy or Wi, becomes the ſame with Wyti or Witi; and the Saxon Aſpiration, us'd in hundreds of the like inſtances brings it to the true writing *Wight* and *Wigtland*. If the names may be thus reconciled without ſtraining, the reaſon of the thing makes the conjecture probable enough. For what can we imagine more natural, than that this people ſhould call the Diviſion after their own name; in the ſame manner as the Saxons and Angles (the two other ſharers) fix'd their names upon their reſpective bounds, as any one may obſerve by the ancient diviſion of England? But of theſe two Opinions, every one is at liberty to chuſe which he pleaſes. From the nearneſs of ſituation, and likeneſs of the name, we may gueſs this *Vectis* to be that *Iſta* which (as Diodorus Siculus has it) at every tide ſeem'd to be an iſland; but, at the time of the ebb, the ground between this iſland and the continent was ſo dry, that the old Britains us'd to carry over their tinn in carts, in order to tranſport it into France. But I cannot think this to be Pliny's *Mictis*, tho' ſo like the name *Vectis*: for in that iſland there was white lead, whereas in this there is not one vein of metal, that I know of.

This iſland, from eaſt to weſt, is of a Lentil or oval form; in length 20 miles, and in the middle, where it is broadeſt 12 miles over; the ſides lying north and ſouth. To ſay nothing of the abundance of fiſh in this ſea, the ſoil is very fruitful, and enables the inhabitants to export corn to other parts. There is every where plenty of rabbits, hares, partridge, and pheaſants; and it has, beſides, a foreſt and two parks, which are well ſtock'd with deer, for the diverſion of hunting. Through the middle of the iſland there runs a long ridge of hills, where is plenty of paſture for ſheep; whoſe wool, next to that of Lemſter and Cotteſwold, is reckon'd the beſt, and is in ſuch requeſt with the Clothiers, that the inhabitants make great advantage of it. In the north part, there is very good meadow-ground, paſture and wood; the ſouth part is all, in a manner, a corn-country, enclos'd with ditches and hedges. At each end, the ſea from the north, edges-in to ſuch a degree, that it makes almoſt two iſlands; which indeed are call'd ſo by the inhabitants, viz. that at the weſt-end, Freſh-water-iſle, the other at the eaſt-end, Binbridge-Iſle. In Bede's time, there were in it 1200 families; now, it has 36 towns, villages, and caſtles. As to Eccleſiaſtical government it is under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Wincheſter; as to Civil, that of the county of Southampton. The inhabitants facetiouſly boaſt, how much happier they are than their neighbours, ſince they never had either monks or lawyers, or foxes: But as to monks, it is certain that St. Mary's in Cariskbrooke, was a cell of black monks, belonging firſt to Lyra in N[illegible] [illegible]

mandy, and afterwards to the abbey Monte ace in Yorkſhire, and then to the Ciſtercians of Sheen. Beſides which, there were in the iſland three Priories.

The places of greateſt note, are theſe: Newport, the beſt market in the Iſland, formerly call'd Medena, and *Novus Burgus de Medeu*, i. e. *the new Borough of Medeu*. This place hath given the title of earl to Montjoy Blount, created Aug. 3. 4°. Car. I. who was ſucceeded in the ſame honour by his ſon and heir George Blount; and he, by Henry his brother. In the year 1711. Thomas Windſor (ſon of Thomas lord Windſor, earl of Plymouth,) who had been created viſcount Windſor of the kingdom of Ireland by king William the III, was by queen Anne created baron Montjoy, from this place.

Next, is Caeresbrook, an old caſtle in the middle of the iſland, eminent in the Saxon-times; and ſo call'd by a ſtrange mangling of the name for Whitgaresburg, from one Whitgar a Saxon; of whom more hereafter. It was, in the laſt age, magnificently rebuilt by the governor. To this caſtle belong'd very many *knight fees*; and for antiquity, it exceeds all others in the iſland. Brading, another market-town. Newton and Yarmouth mayor-towns, which alſo ſend burgeſſes to parliament. This Yarmouth and Sharpnore have their caſtles, which with Worſleys-tower ſecure the north-weſt ſhore. Oppoite to theſe, and not above two miles diſtant, is Hurſt-caſtle, built upon a little tongue of land in Hampſhire. Quarre, where a monaſtery was founded anno dom 1132. Godſhill, where J. Worſly erected a Free-ſchool: Weſt-Cow and Eaſt-Cow, both now in ruins, were built at the entrance into Newport by Henry VIII: of which Leland,

Couæ fulmineæ duæ coruſcant
Hæc caſum colit, ille Solis ortum.
Veſtam qua Neoportus intrat altam.

The two great Cows that in loud Thunder roar,
This on the Eaſtern, that the Weſtern ſhore,
Where Newport enters ſtately Wight.-----

On the North-eaſt ſide, ſtands Sandham caſtle, fortify'd, like the reſt, with great pieces of Cannon.

The iſland is alſo well fortify'd by nature; being encompaſs'd with a continu'd ridge of rocks; and ſome lie under water all along before the ſland, to the great hazard and danger of ſailors. But the moſt dangerous are, the Needles, ſo call'd becauſe they are very ſharp, and pointed; and the Shingles, which lie before the weſt-corner of the iſland: as on the eaſt-ſide, are the Owers and the Mixon; and on the north-coaſt, the Brambes; ſhelves, which often

ten deceive the Seamen. And if there be any place where an enemy may conveniently land, that, according to the old way, is fenced with ſtakes faſtened in the ground.

But for all this, it is not ſo well fortify'd by its rocks or caſtles, as by it's inhabitants; who are naturally warlike and couragious; and, by the daily diligence and care of the governour, have the method of Exerciſe ſo perfect, that, be the ſervice they are upon what it will, they are maſters of it: for they ſhoot at a mark admirably, keep their ranks, march orderly, as occaſion requires, they can cloſe into a round, or looſen their ranks: they can endure long marches, and the fatigues of hot and duſty weather; in ſhort, they are maſters of whatever is requiſite in a good ſoldier. The iſland of it ſelf, can raiſe 4000 ſuch men in times of war; beſides, there are 3000 of the Hampſhire militia, and 2000 of the Wiltſhire, appointed for the defence of the iſland, upon all emergencies. And, that they may with greater eaſe make head againſt an enemy, it is divided into eleven parts, every one of which has it's Centoner, or Centurion; and its Vintons, or Vincears, i. e. Leaders of twenty; not to mention the great cannon, and the centinels who keep watch on the high hills where the Beacons ſtand; and their poſts and couriers, (by an obſolete name call'd Hoblers,) who are to give intelligence of all occurrences to the governour.

Veſpaſian was the firſt who reduced this iſland to the power of the Romans, while he ſerv'd as a private officer under Claudius. For thus Suetonius writes of him: *In the reign of Claudius, by the favour of* Narciſſus, *he was ſent lieutenant of a legion into Germany: being thence removed into Britain, he fought* 30 *pitch'd battels with the enemy, ſubdu'd two powerful nations, took above twenty towns, together with the Iſle of Wight which lies upon the coaſt of Britain; partly under the command of Aulus Plautius a Conſular Lieutenant, partly under the conduct of the emperor Claudius himſelf. For which he was honour'd with triumphal ornaments; and, in a ſhort time after, with two ſacerdotal Dignities.* It was at this iſland, that Alectus, when he had uſurp'd the government of Britain, lay in wait for the Romans with his fleet; who yet by the help of a favourable fogg, got to ſhore undiſcover'd by the enemy, and ſet fire to their own ſhips, that there might be no temptation to run away. The firſt of the Saxons that ſubdu'd it, was Cerdicus; and he gave it to Stuffa and Whitgaz, who put the greateſt part of the Britiſh inhabitants to the ſword in Whitgaraburgh, call'd ſo from him, and now by contraction Caresbrook. After that, Wolpher king of the Mercians ſubdu'd this iſland, and gave it, together with the country of the Meanvari, to Edelwalch king of the South-Saxons, when he ſtood godfather to him. Edelwalch king of the Weſt-Saxons (after Edelwalch was kill'd, and Arvandus,

vandus, a petty prince of the iſland, was made away) joyn'd it to his own dominions, and cruelly maſſacred almoſt all the natives of the iſland. He gave 300 hides, the fourth part thereof, to biſhop Wilfred, who firſt inſtructed the inhabitants in the chriſtian Religion. But let Bede ſpeak in his own words.

'After Ceadwalla had got the kingdom of the *Geuiſſi*, he took alſo the 'Iſle of Wight, which till then was wholly given to idolatry; and by a 'bloody maſſacre endeavour'd to extirpate the natives, and in their ſtead to 'people it with his own countrymen; obliging himſelf, as they ſay, by vow '(tho' he was not as yet become chriſtian) that if he conquer'd the iſland, 'he would devote the fourth part both of it and his ſpoil, to God; 'which he accordingly did, by giving it to biſhop Wilfred for the ſervice of 'God; for he being of that country happen'd to be there. The iſland is 'judg'd by the Engliſh to include twelve hundred hides: whereupon three 'hundred of them were given to the biſhop. But he committed that part 'which he receiv'd, to one of his *clerks*, by name *Bernwin*, who was 'his ſiſter's ſon; giving him a prieſt, whoſe name was *Hildila*, with order 'to baptize, and preach the word to all who were deſirous of ſalvation. Where I think my ſelf bound to obſerve, that among the firſt-fruits 'of thoſe who were converted in that iſland, two young boys of the blood-'royal, brothers to *Arvandus* king of the iſland, were by the ſpecial grace 'of God, crowned with martyrdom. For when the enemy was ready to in-'vade the iſle, theſe young brothers made their eſcape, to the next pro-'vince; where, coming to a place that is call'd *ad lapidem*, and thinking 'to ſecure themſelves there from the fury of the conquering prince, they were 'betray'd, and order'd to be put to death. Which coming to the ears of 'a certain abbot and prieſt call'd *Cynbreth*, who at a ſmall diſtance from 'thence had a monaſtry in a place call'd *Reordford*, i. e. the ford of reeds; 'he came to the king, who was then privately in thoſe parts for the cure 'of the wounds he had received in the iſle of Wight, and deſir'd of him, 'that if thoſe young brothers muſt be kill'd he would pleaſe firſt to permit 'them to be baptiz'd. This requeſt the king granted; upon which the abbot 'having inſtructed them in the word of truth, and baptiz'd them, he gave 'them a ſure title to the kingdom of Heaven, And immediately after, the 'executioner coming to them, they joyfully ſubmitted to a temporal death, 'as a certain paſſage to eternal life. And in this order, after all the provinces 'of Britain had receiv'd the Chriſtian faith, the iſle of Wight was alſo con-'verted; in which, notwithſtanding, becauſe of the miſeries of a foreign 'yoke, none had the dignity of a miniſter or biſhop, before Daniel, who is 'now biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons and the Geuiſſi.

From

From which time, authors say nothing of this island, till the year [illegible] when Tostius, brother to king Harold, invaded it with some Pirates from Flanders, out of spite to his brother; and *when he had compell'd the inhabitants to pay him a certain Tribute, he sail'd off.* A few years after I find in an ancient book belonging the priory of Caeresbrok, which was shewn me by Robert Glover Somerset-herald, our great oracle in [illegible] gical antiquities,) *as William the bastard conquer'd England, so William Osborne (who was his mareschal, and earl of Hereford) conquer'd the Wight, and was first lord of it.* A long time after, the French in the year 1377. surpris'd and plunder'd the isle. They made another unsuccessful attempt A. D. 1403. being bravely repris'd; as they were again in the reign of Henry VIII, when the French gallies set fire to one or two small towns within the memory of our Fathers.

As to the lords of this isle: William Fitz-Osborne being presently after slain in the wars of Flanders, and his son Roger attainted and banished, it came into the king's hands, and Henry I. king of England gave it to Richard de Ridvers (otherwise call'd Redvers and *de Reparus,*) earl of Devonshire, and with it the Fee of the village of Christ-church. Where this Richard built a castle, as likewise another Caeresbrok; but his son Baldwin (in the troublesome reign of king Stephen, when there were as many tyrants in England as lords of castles, who all usurp'd a power of coining money, with other branches of soveraign authority) was depriv'd of this castle by king Stephen. Yet his posterity recover'd their ancient right; whose pedigree I have already drawn, where I treated at large of the earls of Devonshire. At length, Isabella, widow of William *de Fortibus*, earl of Albemarle and Holderness, sister and heir of Baldwin the last earl of Devonshire of this family, was very hardly prevail'd with to surrender all her right and title, by Deed, to king Edward I.

Since that time, the kings of England have held this isle; and Henry de Beauchamp earl of Warwick was by king Henry VI. (of whom he was a mighty favourite) *crown'd king of the isle of Wight, and afterwards entitled by the earl of all England.* But this new and extraordinary title dy'd with him. Afterwards, Richard Widevile earl of Rivers, was made lord of the isle of Wight by Edward IV. and Reginald Bray farm'd it of king Henry VII. (whose darling he was) at the yearly rent of 300 marks. Besides these lords, it has had a noble family call'd *de Insula* or Lisle; one of whom in the reign of Edward II. was summon'd to parliament by the name of *John de Insula de Wita,* i. e. of the isle of Wight.

More rare Plants growing wild in Hampſhire.

Aſeyrum ſupinum villoſum paluſtre *C. B. Park. Marſh S. Peter's wort with woolly leaves. On a rotten moriſh ground not far from Southampton plentifully. It grows on the like grounds in many places, eſpecially of the Weſt-Country.*

Alopecuros maxima Anglica paludoſa *Ger. emac.* altera maxima Anglica paludoſa, ſeu Gramen Alopecuroides maximum *J. B. Lab. Ad. part. alt. The great Engliſh march-Fox-tail-graſs. In the moiſt paſtures of this County, near the Salt-works, an ancient houſe call'd* Drayton, *about two miles from* Portſmouth, *over-againſt the* Iſle of Wight, *plentifully.* Lobel.

Aſphodelus luteus Acoriſolius paluſtris Anglicus Lobelii *J. B.* Lancaſtriæ vera *Ger. emac. deſcr.* Pſeudo-aſphodelus paluſtris Anglicus *C. B. Lancaſter. Aſphodel or Baſtardel. On a bog in the mid-way between Sarisbury and Southampton. This is very common in bogs and watery places both in the Weſt and North parts of England.*

Bardana minor, *Ger.* Xanthium ſeu lappa minor, Xanthium Dioſcoridis *C. B. The leſſer Burdock. I once found it in the road from London, about three miles from Portſmouth. But, it being an annual Plant, may be loſt there.*

Ciſſampelos altera Anglica minima *Park.* p. 173. *The leaſt Engliſh Black Bindweed. It differs little from the common black Bindweed but in the ſmallneſs of it's parts: which may be owing to the barreneſs of the ſoil.*

Dryopteris Penæ & Lobelii *Ger. emac.* p. 1135. *True Oak-Fern. This Mr. Ray found in a very wet moor or bog, call'd White-row-moor, where Peat is digg'd a mile from Petersfield in Hampſhire. This is found in many wet and boggy grounds in divers Counties of England. It is called by Jo. Bauhine* Fil. minor non ramoſa; *and by us* Fil. minor paluſtris repens.

Erica maritima Anglica ſupina *Park. Engliſh low Heath. Found by Lobel about Portſmouth,* Park. p. 1485. *This we have found in many places on the Sea-coaſts both in Eſſex and Suffolk.*

Malva arborea marina noſtras *Park, Engliſh Sea-Tree-Mallow. About Portſmouth and Iſle near the Iſle of Wight: where alſo grows* Crithmum Chryſanthemum *in great plenty on the miry marſh-ground.*

Mercurialis mas & fœmina *Park. Ger.* Merk. teſticulata ſive mas Dioſcoridis & Plinii: & ſpicata ſive fœmina eorundem *C. B. French Mercury the male and female. On the baich near Ryde in the Iſle of Wight plentifully.*

Nidus avis flore & caule violaceo-purpureo colore, an Pſeudo-lunaria Cluſ. hiſt. p. 270. *Ger. emac.* p. 228 *Found in the border of a field call'd Marlbon a mile from Alton. Mr.* Goodyer.

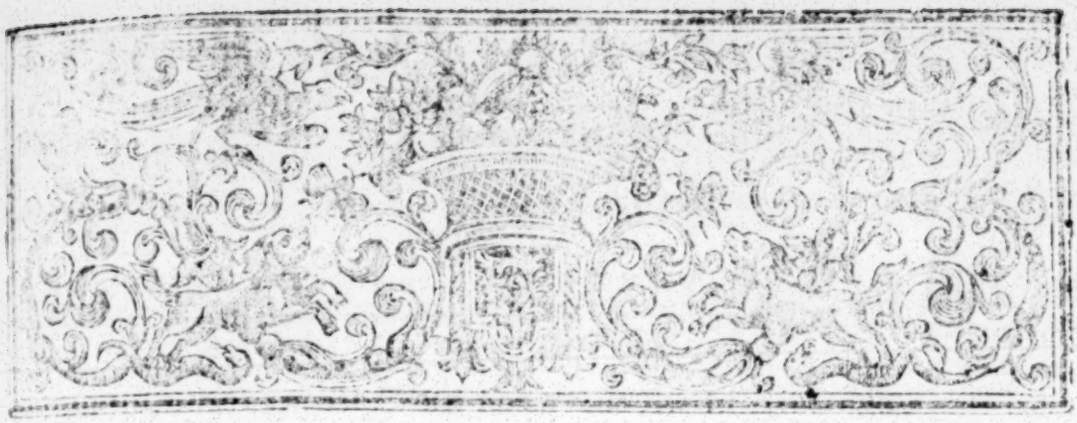
Pulmonaria foliis Echii *Ger.* rubro flore, foliis Echii *J. B.* augaſti olim caeruleo rubente flore *C. B. Bugles Cowſlips, or long-leaved Sage of Jeruſalem. Found by Mr. Goodyer, May* 25. *in a wood by Holbury-Houſe in neer Hampſhire.*

Rapunculus corniculatus montanus *Ger.* flore globoſo purpureo *J. B.* oblongo, ſpica orbiculari *C. B.* Alopecuroides orbiculatus *Park. Theat. Rampions with a round head of flowers. Found by Goodyer in divers chalky hilly grounds by Maple-Durham, near Petersfield in Hampſhire. It grows in divers places of the Downs in Suſſex.*

As for the Geneſtitella Anglica ſpinoſa ſupina, ſive Chamæſpartum ſupinum, *which Lobel is ſaid to have obſerved growing not far from Southſea, where it flower'd July and Auguſt, with ſlender trailing branches of a ſpan*

And the Geniſtella ſive Chamæſpartum rectum, flore & acutis ſpinis ſparſis ſupino paribus & ſimilibus, *found by the ſame Lobel flowering in July near Portſmouth, both which he is ſaid to have deſcrib'd in the Margin of his Dutch Herbal* P. B. *We could not find any ſuch Plants in thoſe places, nor heard we of them.*

ATTR



ATTREBATII.

THE *Attrebatii*, as in France, ſo likewiſe in Britain, border upon the *Belgæ*. Now that name is wholly diſus'd, and the country they inhabited is commonly call'd *Barkſhire*. But it ought to be taken for granted (ſince Cæſar informs us that the foreigners which came out of *Gallia Belgica* inhabited the ſea-coaſts of Britain, and ſtill retain'd the names of their own Countries) that our *Attrebatii* remov'd hither from among the *Attrebates* in Gaule; who, according to Ptolemy, poſſeſs'd the maritim parts of Gaule, upon the *Sein*, to wit, that very country, which may be ſaid, in a manner, to lie *oppoſite* to our *Attrebatii*. Therefore Cæſar ſaid, not without great probability, that *Comius Attrebatenſis* was a perſon of conſiderable authority in theſe parts, that is, amongſt his own countrey-men; and that after his being conquer'd by Cæſar, he fled hither; when, as we have it in *Frontinus*, his ſhips being run a ground, he commanded his ſails to be hoiſted up, and by that means hinder'd Cæſar's purſuit; who, ſeeing his full ſails afar off, and ſuppoſing he made away with a freſh gale, deſiſted from following him further. Whence they had this name of *Attrebatii*, is a matter ſtill in diſpute; as for thoſe that derive it from *Attrech*, which they would have to ſignify *a land of bread* in the old Gauliſh Tongue, I am afraid they are miſtaken. Let it be ſufficient for me, that I have ſhewn, from whence they came into Britain: As for the Etymology of their name, I leave it to the ſearch of others.

BARKSHIRE.

THAT County which we call Barkſhire, was term'd by the La- in writers *Bercheria*, and anciently by the Engliſh-Sa- *Berrocyne*. Which name, Aſſerius Menevenſis derives from *Berroc*, a certain Wood where box grew in great abund- ance; others from an Oak disbark'd (ſo the word Be- ſignifies) to which, when the State was in more than ordi- ry danger, the inhabitants were wont in antient times to reſort, and con- about publick affairs. However, it is certain, that in the moſt ancient on annals, the name is *Bearrucſhire*, melted by degrees into *Bearrocyre* a- *Barrucyre*, from whence the preſent name of Berkſhire is immediately de- rived. The north-ſide of this County is waſh'd by the winding, but plea- ſant and gentle ſtreams of the Iſis or Ouſe (which afterwards takes the name of *Thamiſis*, the Thames,) and firſt ſeparates it from Oxfordſhire, and then from Buckinghamſhire. The ſouth-ſide, towards Hampſhire, is water'd by the river Kennet, till it runs into the Thames. Weſtward, where it touches upon Wiltſhire, and is broader, as likewiſe in the middle parts, it is rich and fruitful, eſpcially where it falls into a Valley, which they call the Vale of White Horſe, from I know not what ſhape of a White Horſe, ſaid to on the ſide of a whitiſh hill. But the eaſt-ſide, which borders upon Surrey, is downright barren, or at beſt bears but little; and is very much taken up with woods and foreſts.

To the weſt near the Ouſe, ſtands Farendon, on a high ground; now noted for it's market, but formerly for a certain Fortification built by Robert earl of Gloceſter, againſt king Stephen; who nevertheleſs took it at the expence of blood and labour, and laid it ſo level with the ground, that no- thing of it is now to be ſeen. But (as we find in the chronicle of Wave- ley-abbey) king John, in the year MCCII. *mov'd by divine inſpiration, grant- ed the Site, with all it's appurtenances, for the building of an abbey, of the Ciſtercian Order.*

From hence the Ouſe, fetching a great compaſs, and making it's way to- ward the north, waters ſeveral villages of little note, till winding itſelf again, and dividing it's ſtream, it arrives at Abbendon, a handſome town well frequented; call'd firſt by the Engliſh-Saxons *Dheoverham*, that is *Deer- tune*; no doubt from the abbey, rather than from Abbenus, I know not who

Irish hermit, as ſome have written. *It was place* (as we have it in the old book of Abbendon) *upon the plain of a hill, extreamly pleaſant to the eye, a little beyond the village which is now call'd* Sunniggewelle, *between two very fine rivulets, which incloſing within them the place it ſelf (as it were a bay) yield a delightful proſpect to the beholders, and a convenient ſubſiſtence to the inhabitants. It was in ancient times call'd* Sheoveſham, *a famous city, goodly to behold, full of riches, encompaſs'd with very fruitful fields, green meadows, fruitful paſtures, and flocks of cattel abounding with milk. Here the king kept his court; hither the people reſorted, while conſultations were depending about the greateſt and moſt weighty affairs of the kingdom.* For which reaſon, and its ancient name Sheoveſham (written by Leland, whether from record, or by miſtake, I know not, Sheueſham,) it is not unreaſonable to think this the very place wherein two Synods were held, one in the year 742. and the other in 822. both ſaid to be at *Cloſer-hoo*. For tho' it hath been ſettled in Kent, at a place called *Cliff at hoo*, yet that conjecture is wholly founded upon the ſimilitude of names, and doth by no means agree with what is ſuppoſed, that Cloveſhoo was probably in Mercia: And Æthelbald king of the Mercians, had the greateſt hand in it, becauſe the Saxon annals mention him particularly, as preſent; and *Cliffathoo* in Kent is too much in a corner, to anſwer the character of *Cloveſhoo*, which is mention'd but twice in the annals, and both times expreſly ſaid to be the place of a Synod. And in a council at Hertford, in 672. we find it decreed, *that there ſhould be two Synods yearly; but becauſe there were ſeveral incidental cauſes which might prevent them, it was unanimouſly agreed, however, that there ſhould meet one yearly the 1ſt day of Auguſt, at the place call'd* Cloveſhoo. Which cannot be ſuppoſ'd, unreaſonably, to point out a place ſo little for the convenience of moſt of the members; but may very rationally be meant of this place; a place, perhaps, by reaſon of its ſituation, as eligible by all parties, as could well be thought of. But to return. As ſoon as Ciſſa, king of the Weſt-Saxons, had built the abbey here, it began by degrees to lay aſide its old name, and to be called Abbandun, and Abbington, that is, the Abbey's Town. This abbey had not flouriſh'd long, e're it was thrown down, as it were in an inſtant, by the violent fury of the Danes. Yet it ſoon after recover'd it ſelf, thro' the liberality of king Edgar; and afterwards, by the induſtry of the Norman abbots, it grew to that magnificence by degrees, as to ſtand in competition almoſt with any Abbey in Britain, for riches and grandeur, as its preſent ruins ſtill declare. But the town, tho' it had it's dependance for a long time on the abbey, yet ſince the year 1416. when king Henry V. built bridges over the Ouſe (as appears by a diſtich in a window of St. Helen's church there) and turned the high-road hither for a ſhorter cut; it became

became so much frequented, as to be reckon'd among the principal towns of this County; having a mayor and much en[illegible] it se[illegible] by steep'd bar[illegible] sprouting and chitting again, which the gree[illegible] call Pyne [illegible] hath besides, a Cross of excellent workmanship in the [illegible] ket-place; erected, as they report, in the re[illegible] of ki[illegible] fraternity of St. Cross, which was instituted by him. [illegible] of the towns for the publick business of the County, [illegible] noured by affording to the right honourable Mountag[illegible] earl; which was first confer'd upon his father, James [illegible] in the 34th year of king Charles the second.

As Cissa was the founder of the aforesaid abby, so Cissa *sister of king Kenulph*, (as I have it out of an old book) 'built a nunnery at Helnestow [illegible] 'the Thames, where her self presided over the virgins, who were after[illegible] 'translated to *Witham*. In the heat of the war between Offa and Kinul[illegible] 'the Nuns, upon the building of a castle there, retired from thence. [illegible] 'after that Kinulph, was overthrown, whatsoever lay under his jurisdic[illegible] 'on, from the town of Wallingford in the south part from Icheneld-stre[illegible] 'as far as Essebury, and in the north part as far as the River Thames, [illegible] 'Offa seized.' At the south part of Oxford, there begins a great Cause[illegible] going from Fryar Beacon's study, for near two miles, towards Abingdon, which one would imagine, at first sight, to have been a work of the Romans, but it appears by Records to have been made by Robert Doily, in the time of Willam the Conqueror.

Near Abingdon, to the north-west, lies Lee, which, by the daughter of a certain knight sirnam'd de Lee, came to the family of the Besiles, and there was call'd Besiles-Lees; and from that family in right of marriage, to Richard Fetiplace; whose progenitor, Thomas, brought some honour to his posterity, by matching with Beatrix, natural daughter of John I. King of Portugal, from whom they are descended. But now let us return. Hard by Abingdon, the little river Ock, which washes the south-side of the town, and over Sir John St. Helens knight did formerly build a bridge, falls gently into the Ouse. It hath it's rise in the vale of White-horse, a mile or two from Kingston-Lisle, anciently the possession of Warin de Insula or L'Isle a renown'd baron. John Talbot, a younger son of that famous warriour John earl of Shrewsbury, being by the mother's-side descended from that baron, was first created baron L'isle (as Warin de Insula was before in regard of his being possess'd of this place; as if that honour were annex'd to it) and afterwards viscount L'isle. This title, by the favour of our kings, in a continu'd series remain'd in his posterity. For (to sum up all in short) Thomas Talbot, son of John before-mention'd, dy'd without issue,

through the mouth with an arrow, as he was defending his eſtate in a ſuit againſt baron Barkley; Ed. Grey who had marry'd his ſiſter, receiv'd the ſame honour from king Richard III, and had a ſon named John, whoſe only daughter and heir being an infant, was contracted to Charles Brandon by king Henry VIII, and thereupon became viſcount L'Iſle: but ſhe dying before the ſolemnization of the marriage, this his title dy'd with her. Afterwards the ſame king conferr'd this honour upon Arthur Plugenet, a nephew of king Edw. IV, who had marry'd Elizabeth the ſiſter of John Grey viſc. Lisle, widow of Edmund Dudley. And upon his dying without iſſue-male, John Dudley, ſon of Edm. Dudley by the ſame Eliz. Grey, afterwards duke of Northumberland, was honour'd by the ſame king with this title. But he being attainted, queen Elizabeth reſtor'd in blood his ſon Ambroſe; and, before ſhe created him earl of Warwick, did the ſame day create him baron L'iſle. And Robert Sidney, his ſiſter's ſon, a perſon illuſtrious for his noble deſcent, and his own virtues, was honour'd with the title of viſcount L'Iſle, in the year 1605. by James the firſt; who had before created him baron Sidney of Penhurſt, and made him chamberlain to his royal conſort queen Ann.

Above the head of the river Ock, by Aſhbury park, is a camp, of a figure as near round as ſquare, the diameter above an hundred paces, and the work ſingle; which ſeems to prove it Daniſh. But the works are now almoſt ſpoil'd and defac'd, by digging for the Sarſden-ſtones (as they call them) to build a houſe in the park belonging to the lord Craven.

Above the ſame hill, is another camp with ſingle works, but very large; and at about two furlongs diſtance, is a barrow call'd Dragon-hill: but whether from hence one may conclude this to be the *tumulus* of Uther Pendragon, ſince the conjecture is not warranted by any direct teſtimony from hiſtory, I leave others to determine. As alſo, whether the white horſe, on the ſide of the hill, was made by Hengiſt, ſince the Horſe was the arms or figure in his ſtandard. About a mile from the hill, are a great many large ſtones, which, tho' very confus'd, muſt have been laid there with deſign; ſome of them being plac'd edge-wiſe; but the reſt indeed appear ſo diſorderly, that one would imagine they had only been emptied out of carts.

From Kingſton Liſle, the river Ock, juſt now mention'd, runs between Pechworth and Puſey the poſſeſſion of a family of that ſirname, and held by a Horn given to their anceſtors by Canutus the Dane. Thus much the inſcription implies; but both the character and ſtile thereof are modern, many hundreds of years after the Conqueſt; ſo that of what antiquity ſoever the horn it ſelf may be, the inſcription muſt have been added long after the time of Canutus. Not but the tradition of Canutus's giving it, may probe-

bly

bly be very true, ſince there are ſo many inſtances of this kind, in many parts of England; and Ingulphus has expreſly told us, that in those parts was common to make Grants of Lands by Horns, among other things. The two Denchworths are hard by, where two noble and ancient Families flouriſh, Hide at South-Denchworth, and Fetiplace at North-Denchworth, both which ſeem to have ſprung from the ſame ſtock, ſince they bear the ſame Coat of Arms; and are now ſeated, the firſt at Kingſtoo, and the ſecond at Swinbrock. After this, the Ock receives a nameleſs rivulet, which flows out of the ſame Vale to Wantage, call'd in Saxon [illegible], anciently a Royal Vill, and the birth place of the famous king Alfred, whom he bequeath'd at his death to Alfrith. It was made a Market-town, a little time after, by the intereſt of that valiant ſoldier Foulk Fitzwarin, to whom Roger Bigod, earl marſhal of England, had beſtow'd it, for his ſingular courage and conduct in war, and afterwards it own'd for it's lords the Bouchiers earls of bath, deſcended from the race of the Fitzwarins, which family ſome are bury'd here. A mile above Wantage, call'd Aſhbury, there is a very large camp on the brow of a hill, of a quadrangular form, and ſingle-work'd; from which it appears to be Roman. Not far hence is Cuckamſley-hill, call'd in Saxon *Crichelmer-thleape*, and by Florence of Worceſter *Cuicellawe*; from whence, by degrees, the preſent name is melted, and the word *hill* added by a *tautology*, for want of knowing *thleape* in the Saxon implies ſo much. Over this it was, that the Danes paſſed in their Depredations, after they had deſtroy'd Wallingford, in the year of our Lord 1006.

The Ouſe leaving Abingdon, preſently receives the Tame out of Oxfordſhire (of which river, elſewhere.) Now, by a compound word being called *Thamiſis* (the Thames,) it firſt makes a viſit to Sinodun, a high hill, defended with a deep ditch, where it is certain that in ancient times there was a Roman fortification; for, when the ground is broken up with the plough, Roman coins (a certain ſign of antiquity) are now and then found by the ploughmen.

Beneath it, at Brettwell, there was a caſtle (if it was not really on this hill) which Henry II. took by ſtorm, a little before his making peace with king Stephen. From hence, the Thames bends it's courſe to the chief city of the *Attrebatii*, which Antonius calls *Galleva Attrebatum*, Ptolomy *Galeva*; both, through the careleſneſs of Copiers, inſtead of *Gallena*, and theſe likewiſe in the Greek copies obtrude upon us *Nallena*, by a tranſpoſition of the letters, for *Gallena*. For I have thought that it was ſo called in the Britiſh tongue, as it were *Gaul-hen*, that is, the Old Fort. Which name being ſtill kept, and Ford, from a ſhallow place in the river, a-

to it, the Saxons in ancient times call'd it *Guallengeford* and *Wallingford*; and we now-a-days by contraction Wallingford; as it is also call'd in the Saxon annals (according to the several ages *Wealingaford, Wahingeford, Wallingford*. In Edward the Confessor's time, it was counted a Borough, and contain'd in it (as we find in Domesday-book) *276 houses, yielding nine pound Tax; and those that dwelt there, did the King service on horse-back, and by sea. Of those houses, eight were destroy'd for the castle.* It was formerly walled about, and, as may be seen by the track of the ditch and wall beginning from the castle, (saith Leland) was a mile in compass. (or more.) It hath a castle seated upon the river, very large, and so well-fortified in former times, that the hopes of it's being impregnable hath made some persons over-resolute. For when the flames of civil war had set all England on fire, we read that king Stephen did ever now and then attempt it by siege, but always in vain. We much wonder'd at it's greatness and magnificence, when we were boys, and retir'd thither from Oxford (for it was a retiring-place for the Students of Christ-Church at Oxford.) It is double-wall'd, and surrounded with two ditches; Leland says, with *three dikes, large and deep, and well-water'd.* In the middle stands a tower, rais'd upon a very high mount; in the steep ascent whereof, which you climb by stairs, I saw a well of an exceeding great depth. The inhabitants believe it was built by the Danes; but I should rather judge, that something was here erected by the Romans, and afterwards demolish'd by the Saxons and Danes, when Sueno the Dane harrass'd the Country, up and down in these parts. At length, it recover'd under William I, as plainly appears by Domesday-book, where it makes mention of eight Houses being pull'd down for the castle, as I observ'd but now. Yet William Gemeticensis takes no notice of this castle, when he writes, that William the Norman, after Herold's defeat, immediately led his army to this City (for so he terms it,) and passing the Thames at the Ford, encamp'd here, before he march'd to London. At which time, Wigod an Englishman was lord of Wallingford; who had one only daughter given in marriage to Robert D'Oily: by whom he had Maud his sole heir; married first to Miles Crispin, and after his death by the favour of king Henry I, to Brient Fitz-Count; and he being bred a soldier, and taking part with Maud the empress, stoutly defended this castle against king Stephen (who had rais'd a Fort over-against it at (Raumesh,) till a peace, so much wish'd for by England in general, was concluded in this place, and an end put to that terrible quarrel between king Stephen and king Henry II. And then the love of God did so much prevail upon Brient and his wife, that, quitting the transitory vanities of this world, they wholly devoted themselves to Christ; and by that means this honour of Walling-

ford fell to the Crown. Which appears by these words taken out of an old Inquisition in the Exchequer, 'To his well beloved lords, our lord the 'King's justices and the barons of the exchequer, the constable of Wallingford, Greeting. Know ye that I have made diligent Inquisition by the 'knights of my Bailywick, in pursuance of my lord the King's precept directed to me by the sheriff; and this is the sum of the Inquisition thus taken: *Wigod* of Wallingford held the honour of Wallingford, in king Harold's 'time, and afterwards in the reign of king William I; and had by his wife 'a certain daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Robert D'Oily. That 'Robert had by her a daughter nam'd Maud, which was his heir. Miles 'Crispin espous'd her, and had with her the aforesaid honour of Wallingford. 'After Miles's decease, our lord king Henry I. bestow'd the aforesaid Maud 'upon Brient FitzCount, &c.' Yet afterwards, in the reign of Henry III. it belong'd to the earls of Chester, and then to Richard king of the Romans as earl of Cornwall, who repair'd it; and to his son Edmund, who founded a collegiate chapel within the inner court: but he dying without issue, it return'd to the Crown, and was annex'd to the dukedom of Cornwall; but when, it hath fallen to decay. More especially, about the time when the plague and mortality which follow'd the conjunction of Saturn and Mars in Capricorn, raged over all Europe, in the year of our Lord 1348; this Wallingford was so exhausted, that whereas before it was very well inhabited and had twelve churches in it, (Leland says, fourteen, and that in his time several were living, who could show the places where they all stood;) now it has but one or two. But the inhabitants rather lay the cause of this to the decay, upon the bridges built at Abingdon and Dorchester; by which means the High-road is turn'd from thence. Notwithstanding which misfortunes, their Malt-trade, and the convenience of sending corn and other commodities by water to London, do still support it; so that of late years it is very much encreas'd both in buildings and number of inhabitants. It is a Corporation govern'd by a Mayor and six Aldermen, who are Justices of the Peace within the Burrough; and they have a free-school, and a market-house wherein the Mayor and Justices keep the Quarter-Sessions.

From hence, Southward, the Thames glides gently between very beautiful fields on both sides, by Moulesford, which king Henry I. gave to Gerald Fitz-Water; from whom the noble family of the Careus are descended. A family, that hath receiv'd the addition of much honour by its matches with the noble families of Mohun and Dinham, and others in Cornwall, as well as England. Not far from hence is Aldworth, where are certain tombs, and statues upon them larger than ordinary, much worshipped by the common people, as if they were the pourtraictures of Giants.

ed they are only thoſe of certain knights of the family of De la Beche, h had a caſtle here, and is ſuppos'd to have been extinct for want of male in the reign of Edward III. And now at length the Thames with the Kennet, which, as I ſaid before, waters the ſouth-ſide of r County, and at it's firſt entrance, after it has left Wiltſhire, runs be- h Hungerford, call'd in ancient times Ingleford Charnum-fleet, a meaſ- , and ſeated in a moiſt place; which yet gave both name and title to the ncurable family of the barons of Hungerford, firſt advanc'd to its greateſt y Walter Hungerford Son of Sir Thomas, Speaker to the Houſe of Com- s 51 Edward III, the firſt Parliament wherein they had a Speaker,) he was Steward of the king's Houſhold under Henry V, and had confer'd n him by that prince's bounty (in conſideration of his eminent ſervices the wars) the caſtle and barony of Homet in Normandy, *to hold him and his males by homage and ſervice, to find the king and his heirs at the d of Roan one Lance with a Fox's tail hanging to it*: which pleaſant ature I thought it not amiſs to inſert here, among more ſerious matters. he ſame Walter in the reign of Henry VI, was lord high treaſurer of ngland, and created baron Hungerford; and, by his prudent management, d his matching with Catherine Peverell (deſcended from the Moels and e Courtneys) much augmented his eſtate. His ſon Robert, who marry'd e daughter and heir of the lord Botereaux, enrich'd the family much more; d afterwards Robert his ſon, who had to wife Eleanor, daughter and r of William Molines (upon which account he was honour'd among the ons of the kingdom, by the name of lord Molines, and during the civil rs between the houſes of York and Lancaſter was beheaded at Newcaſtle) e great additions to it. Thomas his ſon, ſlain at Salisbury in his fa- r's life-time, left Mary an only daughter, married to Edward lord Ha- g, with whom he had a great eſtate. But Walter, brother to the ſaid omas, begat Edward Hungerford, father of that Walter whom Henry VIII. ted baron Hungerford of Heytesbury, and condemned afterwards for ery heinous crime: nevertheleſs, queen Mary reſtor'd his children to every ng but the dignity of barons. This town is famous for the beſt Trouts; tho' ſituate upon a great road, neither its buildings nor market are n conſiderable. The conſtable (who is annually choſen) is lord of manour, and holds it immediately of the king. They have a horn, ing about a quart, the inſcription whereof affirms it to have been n by *John of Gaunt*, along with the *Riat-fiſhing* (ſo it is there ex- d.) in a certain part of the river. Not far from hence, to the ſouth, Widehay, for a long time the ſeat of the barons of St. Amand, whoſe e by marriage came to Gerard Braybrok; and Elizabeth, his el-

eſt grand-daughter by his ſon Gerard, transferr'd the eſtate by marriage to William Beaucamp, who being ſummon'd to Parliament by the name of William Beaucamp of St. Amand, was a baron; as was alſo his ſon Richard, who had no iſſue that was legitimate.

From thence the river Kennet (taking it's courſe between Hemſtead Marſhal, anciently held by the tod of the Marſhalſea, and belonging to the Marſhals of England, where Thomas Parry Treaſurer of the houſhold to queen Elizabeth built a beautiful ſeat, and where now is the ſeat of the lord Craven; and Benham Valance, ſo call'd, from it's belonging to William Valance earl of Pembroke;) comes to Spinæ, an old town, mentioned by Antoninus; which, retaining it's name to this day, is call'd Spene, but inſtead of a town, is now a poor little village; ſcarce a mile from Newbury, a noted town, that had it's riſe out of the ruins of it. For Newbury with us, is as much as the New Borough, in regard to Spinæ the more ancient place, which is quite decay'd but hath left the name in a part of Newbury, which is ſtill call'd Spinham-lands. And if there were nothing elſe, it were enough to prove Newbury to have had it's original from Spinæ, that the inhabitants of Newbury own the little village Spene for their mother, tho' Newbury (compared with Spene) is in point of building and neatneſs a very conſiderable town, much enrich'd by cloathing, and commodiouſly ſeated upon a plain, with the river Kennet running through it. At the Norman conqueſt, this town fell to the ſhare of Ernulph de Heſdin earl of Perch, whoſe great grandſon Thomas earl of Perch being ſlain at the ſiege of Lincoln, the biſhop of Chalons, his heir, ſold it to William Marſhal earl of Pembroke, who likewiſe held the manour of Hemſted hard-by (and ſo much of before) as did his ſucceſſors marſhals of England, till Roger Bigod by obſtinacy loſt his honour of earl marſhal and poſſeſſions too; which notwithſtanding, by much interceſſion he obtain'd again, for life.

The Kennet continues it's courſe from hence, and receives the little river Lamborn, which at it's riſe imparts the name to a ſmall market-town that in ancient times belong'd to Alfrith king Alfred's couſin, having been left him by the ſaid king by Will; and afterwards it was the Fitzwarin's, who got for it the privilege of a market from king Henry III. It alſo belongs to the knightly family of Eſſex, which derived it's pedigree from William de Eſſex, under-treaſurer of England in Edward the IV's time, and from thence the ſame ſirname in Eſſex, who have liv'd in great repute and honour. From thence this little river runs beneath Dennington, call'd alſo Donnington, a ſmall but very neat caſtle, ſeated on the brow of a hill, having a fine proſpect, and windows on all ſides very lightſome. It was built by Sir Richard de Abberbury knight, founder alſo of

Hare beneath it, for the relief of the poor. Afterwards it was the residence of Chaucer, then of the De la Poles; and, within the memory of the last age save one, of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

And now the Kennet having run a long way, paſſes by Aldermaſton, which Henry I. gave to Robert Achard, from whoſe poſterity, by the De la Mares, it came at length by marriage to the Foſters, a knightly family. At laſt it runs into the Thames, having firſt, with it's windings, encompaſs'd a great part of Reading. This little city or town of Reading, for the neatneſs of it's ſtreets, and the fineneſs of it's buildings, for it's riches, and the reputation it got for making of cloath; goes beyond all the other towns of this county. But of later years, the convenience of the river giving great encouragement to the Malt-trade, they apply themſelves eſpecially to that, and find it turn to ſo good account, that their employment about cloath is in a great meaſure laid aſide. For whereas they have had formerly ſeven-ſcore clothiers, now their number is but very ſmall. And it hath loſt it's greateſt ornaments, the beautiful church, and a very antient caſtle. For, Aſſerius tells us, that the Danes kept poſſeſſion of this caſtle, when they drew a ditch between the Kennet and the Thames, and that they retreated hither, after king Ethelwolph had routed them at Inglefield, a little village in the neighbourhood which gives name to a noble and antient family. But it was demoliſhed by Henry II. (becauſe it had been a place of refuge for king Stephen's party) to ſuch a degree, that nothing now remains of it, but the bare name in the next ſtreet. Near the caſtle, king Henry I. having built down a little nunnery (founded formerly by queen Alfritha, to expiate certain crimes) built by a moſt magnificent abbey for monks, and endow'd it with great revenues. Which prince, to uſe the words of his charter of foundation, "Becauſe three abbeys in the kingdom of England were formerly for their ſins deſtroy'd, that is, Reading, Chelſea, and Leonminſtre, and were long in Laymens hands; did, by the advice of the biſhops, found a new monaſtery at Reading, and endow it with Reading, Chelſea, and Leonminſtre." In this abbey, was interr'd the founder thereof king Henry, together with his daughter Maud, as appears by the Hiſtory of the place; tho' ſome report that ſhe was bury'd at Beccanandy. She, as well as that Lacedæmonian lady Lampido, mention'd by Livy, was a king's daughter, a king's wife, and a king's mother: that daughter of this Henry I. king of England, wife of Henry IV. emperor of Germany, and mother of Henry II. king of England. Concerning whom take here a diſtich inſcrib'd upon her tomb, in my judgment ingenious enough:

Magna

Magna ortu, majorque viro, ſed maxima partu,
Hic jacet Henrici filia, ſponſa, parens.

Great born, match'd greater, greateſt brought to bed,
Here Henry's daughter, wife, and mother's laid.

And ſhe might well be counted greateſt and moſt happy in [illegible] Henry II. her ſon (as Joannes Sariſburienſis, who liv'd in [illegible] hath obſerv'd) "was the beſt king of Britain, and the moſt [illegible] "of Normandy and Aquitain; and as well in great actions, [illegible] "virtues, above all others. How valiant, how magnificent, [illegible] "modeſt he was, almoſt from his very infancy, Envy itſelf [illegible] "ceal nor diſſemble, ſince his actions are ſtill freſh in our [illegible] "illuſtrious; ſince he hath extended the monuments of his valour [illegible] "bounds of Britain to the marches of Spain." And in another place [illegible] cerning the ſame prince. "Henry II. the mightieſt king that ever [illegible] "Britain, thunder'd it about Garumna, and beſieging Thoulouſe [illegible] "ſucceſs, did not only ſtrike terror into the inhabitants of Provence [illegible] "as the Rhoſne and Alpes, but alſo by demoliſhing their ſtrong-holds [illegible] "ſubduing the people, made the princes of France and Spain to [illegible] "as if he threatn'd univerſal conqueſt." I will add, if you pleaſe, [illegible] or two relating to the ſame prince, out of Giraldus Cambrenſis: "From [illegible] "the Pyrenæan mountains to the weſtern bounds and farthеſt limits [illegible] "northern ocean, this our weſtern Alexander hath ſtretch'd forth his [illegible] "As far therefore as nature in theſe parts hath enlarged the land, [illegible] "hath he extended his victories. If the bounds of his expeditions [illegible] "ſought for, ſooner would the globe of the earth fail, than they end [illegible] "where there is valour and reſolution, lands may poſſibly be wanting, [illegible] "victories can never fail; matter for triumphs may be wanting, but [illegible] "umphs themſelves never. How great an addition to his glories, [illegible] "and triumphs was Ireland! With how great, and how laudable courage [illegible] "did he pierce thro' the very ſecret and unknown places of the ocean." But take here an old verſe upon his death, which fully expreſſes in [illegible] both all this, and alſo the glories of his ſon king Richard I.

Mira cano, ſol occubuit, nox nulla ſecuta eſt.

Strange! the Sun ſet, and yet no night enſu'd.

Fitz Richard was ſo far from bringing night upon this our nation, that, by his victories in Cyprus and Syria, he enlighten'd it with brighter beams of glory. But this by way of digreſſion. Let us now return from perſons to places. This monaſtery, wherein king Henry I. lies interr'd, was converted into a royal ſeat; adjoining to which ſtood a very fine ſtable, ſtor'd with noble horſes of the king's; but all theſe are now demoliſhed, probably in the late Civil Wars; the buildings which remain, being very far from anſwering ſuch a character. Concerning this place, take the verſes of a poet, who, deſcribing the Thames as running by it, ſays,

Hinc videt exiguum Chawſey, properatque videre
Redingum nitidum, texendis nobile pannis.
Hoc docet Ælfredi noſtri victricia ſigna,
Begſcegi cædem, calcata cadavera Dani:
Undique ſuperfuſo maduerunt ſanguine campi.
Principis hic Zephyro Cauroque parentibus orti
Cornipedes crebris implent hinnitibus auras,
Et gyros ducunt, greſſus glomerantque ſuperbos,
Dum cupiunt noſtri Martis ſervire lupatis.
Hæccine ſed pietas? heu dira piacula, primum
Neuſtrius Henricus ſitus hic, inglorius urna
Nunc jacet ejectus, tumulum novus advena quærit
Fruſtra; nam regi tenues invidit arenas
Auri ſacra fames, regum metuenda ſepulchris.

Thence little *Chawſey* ſees, and haſtens on
To *Reading*, fam'd for cloth, an handſome town.
Here Ælfred's troops their happy valour ſhow'd,
On ſlaughter'd Begſceg and his pagans trod,
And drown'd the meadows in a purple flood.
Here too in ſtate the royal courſers ſtand,
Proud to be govern'd by our Mars's hand.
Full ſtretch'd for race they take their eager round,
And neighing fill the air, and trampling ſhake the ground.
But where, poor baniſh'd virtue, art thou gone?
Here Henry lies without a ſingle ſtone,
Equall'd, alas, with common dead too ſoon.
So fatal avarice to kings appears,
It ſpares their crowns more than their ſepulchres.

Scarce

Scarce half a mile from Reading, among the green Meadows, the K... joins the Thames; which, by the conflux being now bro...der, ...towards the north, by Sunning, a little village, that one would wonder ... ever have been the see of eight bishops, who had ...is County and ... shire for their dioceſs; yet our hiſtorians tells u... it was. ... afterwards tranſlated by Herman to Sherburn, and at laſt to Sa... to which biſhoprick this place ſtill belongs. Not far off, ...rence Waltham, where the foundations of an old fort are to be ſeen, ... Roman coins are often dug-up. Thence the Thames paſſes by Hurley, which place Sir Richard Lovelace, in the third year of king Charles ... was advanced to the dignity of a baron of this Realm, by the ... lord Lovelace of Hurley: then by Biſtleham, contracted now into ... at the firſt eſtate of the knights-templars, then of the Monks ... built a little monaſtery here; afterwards, of that famous and worthy ... Sir Edward Hobey, a perſon to whom I owe a very particular ... whoſe more than ordinary obligations are, and always will be, ... ſubject of my thoughts, that I can never poſſibly forget them.

The Thames, leaving Biſham, fetches a compaſs, to a little town ... in former ages Southealington, now Maidenhead, from I know not ... Britiſh Maiden's heads; one of thoſe eleven thouſand Virgins, ... they return'd home from Rome with Urſula their Leader, ſuffer'd ... dom near Cologne in Germany, from that ſcourge of God, Attila. ... is the town of any great antiquity; for no longer ago than our great-... fathers time, there was a ferry, in a place ſomewhat higher, at ... end. But, after they had built here a wooden bridge upon ... began to have inns, and to be ſo frequented, as to outvie its ... ring mother Bray; a more ancient place, as having given name ... whole Hundred. I have long been of opinion, that the Bibroci, ... mitted themſelves to Cæſar's protection, inhabited theſe parts; ... ſhould I not think ſo? Here are very clear and plain remains of the ... alſo, Bibracte in France, is now contracted into Bray; and not far ... hence Cæſar croſs'd the Thames with his army (as I ſhall ſhew in ... place,) when theſe parts ſubmitted to him. Certainly, ſhould one ſeek ... the Bibroci elſewhere, ever ſo diligently, he would, I believe, ... them.

Among theſe Bibroci, flouriſhes Windeſor, in Saxon *Windleſhora*, ... haps from the *winding* ſhore. It is termed Windle-ſhora in ... the Confeſſor's charter; who in theſe very words made a grant of ... Weſtminſter: *To the praiſe of Almighty God, I have granted as an ... ment and perpetual inheritance, to the uſe of thoſe that ſerve the Lord, ...*

hors, *with its appurtenances.* And I have read nothing more ancient concerning Windsor. But the monks had not held it long, when William the Norman, by exchange brought it back to the Crown. For thus his Charter runs: *With the consent and favour of the venerable the Abbot of Westminster, I have enter'd into a composition about* Windsor's *being in the possession of the Crown, because that place seems commodious for the King, by reason of the neatness of the river, and the forest for hunting, and many other conveniences; being likewise a place fit for the King's retirement: in lieu whereof, I have granted them* Wokendune *and* Ferings. Scarce any Royal Seat can have a more pleasant situation. For from an high hill, it hath a most delightful prospect all round. Its front overlooks a long and wide Vale, chequer'd with corn-fields and green meadows, clothed on each side with groves, and water'd with the calm and gentle Thames. Behind it, there arise hills every where, neither craggy, nor over-high; adorn'd with woods, and, as it were, *consecrated* by nature to the exercise of Hunting. The pleasantness of it hath drawn many of our princes hither, as to a retiring-place; and here king Edward III. (that potent prince) was born, to conquer France: who built new from the ground a castle, in bigness equal to a little city, fortified with ditches, and towers of square-stone; and, having presently after subdu'd the French and Scots, he kept at the same time John king of France, and David king of Scots, prisoners here. This castle is divided into two courts. The inner, which looks towards the east, contains in it the king's palace; than which, if you consider the contrivance of the buildings, nothing can be more stately and magnificent. On the northside, where it looks down to the river, queen Elizabeth added a most pleasant Terrass-walk. The outer court hath at its entrance a stately chapel, dedicated by king Edward III, to the Virgin Mary and St. George of Cappadocia; but it was brought to it's present magnificence by king Edward IV. In our time, the lodgings, Hall, Chapel, *&c.* have been, at vast expence, exceedingly adorned and beautified with paintings, and other noble improvements.

Here, king Edward III. (for the adorning and encouraging of military Virtue with honours, rewards, and glory,) instituted a most noble society of Knights, which (as some report) from his own Garter, given for the Signal in a battle that prov'd successful, he stiled Knights of the Garter. They wear on their left leg, a little below the knee, a blue Garter, carrying this motto embroider'd in letters of gold, and in French, *HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE*, and fasten the same with a buckle of gold, as a token of Concord and a tye of the strictest Amity, to the end there might be among them a kind of *Consociation* and community of Virtues. Others refer it to the garter of the queen, or rather of Joan countess of Salisbury (a

Lady of incomparable beauty) that fell from her as she was dancing, and taken-up by the king: at which the nobles that stood about him, [illegible] the king told them, That the time should shortly come, when the highest honour imaginable should be paid to that Garter. This is the common report; neither need it seem a mean original, considering that [illegible] *Nobilitas sub amore jacet*, i. e. Love carries in it a Nobleness of [illegible] There are some too, who make the Institution of this Order much more ancient, ascribing it to king Richard I, and perswading themselves that Edward only reviv'd it; how truly, I know not. Yet in the very book of the Institution, which William Dethick garter principal king at arms gave me sight of (a Gentleman very inquisitive after every thing relating to Honour and the Nobility,) we read thus: *When king Richard led his army into the* Turks *and* Saracens, Cyprus *and* Acon, *and was weary with the delays, while the siege was carried on with a wonderful deal of trouble, length, upon a divine inspiration (by the apparition, as it was thought* George,) *it came into his mind to draw upon the legs of some of his, a certain tack of leather, such as he had then ready at hand, being minded of the future glory promised them if they conquer'd, insted to behave themselves with courage and resolution: in imitation Romans who had such variety of crowns, wherewith, upon several accounts presented and honoured their Soldiers, that by instigations and allurements kind, cowardice might be shaken off, and valour and bravery might spring and show themselves with greater vigour and resolution.*

However, the mightiest Princes of Christendom have reckon'd it among their greatest honours, to be chosen into this Order; and since its first stitution, there have been already admitted into this Order (which consists of twenty-six knights) twenty-eight kings or thereabouts, besides kings of England, who are term'd Sovereigns thereof, not to mention great many dukes, and other persons of the greatest quality. And it will not be amiss, to set down the names of those who were first admitted to this Order, and are commonly call'd the Founders of the Order; for whose glory ought never to be obliterated, who in those days had very few in point of military Valour and Bravery, and were upon that account distinguished, and advanced to this honour.

Edward the third, King of England.
Edward his eldest Son, Prince of Wales.
Henry Duke of Lancaster.
Thomas Earl of Warwick.
Capdall de Bucke.

Ralp Earl of Stafford.
William Montacute Earl of Salisbury.
Roger Mortimer Earl of March.
John L'isle.
Bartholomew Burwash.
John Beaucamp.
John de Molun.
Hugh Courtney.
Thomas Holland.
John Grey.
Richard Fitz-Simon.
Miles Stapleton.
Thomas Walle.
Hugh Wrothesley.
Niel Loring.
John Chandos.
James de Axdeley
Otho Halland.
Henry Eme.
Zanchet Dabridgecourt.
Walter Paveley.

On the left-side of the chapel, are the houses of the Warden or Dean, and the twelve Prebendaries. On the right-side, is a building, much of the nature of Grecian *Prytaneum*, in which twelve aged soldiers, Gentlemen born, are maintained. These wear constantly a scarlet gown, reaching down to their ankles, with a purple mantle over it; and are bound to be at Divine Service, and offer up their prayers to God daily for the Knights of the Order. Between the two Courts there rises a high mount, on which the Round Tower stands; and hard by it, stands another lofty Tower, call'd Wincheſter-Tower, from William of Wickham bishop of Wincheſter, whom King Edward III. made overseer of the work. Some report, that Wickham, after he had built the Tower, cut these words (which are not to be expres'd with the same turn in latin) on a certain inner wall, *This made Wickham.* Which sentence, in the English tongue, that seldom makes any distinction of cases, bears such a doubtful construction, as renders it uncertain, whether he *made* the Castle, or the Castle *made* him. This was carried to the King by some secret Backbiters, and so represented to his prejudice, as if *Wickham* did arrogantly challenge to himself all the honour of the building. Which when the king took ill, and sharply chid him for; he made this answer,

that he had not arrogated to himself the honour of so magnificent and royal a palace, but only accounted this piece of work the foundation of all preferments. *Neither have I* (continued he) made *this castle, but this hath made me, and, from a mean condition, hath advanced me to the favour, and to riches, and honours.* Under the castle towards the West and South, lies the town, indifferent large and populous: since king Edward the 3d's time this hath been growing into repute; and the other, which stands further off, now call'd Old Windsor, hath by little and little fallen to decay: in which (in the reign of William I, as we read in his book) *were an hundred houses, whereof two and twenty were exempt from tax; and of the rest there went thirty shillings.* Here is nothing else worth mentioning except Eaton, which lies over-against Windsor on the other side of the Thames, and is joyn'd to it by a wooden bridge. It hath a fine College, and a noble School for humanity-learning, founded by king Henry VI; wherein, besides the Provost, eight Fellows, and the Choir, sixty Scholars are maintained, and taught Grammar, and in due time are prefer'd to the University of Cambridge. But this is reckon'd in Buckinghamshire. There remains nothing more to be said of Windsor, but that there is an honourable family of Barons, surnam'd de Windsor, who derive their original from Walter son of Other, Castellane of Windsor in the reign of king William I; from whom likewise Robert Glover Somerset-Herald (a person very industrious and skilfull in the art of Heraldry) hath proved, that the Fitzgeralds in Ireland, earls of Kildare and Desmond, are descended. And now let it not be thought troublesome to run over these verses upon Windsor, taken out of *The Marriage of Tame and Isis*, written some years since; in which father Thames endeavours to celebrate the dignity of the place, and the Majesty of queen Elizabeth, then keeping her Court there.

Now on the bank fam'd Windsor's towers appear,
Mount their high tops, and pierce the utmost air.
At this (but first does Eaton's walls salute,
Where stern *Orbilius* governs absolute,
And in proud state his birchen sceptre shakes)
Thames lifts it's azure head, and thus he speaks:
Windsor, no more thy ancient glories tell,
No more relate the wonders of thy hill;
Thy Forts, thy senns, thy chapel's stately pile:
Thy spires, thy smiling fields, thy happy springs;
Thy cradles, marriage-beds, or tombs of kings.
Forget the knights thy noble stalls adorn,
The Garter too by them in honour worn:

Tho' that great Order found the firſt in fame,
And ſwells ſo high with mighty *George*'s name,
That *Burgundy* contemns her golden fleece,
And the light French their ſcallop'd chains deſpiſe.
Rhodes, *Alcala* and *Elbe* with ſhame diſown
The painted croſſes on their mantles ſhown.
Theſe glories now are all eclips'd by one,
One honour vies with all thy old renown.
When on thy courts, and on my bank we ſee
Elizabeth (then *Thames* with bended knee
Stoops low to pay obeyſance to her name
And thus goes on, pleas'd with his mighty theme)
Elizabeth, whom we with wonder ſtile
The queen, the ſaint, the goddeſs of our iſle:
Whoſe praiſe ſhould I endeavour to rehearſe
Within the narrow bounds of feeble verſe;
As ſoon huge *Athos* might on *Atlas* ſtand
Rais'd by my ſtrength; as ſoon my weary hand
Might count the endleſs globules of my ſand.
If any grace on purpoſe I'd conceal,
What I paſs by will prove the greateſt ſtill.
If her paſt deeds inſpire my joyful tongue,
Her preſent actions ſtop th' imperfect ſong.
Should her ſtrict juſtice fill my riſing thought,
Her mercy comes between and drives it out.
Or was my ſubject her triumphant Arms,
Alas! more trophies grace her conqu'ring charms.
That vertues flouriſh, and the peaceful gown;
That all to laws are ſubject, laws to none:
That *Scotland* hath refus'd the *Gallick* yoak,
And *Ireland* all her ſavage arts forſook:
That *Ulſter*'s ſons at laſt reform'd appear.
To her they owe; the fame belongs to her.
Virtues, that ſingle make us thro'ly bleſt,
United, all adorn her princely breaſt.
To heaven her Godlike mind religion bears,
Juſtice to profit honeſty prefers.
Deliberate prudence cautious thoughts inſpires,
And temp'rance guides her innocent deſires.
Her ſettled conſtancy's unſhaken frame
Deſerves the noble Motto, STILL THE SAME.

But ah! my numbers all are ſpent in vain,
And graſph at that they never can contain.
Should ſome wild fancy all th' encomiums joyn
That worth could e're deſerve, or poet feign,
The panegerick would be ſtill too mean.
O may her years increaſe with her renown,
May conſtant joys attend her peaceful crown,
While I my ſtreams or banks can call my own!
And when ſhe dies (if goddeſſes can die)
May I ſtrait fail, and be for ever dary!

The reſt of Barkſhire, ſouthward from Windſor, and ſhadow'd with woods and groves, is commonly call'd Windſor-Foreſt, and is but thinly planted with villages (of which Okingham is the moſt noted, for bigneſs, and its cloathing-trade;) but is well-ſtock'd every where with game. Now (ſince we have often ſpoke of Foreſts already, and ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak of them;) if you deſire to know what a Foreſt is, and whence the name comes, take it here out of the Black Book of the Exchequer. *A foreſt, is a lair or harbour for beaſt; not of every ſort, but for ſuch only as are wild: not in every place, but in ſome certain places fit for that purpoſe: whence it is called* Foreſta, quaſi Feresta, *that is,* Ferarum ſtatio. And it is incredible, how much ground the kings of England have ſuffer'd every where to lie waſte, and have ſet apart and enclos'd for Deer; or as our writers term it, have *afforeſted*. Nor can I believe, that any thing was the cauſe, but an immoderate delight in hunting (tho' ſome attribute it to want of people; for ſince the Daniſh times, they have continually *afforeſted* more and more places, and, for the preſervation of the Game there, have impoſed very ſtrict laws, and appointed a Chief-Ranger or Foreſter, to take cognizance of all cauſes relating to the Foreſts; who might puniſh, with loſs of life or limb, any one that ſhould kill the Deer in any Chaſe or Foreſt. But Joannes Sarisburienſis ſhall briefly relate theſe things, in his own words, out of *Polycraticon*: *Theſe which will make you more admire; to lay gins for birds, to lay ſnares, to allure them with ſprings or pipe, or to entrap them any manner of way, is by proclamation often made a crime, puniſhable with forfeiture of goods, or of limb and life. You have heard, that the fowls of the air and fiſhes of the ſea are common. But theſe the king's, and are claimed, by the Foreſt-laws, e're they fly. With-hold thine hand and forbear, leſt thou fall into the Huntſman's hands, and be puniſh'd for treaſon. The husbandmen are debarred Fallows, whilſt the Deer have their liberty to ſtray abroad; and, that*

feedings may be enlarg'd, the Farmer is cut short of the use of his own grounds that is sown or planted they keep from the Country-man, and pasturage from the Grasiers; and throw the Bee-hives out of the flowery plots; nay, even the Bees themselves are scarce suffer'd to enjoy their nota al Liery. Which courses, seeming too inhuman, had often been the occasion of great disturbances, till by the barons revolt, the *Charta de Foresta* was extorted from Henry III; wherein having abrogated those rigorous laws, he granted others more equitable, to which they who live within the limits of the Forests, are at this day bound to be conformable. Afterwards, two justices were appointed for these Causes, whereof one presides over all the Forests on this side the river Trent, the other over those beyond it as far as Scotland; and both, with great authority. Throughout all this County (as we find in the Survey-book of England) 'the Taine or king's knight holding of him as lord, whosoever he died, left to the king for a *relief*, all his armour, one horse with a saddle, and another without a saddle. And if he had either hounds or hawks, they were tendred to the king; that if he pleas'd, he might take them. When *geld* was given in king Edward's time throughout all Barkshire a hide yielded 3 d. ob. before Christmas, and as much at Whitsuntime.

Barkshire gave the the title to Francis Norris, created Jan. 28. 1620; but he dying without issue-male, it was bestow'd upon Thomas Howard, lord Howard of Charleton, and viscount Andover; who was succeeded in this honour by Charles his son and heir; and Charles, by Thomas Howard his brother: Which Thomas dying without issue-male, the title of earl of Barkshire descended to Henry-Bowes Howard, grandson of William, who was younger son of Thomas the first earl of Barkshire, of this Family.

There are in this County 140 *Parishes.*

THE Countries we have been travelling over, that is, those of the *Dumnonii*, *Durotriges*, *Belgæ*, and *Attrebatii*, while the Saxons had the Sovereignty here in Britain, belong'd to the kingdom of the West-Saxons which they in their language *West-Seaxan-rice*, as they call'd themselves, from *Cerdic*'s grandfather, who laid the foundation of this kingdom: whence some call them *Cerdiffi*, and others *Vest-Saxones*, from their Western situation; as the Western Goths are nam'd *Vest-Gothi*. These at length when the English empire was grown to maturity, reduc'd the Saxon Heptarchy into a Monarchy, which nevertheless, afterwards, thro' the lasciviousness of their kings, quickly grew as it were decrepit, and vanish'd. So herein we daily see it confirm'd, that the race of the most valiant,

‘ and nobleſt Families, as the ſhoots of plants, have their firſt ſpringing-up,
‘ their time of flowering, and maturity; and in the end, by little and little,
‘ fade and die.

More rare Plants growing wild in Barkſhire.

MYrtus Brabantica ſive Elæagnus Cordi *Ger.* *Gaule or Dutch Myrtle.* *See the Synonymes in* Dorſetſhire. *By old Windſor-park corner.* Park. p. 1451.

Orchis galea & alis fere cinercis *J. B.* Cynos orchis latifolia hiante cucullo minor *C. B.* latifolia minor *Park.* major altera *Ger.* *The man Orchis. On Caſham hills by the Thames-ſide, not far from Reading.*

Polygonatum *Ger.* vulgare *Park.* latifolium vulgare *C. B.* Polygonatum vulgo ſigillum Solomonis *J. B.* *Solomon's Seal.* *In a field adjoyn to the Wall at* Newberry, *and in divers other places of Barkſhire. Obſerved by my worthy friend Mr. George Horſnell Chirurgeon in London.*

Hieracium Pulmonaria dictum anguſtifolium. Pulmonaria Gallica ſemperea anguſtifolia *Ger. emac.* *Narrow-leaved golden Lungwort.* *Found in an old Roman camp at Sidmonton near Newberry* Ger. emag. p. 305.

REGN

REGNI.

NEXT the *Attrebatii* to the east, the *Regni* (call'd by Ptolemy *Reegnoi*, inhabited those Counties which we now call Surrey and *Southsex*; with the sea-coast of *Hampshire*. As to the etymology of the name, I am inclin'd to conceal my present opinion; because it is possible it may be as much out of the way, as if I should affirm the *Reegnoi* to be so called from their being a *Regnum* or kingdom, to which the *Romans* granted the privilege of continuing under kingly government. For, as *Tacitus* tells us, *Cogidunus* king of the *Britains* had certain cities put under his jurisdiction, according to an ancient custom of the *Romans*; with no other design but that they might have *kings* their slaves. But this conjecture, to my self does not appear probable, and to others will seem absurd; and so I give it up. As for the etymology of the *Saxon* names (which are of a later date) I readily close with them, since they have such a clear appearance of truth: Namely, *South-sex* from the South-saxons; and *Surrey* from the Southerley situation with regard to the river. For that this is the meaning of *Suth-reg* no one can deny, who considers that *Over-rhey* in the old Saxon signifies *Over the river*.

SUTH-REY.

SURREY call'd by Bede *Sutheriona*, commonly *Surregia*, *Surrey*, by the Saxons, from it's situation on the southside of the river, *Sothbrai* (for *Suth* with them signifies the South, and *Bre* River:) bounds, on the West, to Barkshire and Hamshire, on the South to *Sussex*, on the East to Kent; and on the North is wash'd, and parted from Middlesex, by the river Thames. The County is not very large, but pretty rich, where it lies upon the Thames, and where it is an open champain, it is tolerably fruitful in corn and more pasture, especially to the South, where a continued low vale runs along (called formerly from the woods, Homlsdale) which a mixture of woods, fields, and meadows, renders exceeding pleasant. Here and there, are long ridges of hills, the parks are every where stor'd with Deer, and the rivers with fish, which two afford the agreeable pleasures of hunting and fishing. It is by some compared to a coarse garment, on cloth of slight and coarse make, with a green border; the inner part of the County being barren, and the outer, or as it were the Hem, more fruitful. In the survey of it, I shall make the Thames, and the rivers that flow into it, my guides (by which means I shall omit nothing memorable; because all the places of any antiquity, lie upon the rivers:) having first premised in general, that the most considerable piece of Antiquity that this County affords us, is the famous Roman way call'd Stone-street, visible in several parts of it. It goes thro' Dorking-church-yard; as they plainly find by digging the graves between that place and Stansted, it is discover'd upon the hills, by making of ditches. Afterwards, in the Parish of Okeley (which is extreamly wet) it is very plainly trac'd. Had not the civil wars prevented, we might before this time have had a more distinct account of it. Thomas earl of Arundel and Surrey, had made some attempts to the exact discovery of its remains, tracing it from Arundel through all the country of Sussex; but the wars coming on, hindr'd his further progress.

The Thames (to go along with the stream of it) as soon as it enters Barkshire, glides to Chertesey, call'd by Bede *Cresti Insula*, i.e.

Cerotus: but now it ſcarce makes a Peninſula, except in winter-time. In this, as a place moſt re[illegible] from the commerce of the world, Frith-wald, *a petty king of Surrey under Wulpher king of the* Mercians (for ſo he ſtiles himſelf in the Foundation-charter,) and Erchenwald biſhop of London, built a little Monaſtery in the infancy of the Engliſh church, which for ſome time the burying-place of that moſt religious king Henry VI.; the York-family, after they had dethron'd him, cut off, to make themſelves ſecure of the Crown, and bury'd him here without the leaſt mark of honour. But king Henry VII. removing him to Windſor, bury'd him in a new tomb with the ſolemnity becoming a king, and was ſuch an admirer of his religion and virtues (for he was an exact pattern of Chriſtian piety and patience) that he apply'd to pope Julius, to have him put in the Kalender of the Saint's. And this had certainly been done, if the Pope's avarice had not ſtood in the way, who demanded too large a ſum for the king's Apotheoſis or Canonization; which would have made it look, as if the honour had not been pay'd, ſo much to the ſanctity of the prince, as to the gold.

Below this place, the little river Wey empties it ſelf into the Thames; and brings it great profits to this part of the County; having been made navigable by the induſtry (among others) of a worthy knight, Sir Richard Weſton late of Sutton-place; to whom the whole ſhire is oblig'd, as for this, ſo for ſeveral other improvements, particularly Clover and Sainfoine. Wey running out of Hampſhire, doth at it's firſt coming into Surrey viſit Farnham, commonly Farnham, ſo nam'd as being a bed of Ferns; given by Æthelbald king of the Weſt ſaxons, *to the biſhop and congregation of the church of Wincheſter.* In this place it was, that about the year 893, king Alfred worſted the plundering Danes with a handful of men; and afterwards, when king Stephen had granted licence to all who ſided with him, to build caſtles, Henry of Blois, his brother and biſhop of Wincheſter, built a caſtle upon the hill that hangs over the town; which, becauſe it was the harbour for ſeamen, king Henry III. demoliſh'd; but after a long time, the biſhops of Wincheſter [illegible] it is to this day, rebuilt it. Not far from hence, at Waverley, William Giffard biſhop of Wincheſter, built a little monaſtery for Ciſtercian monks. From thence the Wey receiving a little river which ſtands Oxenford, where, in digging, hath been found old Engliſh [illegible] and alſo [illegible]; and then running by Godelming, which king Alfred gave by Will to Æthelwold, his brother's ſon, and not far from Godelmanſtun, which *Edmode Canon* held, *to be maſſed of the ſeamen that would come into thoſe parts*; and at a little diſtance from Godelming, in which pariſh, on a place call'd called Chapel-hill, are the remains

of an old Roman camp: and from Loſeley, where, within a park, I
delicate ſeat of the knightly family of the Mores: By theſe d
the Wey comes to Guildford, in ſome copies Godelford. It
known a great reſort, and well ſtor'd with good inns; bu
merly a Villa of the Engliſh ſaxon kings, and was by Will
by his Uncle. There was a houſe of the king's, (but gone much to
and not far from the river, the ruinous walls of an old caſtle,
been pretty large. In the middle of the town is a Churc
whereof, being arch'd with ſtone, ſeems to be very ancient.
learn by domeſday-book) *the king had ſeventy five houſes,*
dred ſeventy five men dwelt. But it is famous for nothing ſo much
chery and inhumanity of Godwin earl of kent, who in the year
1036, when Alfred, king Ethelred's ſon, and heir to the
England, came out of Normandy to demand his right, recei
ſolemn aſſurances of ſafety, but preſently treated him in ſuch
as was very inconſiſtent with that Promiſe. For, in the dead
ſurprizing the ſix hundred Normans which were the retinue of the
youth, he puniſh'd them (as our writers word it) by a *Decimation*,
according to the ancient Rules of War, by drawing out every
lot, and then killing him: but killing nine, he diſmiſſed every
and afterwards, with the extreameſt cruelty retith'd thoſe tenths
had ſav'd. And as to Ælfred himſelf, he deliver'd him to
Dane, who firſt put out his eyes, and then clapt him in
in priſon to his dying day. This place (noted heretofore
Clothiers) hath given to the Church of England ſince the
famous Prelates George and Robert Abbot: the one
bury, who founded here a very fine Hoſpital, and
church; the other, that learned biſhop of Salisbury,
were both ſons of a Clothier; and had a bro her Sir
was Lord Mayor of London, at the ſame time when they
on which trade this Obſervation hath been made, That
eminent families among the Nobility in this nation, have
from it. Here is a curious Free-ſchool founded by king
to which (as alſo to Baliol-college in Oxford) one
Benefactor. This place gave title of counteſs, to Elizabe
Keymelmeaky in Ireland, and that of earl to John Maitland,
o Lauderdale. And, in the year 1683, Sir Francis North,
the great ſeal of England, was advanced to the honour of
Near Guildford upon the river Wey, is the Priery, lately
Cowal, Eſquire, adjoyning to which is a delightful Park;

...tion of the lord Onslow, who, by marriage, hath made great acces-
... the ancient estate of that honourable family. Something nearer the
..., is Staughton, the seat of a family of that name, whose Pedigree
...bably as ancient as any in this County. But it is now extinct out of
...e, by the death of Sir Lawrence Staughton, baronet, a young gentle-
... of great hopes. About two miles from Guilford is Clandon-place, the
... of the lord Onslow, descended from Onslow of Onslow-hall in Shrop-
... an ancient Gentleman's family. Their first settlement in this County
... Knowle in Crandley; thence they removed to Clandon-place, being
...ally situate on the edge of Clandon-downe; from whence is a good-
...spect into ten several Counties. It is well shaded with wood, and sup-
...with good water, and hath been much improv'd by the late possessor,
... Richard Onslow, who was Speaker of the Honourable House of Com-
...s, in eighth year of the reign of queen Anne, as his ancestor of both
...names was, in the eighth year of queen Elizabeth; and who, as an ac-
...knowledgment of several Services to his Country, and particularly of his
...firm adherence to the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover, was
...ennobled by his majesty king George, to the honour of baron of this realm,
...by the title of lord Onslow of Onslow, and Clandon.

...From Guilford, the Wey runs towards the south for a long way toge-
...ther, and meets with nothing memorable; except Sutton, the seat of the
...Weston knights: Woking a royal seat; and Pyrford, where, in our memory
...Edward earl of Lincoln and baron Clinton, built a house enclosed with a
...large Park, well wooded; to which belong large royalties, fish-ponds,
...and delightful decoy, now the seat of Denzil Onslow, Esq; younger son
...of Richard Onslow, of Clandon-place: and in the neighbourhood is Ock-
...ham, where William de Ockham, that great philosopher and founder of
...the Nominals, was born, and had his name from the place; now the seat of Sir
...Peter King late lord Chancellor of England, a person of great learning
...and knowledge. But where it comes to empty it self out of a double
...mouth into the Thames, we see Oatlands, once a handsome seat of the King's,
...with a park; (but now to decay'd, that it hardly bears the figure of a
...good Farm-house; having been demolished in the late civil wars.) Near
...this Cæsar pass'd the Thames, and enter'd the territories of Cassivelan.
...For this was the only place in the Thames formerly fordable, and that too
...not without great difficulty; which the Britains themselves in a manner
...point out to him. For on the other side of the river, a strong body of
...them had planted themselves; and the bank it self was fenced with
...stakes driven into the ground, and those of the same sort were fixed
...under

under water. *The footſteps whereof* (ſays Bede) *are ſeen [illegible] appears upon the view, that each of them is as thick as [illegible] that being* ſoder'd *with lead they ſtick in the bottom of the [illegible]* But the Romans enter'd the river with ſo much vigour and reſolution that tho' they had only their heads above water, the Britains were not able to bear-up againſt them, but were forc'd to quit the bank, and [illegible] is impoſſible, I ſhould be miſtaken in the place, becauſe here the river is ſcarce ſix foot deep; and the place at this day, from thoſe Stakes, is call'd Coway-ſtakes; to which we may add, that Cæſar makes the bounds of the Cantii, *Sivelan*, where he fixes this his paſſage, to be about 80 miles diſtant from the ſea which waſhes the eaſt part of Kent, where he landed: Now this river we ſpeak of, is at the ſame diſtance from the ſea; and I am the firſt that I know of, who has mention'd, and ſettled it in it's proper place. Not far from hence, upon the Thames, is Walton, in which Pariſh is a great camp of about twelve acres, ſingle work, and oblong. There is a road lies thro' it, and it is probable, that Walton takes its name from this remarkable Vallum.

Some few miles from Otelandes, towards the eaſt, the little river Mole haſtens into the Thames, after it has croſs'd the County from the ſouthern bound; but, being ſtop'd at laſt in it's way, by the oppoſition of hills, that like that noble river of Spain Anas, forces open a paſſage under ground, as if it were a Mole; from whence it has the name. But there is nothing famous upon this river; only, at ſome diſtance from it's head (near the old military way of the Romans call'd Stanyſtreat) is the town Aclea, commonly call'd Ockley, from the Oaks. Here, Æthelwolph ſon of Egbert (who, notwithſtanding he had enter'd into Holy Orders, did by diſpenſation from the pope ſucceed his father in the kingdom) engag'd the Daniſh army, with ſucceſs (for he kill'd moſt of their braveſt men;) tho' with no great advantage to his countrey: that Daniſh Hydra ſtill ſprouting-up a-new. Here alſo, is a certain cuſtom, obſerv'd time out of mind, of planting Roſes upon the graves, eſpecially by the young men and maids, who have loſt their lovers; ſo that this Churchyard is now full of them. It is the more remarkable, becauſe we may obſerve it to have been anciently uſed among the Greeks and Romans; who were ſo very religious in it, that we find it often annex'd as a Codicil to their Wills; (as appears by an old Inſcription at Ravenna, and another at Milan,) by which they order'd Roſes to be yearly ſtrew'd and planted upon their graves. Hence, that of Propertius, implying the uſage of burying amidſt Roſes (*Et tenera poneret oſſa roſa:*) and Anacreon ſpeaking of it, ſays, that it does *Nekrois amuxein, protect the dead*.

Upon the edge of Suſſex is Okewood (all that part being formerly one entire Wood of Oaks,) where ſtands a deſolate chapel of eaſe to five large Pariſhes; three in Surrey, and two in Suſſex, built by Edward de Ifield, as appears by a monument of the pious Donor, who dy'd 1431. and was buried here. The revenues that of right belong to it, are above 200 *l. per Ann.* out of which there is not allowed above twenty Nobles to one who now and then reads prayers to them. It is ſo much the more deplorable, becauſe the alienation long ſince appears to have been made, through a miſtake; for it was made in queen Elizabeth's time, by virtue of an Inquiſition unjuſtly taken, upon pretence of its being a chantry for the maintenance of a maſs-prieſt to pray for the ſoul of the Founder. Whereas, really, it was built and endow'd for no other uſe, but a chapel of eaſe, to inſtruct the people of the adjoyning pariſhes, who were at too great a diſtance from their reſpective pariſh-churches. Near this place, are certain pitts, out of which jetts have been ſometimes dug.

But to return towards the north; at the head of a river which runs into the Wey, not far from Guildford, is Abinger; near the church-yard whereof a heap or mount caſt up, which ſome imagine to have been a ſmall fort rais'd by the Danes or Saxons. But it is plain, it was done by neither; but by the neighbouring people, whom the high grounds on which they live, put under a neceſſity of contriving a pond to water their cattle; and this rubbiſh was thrown out of that place. The forementioned riſing of a hill hereabonts, runs to Albury, (which when but a mean ſtructure) was yet the delight of that excellent perſon Thomas earl of Arundel, a great lover of Antiquities; who purchaſing this place of the Randylls, made it his darling. Henry his grandſon, duke of Norfolk, had no leſs affection for it; he began there a magnificent Pile, cut a Canal, planted ſpacious Gardens and Vineyards, adorn'd with Fountains, Grots, *&c.* But what is almoſt all ſingular and remarkable, is, the Deſign of an *Hypogæum*, or *Perſpective*, through a mighty hill, and large enough at one end for a Coach to paſs; about a furlong or more in length, leading over, into an agreeable and pleaſant valley. It was at firſt intended for a way to the houſe, but a ſtop at the ſouth-end hinder'd that deſign. This noble ſeat is enclos'd with a park, and much improv'd by the right honourable Heneage Finch, earl of Ailesford, a perſon of great knowledge in the laws and conſtitution of this Realm; who having purchas'd it of the father of the preſent duke of Norfolk, is daily adding to its beauty. Nor is this place leſs celebrated for that famous mathematician William Oughtred, who liv'd and was Rector of this pariſh; wherein are alſo the remains of an ancient and Roman building, and a circle within it, ſuppos'd to be a Temple; the

the ground-pinnings of both which, and alſo ſome of the baſes of the pillars were plainly viſible in the laſt age, but have been ſince dug up for the uſe of the Stones and Bricks; as in the preſent age, pieces of Roman tile and bricks have been found on the heath, where hath been a great ſeat of building in old time.

At a little diſtance from hence is St. Martha's Chapel, ſeated on a high copp'd mountain. This ſeems to have been thrown-up by ſome ancient Volcano or Vulcano, as ſeveral other ſuch Elevations towards the coaſt confirm. Beneath this hill, is Chilworth, the ſeat of Mr. [illegible] owner of the moſt conſiderable Powder-works (brought firſt into England by George Evelyn, Eſq;) and beſt Hopgardens in England. At [illegible] Towerhill, the ſeat of the Brays, a very ancient and honourable family. Return to the Mole; a little way from the head of this river, ſtands Gu[illegible]ton, now hardly a village, tho' formerly a famous town. For an argument of it's antiquity, it ſhews Roman coins dug-up there, and ſends two Burgeſſes to Parliament. Lower, is Rhie-gate, (i. e. according to our ancient language *the courſe or chanel of a ſmall river*) ſtanding in a vale, which runs a great way eaſtward, and is call'd Holmeſdale, probably from Holm-trees, which grow bound very much through all this tract;) the inhabitants whereof, becauſe once or twice they defeated the plundering Danes, have this rhime in their own commendation:

The vale of Holmeſdal
Never wonne, ne never ſhall.

This Rie-gate is more conſiderable for it's largeneſs, than buildings: on the ſouth-ſide of it, is a park full of little groves; wherein the moſt noble Charles earl of Nottingham, baron of Effingham, and Lord High Admiral of England, had his ſeat; and where formerly the earls of Warren and Surrey built a ſmall monaſtery. On the eaſt-ſide is a caſtle ſtanding upon a high-ground, now neglected, and decay'd with age; it was built by the ſame earls, and is commonly call'd Holmes-caſtle, from the vale in which it ſtands. Under this, there is a wonderful Vault, of arch'd work made of free-ſtone, the ſame with that of the hill it ſelf, and hollow'd with great labour. The earls Warren (as it is in the book of Inquiſitions) *held in the right of the king in his barony, from the conqueſt of England.* In the 11th year of king Charles the II, Charles Mordaunt, ſecond ſon of John earl of Peterborough, was advanced to the dignity of a baron of this Realm, by the title of lord Morduant of Rhie gate. From thence the Mole runs by Bechworth caſtle, for which Thomas Brown procur'd the privilege of a Fair, [illegible]

the VI. For it was the ſeat of the knightly family of the Browns (of which, in the memory of our grandfathers, after Anthony Brown had marry'd Lucy fourth daughter of John Nevil marqueſs of Montacute, with whom he had a conſiderable fortune; queen Mary honour'd his grandchild by his ſon with the title of viſcount Montacute;) But now that name, after a long ſeries of knights, is at laſt extinguiſh'd in a daughter. Between Bechworth and Darking ſtands Deepden, the ſituation whereof is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, by reaſon of the riſings and uniform *acclivities* about it; which naturally reſemble a Roman amphitheatre, or rather indeed a Theatre: it is open at the north-end, and is of an oval form. Now it is moſt ingeniouſly caſt, and improv'd into gardens, vineyards, and other plantations, both on the Area below, and on the ſides of the environing hills: with frequent grotts here and there beneath the terraces, leading to the top; from whence one has a fair proſpect of that part of Surrey, and of Suſſex, as far as the Southdowns, for near 30 miles outright. The honourable Charles Howard (lord of half the manour of Darking) is ſolely entitled to this ingenious contrivance.

Going along Homeſdale (which extends it ſelf to the foot of that ledge of mountains which ſtretch and link themſelves from the utmoſt promontory of Kent to the Lands-end,) we have on the right hand White-down, where a vaſt Delf of chalk, which in ſummer-time they carry with great labour as far as the middle of Suſſex; as they bring of the ſame material, from the oppoſite hills by the ſea-coaſt of that County: and theſe two being mingled together, are burnt into lime, for the enriching of their grounds. There are likewiſe dug-up cockleſhells, and other *Luſus naturæ*, with Pyrites, bedded an incredible depth within the bowels of the mountains; upon which many Yew-trees grow ſpontaneouſly, tho' of late they are much diminiſh'd, and their places taken up with corn. Not far from the bottom of this hill, ſtands an ancient ſeat of the Evelyns of Wotton, among ſeveral ſtreams gliding thro' the meadows, adorn'd with gentle riſings, and woods which as it were encompaſs it. And theſe, together with the gardens, fountains, and other Hortulane ornaments, have given it a place and name amongſt the agreeable ſeats. In opening the ground of the Church-yard of Wotton, to enlarge a Vault belonging to this family, they met with a Skeleton which was nine foot and three inches long, as the worthy and famous Mr. John Evelyn had it atteſted by an ancient and underſtanding Man then preſent (who accurately meaſur'd, and mark'd the length on a pole,) with other workmen, who affirm'd the ſame. They found it lying in full length between two boards of the coffin; and meaſur'd it, before they had diſcompos'd the bones. But trying to take out, it fell all to pieces; for which

reaſon they flung it amongſt the reſt of the rubbiſh, after they had ſeparately meaſur'd ſeveral of the more ſolid bones.

Hereabouts, is a thing remarkable, tho' but little taken notice of; I mean that curious proſpect from the top of Lith-hill, which from Wotton riſes almoſt inſenſibly for two or three miles ſouth; but then has a declivity almoſt as far as Horſham in Suſſex, eight miles diſtant. From hence, one ſees, in clear day, the goodly Vale, and conſequently the whole County, of Suſſex, as far as South-downs, and even beyond them to the ſea; the entire County of Surrey; part of Hampſhire, Barkſhire Oxfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Herefordſhire; as alſo of Middleſex, Kent, and Eſſex; and further yet (as is believed) into Wiltſhire, &c. could one well diſtinguiſh them without the aid of a Teleſcope. The whole circumference cannot be leſs than two hundred miles, far exceeding that of the Keep at Windſor over which (as alſo over the city of London twenty five miles diſtant) one ſees as far as the eye, unarm'd with the glaſs, is able to diſtinguiſh land from sky. The like I think, is not to be found in any part of England, or perhaps Europe, beſides: and the reaſon why it is not more obſerved, is partly its lying quite out of any road, and partly its riſing ſo gently, and making ſo little ſhow till one is got to the very top of it. From the ſide thereof, a great part of the brow is ſlidden down into the grounds below, caus'd by a delf of ſtones dug out of the ſides of the mountain: and bare bare places (from whence the earth is parted) being of a reddiſh colour, plainly appear above forty miles off. Here, we muſt not forget Darking, memorable for a very large camp in that Pariſh, near Homebury hill, and not far from the road between Darking and Arundel. It is double trench'd and deep, containing by eſtimation ten acres at leaſt. A few miles to the north-weſt, we ſee Effingham, formerly the poſſeſſion of William Howard (that Conqueror of the Scots, ſon to Thomas duke of Norfolk, who was created baron Howard of Effingham by queen Mary; and being made Lord High Admiral of England, was firſt, Chamberlain to queen Elizabeth, and afterwards Keeper of the Privy-ſeal. His ſon Charles ſucceeded him, in a flouriſhing condition, and was alſo made Lord High Admiral of England; whom the ſame Elizabeth, in the year 1597; for his valour and great ſervices, advanced to the dignity of earl of Nottingham. The honour of this place ſtill remains in the ſame family, being now enjoyed by Thomas the preſent lord Howard of Effingham. But to return to the river.

The Mole, coming to Whitehill, upon which box-tree grows in great abundance, hides it ſelf, or is rather ſwallow'd-up at the foot of

Caſtle there; and for that reaſon, the place is call'd Swallow: but about two miles below, it bubbles up and riſes again; ſo that the Inhabitants of this tract, no leſs than the Spaniards, may boaſt of having a bridge that feeds ſeveral flocks of ſheep. For the Spaniard has made this a common proverb, in relation to the place where the river Anas (now call'd Guadiana) runs under-ground for ten miles together. Our river Mole appearing again, ſpreads it ſelf ſo very wide, as to require a bridge of many arches (a lately fabrick,) of ſtone, and tyles laid flat upon one another;) and goes with a ſlow current to the Thames, and enters it hard by Moſeley, to which it communicates the name, having in its courſe ſeen Leatherhead, on which Down is a perfect Roman way, in the road from London to Darking: between Guilford and Ripley, and between Richmond and Putney in this County, the Roman high-way doth alſo appear in ſeveral places.

After our Thames has receiv'd the Mole, it runs directly to the North; Kingſtone (formerly call'd Moreford, as ſome would have it,) a market-town of very great reſort, and once famous for the caſtle of the Clares earls Glocester; having had it's riſe out of the ruins of a more ancient little town of the ſame name, ſituate in a level ground, and much expos'd to inundations. In this town, when the Daniſh wars had almoſt deſtroy'd England, Athelſtan, Edwin, and Ethelred, Kings, were inaugurated; whereupon, from the Kings, it came to be call'd Kingſton, i. e. a Royal Town. Not from hence, upon a gravelly hill, near the road, was a burying place of the Romans. Here are often found Urns, and pieces of Urns, which lie about two foot deep. One particularly was diſcover'd about the year 1670. of a kind of amber-colour, fill'd-up half way with black aſhes, and at the bottom ſomething like coarſe hair, as if it had been laid there before. At a little diſtance from the Thames, we ſee Combe-Nevil, a ſeat of the Harveys, where have been found Medals and Coins of ſeveral of the Roman emperors, eſpecially of Dioclesian, the Maximinians Maxims, Conſtantine the Great, &c. Between this place and Wimbledon, is a round camp; ſuppos'd therefore to be a work of the Danes.]

In the neighbourhood of Kingſton, the Kings of England choſe them a ſeat, which from its ſhining or ſplendor they call'd Shene, but now it has the name of Richmond. This, on account of the wholſomneſs of the Air, became the uſual Nurſery of our late Princes and Princeſſes, when Children. Here it was, that the moſt potent prince, king Edward III after he had lived enough both to *glory* and *nature*, dy'd of grief for the loſs of his warlike ſon; whoſe death was ſuch an affliction to him, and to all England, as was not to be conquer'd by the ordinary methods of Conſolation. And indeed ever England had a juſt occaſion for ſorrow, then it was. For in the

ſpace of one year, it was entirely bereav'd of it's two great Ornaments in military diſcipline and untainted Valour. Both theſe carry'd their conquering ſwords through France; and put ſuch a terror into that kingdom, as might deſervedly give the father, with Antiochus, the name of Thunderbolt, and the ſon, with Pyrrhus, that of an Eagle. Here alſo dy'd Anne, wife of king Richard II, ſiſter to Wenzelaus the emperor, and daughter to the emperor Charles IV. She firſt taught the Engliſh-women that way of riding on horſeback which is now in uſe; whereas formerly their cuſtom was (tho' a very unbecoming one) to ride aſtride like the men. Her husband laid her death ſo much to heart, and mourn'd ſo immoderately, that he neglected and even abhor'd the very houſe. But king Henry V. beautify'd it with new buildings; and in Shene, an adjoining little village, he founded a monaſtery of Carthuſians, which he call'd Bethlem. In Henry the VII's time this royal ſeat was quite burnt down by a moſt lamentable fire; but, like the Phœnix, ſprung again out of it's own aſhes with greater beauty, by the inſtance of the ſame Henry, and took the new name of Richmond, from the country whereof he had been earl, whilſt a private perſon. This Henry had ſcarce put the laſt hand to his new ſtructure, but he ended his days here by whoſe care, induſtry, counſel, prudence, and foreſight, the kingdom of England has ſtood hitherto unſhaken. From hence it was alſo, that nine years after, his grandchild the moſt ſerene queen Elizabeth, after ſhe had (as it were glutted nature with length of days upon earth (for ſhe was above ſeventy years of age,) was receiv'd by Almighty God into the heavenly Quire. A princeſs, far exceeding her ſex, both in courage and conduct; in face, ſo in diſpoſition, the true picture of her grandfather; the love of the world, and the *delight* of Britain. And ſo far was ſhe, tho' but a woman, from coming ſhort of the laſting renown'd Virtues of her anceſtors, that if ſhe did not exceed, ſhe did at leaſt fully equal them. Let poſterity believe this, without the leaſt doubt or ſcruple, (for I do not corrupt truth with flattery) That a Virgin for 44 years together, did govern the nation with that prudence, as to be belov'd by her ſubjects, fear'd by her enemies and admir'd by all; a pattern, ſuch as no age hitherto can produce the like. Her death put England under ſuch a general grief, that it muſt have lain in deſpair and deſolation, without the leaſt proſpect of comfort; but that immediately upon her departure, the moſt ſerene James, the true and undoubted heir mark'd-out by all hearts and eyes for her ſucceſſor, ſhed forth the beams of Comfort, and poſſeſſed all his Subjects with the hopes of enſuing Happineſs. When they look'd upon *him*, they could ſcare believe her dead. Tho' why ſhould we talk of her dying, whoſe immortal virtues

ve, and whoſe ſacred memory will ever be preſerv'd both in the minds of
nen, and the annals of time.

As far as this place, the Thames, receives the tide, about 60 Italian
iles from the mouth. And there is no other river in Europe that I know
, where the tide comes up ſo many miles; to the great advantage of
oſe who live near it. Whether it be, that from this place there are hard-
any windings, but the river is carry'd eaſtward in a channel more
rect, and is generally fenc'd with higher banks, and opens a wider mouth
an other rivers, to let in the Sea (which, as I have long thought, by the
pid circulation of the orbs from eaſt to weſt, is carry'd the ſame way;)
is I leave to the enquiry of philoſophers, to whoſe judgments I willingly
bmit, in this and the like matters. However, concerning theſe places, and
is ſubject, take ſome few verſes (if you can reliſh them) out of *The wedding
Tame and Iſis.*

Now ſtately Richmond to the right is ſeen,
Richmond, whoſe name, wiſe Henry chang'd from *Sheen*,
Who Richmond's earl had by his father been.
Long this our *Hector* Edward's fate hath mourn'd,
Who's godlike ſoul from hence to heav'n return'd,
And left the mortal fetters that it ſcorn'd.
Ah! had not the bleſt powers Thee call'd too ſoon,
Or Valois had reſign'd the Gallick crown,
Or that had Valois loſt.------

And a few verſes after.

Here Thame's great current with alternate courſe
Maintains it's riſe and fall at conſtant hours.
When *Phœbe* reſts at our Meridian line,
Or i'th' Horizon-point does faintly ſhine,
In haſty waves the ruſhing waters joyn.
While the proud river thus his worth proclaims;
'Great you that Europe boaſts her nobleſt ſtreams,
'Yield all to me: for ſuch an ebb and flow
'No rival flood but *Schelde* and *Elb* can ſhow.

n this neighbourhood, is a delightful park belonging to the kings, and
oſ'd for the diverſion of hunting; adjoyning to which, are two pleaſant
. Ham, the ſeat of the lord Dyſert; and Peterſham, a ſeat of the earl
Rocheſter.

More

More inward, at about four miles diſtance from the Thames, Nonſuch, a retiring ſeat of our kings, eclips'd all the neighbouring buildings. It was erected by that magnificent prince, king Henry VIII, in a village (being call'd before, Cuddington,) and was deſign'd by him for a place of pleaſure and diverſion. It was ſo magnificent, and withal ſo beautiful, as to arrive at the higheſt pitch of oſtentation; and one would think, that the whole art of Architecture had been crowded into this ſingle work. So many images to the life were upon all ſides of it, ſo many wonders of workmanſhip, as might even vie with the remains of Roman antiquity: ſo that it might lay juſt claim to the name, and was very able to ſupport it. None-ſuch being in latin *Nulla ejuſmodi*, or as Leland expreſſes it in verſe,

Hanc, quia non habeant ſimilem, laudare Britanni
Sæpe ſolent, Nullique parem, *cognomine dicunt.*

Beyond the reſt the Engliſh this extol,
And Non-ſuch do by eminency call.

The houſe was ſo ſurrounded with parks full of deer, delicate orchards and gardens, groves adorn'd with arbours, little garden-beds, and walks ſhaded with trees; that Pleaſure and Health might ſeem to have made choice of this place, wherein to live together. But queen Mary exchang'd it with Henry Fitz-aland earl of Arundel, for other lands; and he, after he had enlarg'd it with a well furniſh'd library, and ſome new works, left it at his death to the baron Lumley, a perſon whoſe whole courſe of life was truly anſwerable to his high character: from him, by bargain, it return'd to the Crown. But now there is nothing left of this noble and curious Structure, ſcarce one ſtone remaining upon another; which havock is owing to the civil wars. Near this place (for I cannot think it unworthy the mentioning) is a vein of potter's earth, out of which thoſe little veſſels, that the goldſmiths uſe to melt their gold in, are made; and upon that account it carries a good price.

The ſmall and clear river Vandal, abounding with the beſt trouts, riſes at Caſhalton, a little diſtant from hence, and, running by Morden, waſhes a town upon it's weſtern bank, ſituate in a moſt fruitful place, call'd Merton, formerly famous for the death of Kenulp king of the Weſt ſaxons, who was ſlain in the cottage of a certain harlot here (his miſtreſs) by prince Kinehard; and the prince himſelf, being preſently kill'd upon the ſpot by the friends of Kenulph, was puniſh'd as his treachery deſerv'd. Now, it ſhews nothing but the ruins of a monaſtry built by Henry I, at the inſtance of Gilbert viſcount of Surrey, which was famous for a Parliament held in it under Henry III. Anno

Afterwards, the Vandal is augmented by a ſmall river from the eaſt, which riſes at Croydon, formerly Cradiden, lying under the hills, and particularly famous for a palace of the archbiſhops of Canterbury (whoſe it has been now a long time) and for coals, which the inhabitants trade withal. They tell you that a royal palace ſtood formerly on the weſt part of the town, near Haling, where the rubbiſh of buildings is now and then dug up by the husbandmen; and that the archbiſhops, after it was beſtow'd on them by the king, added it to their own palace, nigher the river. Near which the moſt reverend father in God John Whitgift, archbiſhop of Canterbury, of bleſſed memory, out of a moſt pious diſpoſition, built and endow'd a beautiful hoſpital for the relief of the poor, and a ſchool for the promotion of learning. As to the torrent which the vulgar affirm to riſe here ſometimes, as a preſage of dearth and peſtilence; it ſeems hardly worth the mentioning, tho' perhaps it may have ſomething of truth in it. Near this place is Beddington, where is a moſt neat and curious houſe, adorn'd with pleaſant orchards and gardens, firſt built by ſir Francis Carew, knight. For it is an ancient ſeat of the Carews, who are deſcended from Nicholas baron Carew of Moulesford (the Carews of Devonſhire have the ſame original too) and have flouriſh'd a long time in this county; eſpecially, ſince J. Carew marry'd the daughter and one of the two coheirs of the noble barron Hoo. But as the Orchards and Gardens in general, ſo particularly its Orange-trees, deſerve our mention. They have now been growing there more than a hundred years, and are planted in the open ground, under a moveable covert during the winter-months. They were the firſt that were brought into England, by a knight of that noble family, who deſerves no leſs commendation than Lucullus met with, for bringing cherry and filbert-trees out of Pontus into Italy: for which we find him celebrated by Pliny and others. At ſome diſtance from hence is Bottle-hill, on the top of which is a Roman camp, with a ſingle rampart, and ſquare; and another, on the top of a neighbouring hill, near Katheram.

Wibbandune, now commonly Wimbledon, is ſeated upon the other bank of the Vandal, where (after the Britiſh war was ended, and too much happineſs began to breed civil diſſentions among the Saxons) Æthelbert king of Kent firſt rais'd a civil war againſt his own countrymen. But Ceaulin, king of the Weſt Saxons, happily defeated him in this place, with a very great ſlaughter on Æthelbert's ſide; particularly the two captains Oſlan and Cheben were ſlain; from the latter whereof, it is poſſible that the military fortification I ſaw here, of a circular form, call'd Bensbury, for Chebensbury might

might take it's name. Now it's greateſt ornaments is a houſe, as ſtately in it's ſtructure, ſo made exceeding pleaſant by it's proſpect and gardens, as was built by Sir Thomas Cecil, Knt. ſon of that moſt wiſe and prudent Stateſman the lord Burghley, in the year 1588, when the Spaniſh Armada was upon our coaſts.

Two miles from hence to the ſouth, on the very top of a hill, is a little wood call'd at this day Woodcote, where are the plain remains of a ſmall town, and ſeveral Wells built of little pieces of flints; beſides other certain marks of antiquity: the neighbourhood talk much of it's ancient populouſneſs and wealth, and number of it's Senator's. It is now a pleaſant ſeat among groves, much adorn'd of late years; to which belong thoſe medicinal Wells that riſe in the adjoyning Common. They are tinctur'd with Allom, and are in ſo much repute, as to occaſion a very great increaſe of buildings in the pariſh of Epſom, for the reception and entertainment of ſuch as reſort hither for the ſake of the Spaws, with the diverſion of the Downs hard by. This Woodcote I take to be the city which Ptolemy calls *Noviomagus*, Antoninus *Noviomagus*; nor need I inſiſt upon any other arguments for it, beſides that of diſtance. For it is ten miles from London, and eighteen from *Vagniacæ* or *Maidſton*; the diſtance that is noted by the old Itinerary. They therefore are very much out of the way, who have plac'd this *Noviomagus* either at *Buckingham*, or *Guildford*. It was the chief city of the *REGNI*, and is taken notice of by *Marinus Tyrius*, a very ancient Geographer, whom Ptolemy thought fit to cenſure, becauſe he had put *Noviomagnus* in Britain in a more northerly Climate than London, and yet in the method of his Itinerary had made it more ſoutherly. To the weſt, is Aſhted where the honourable ſir Robert Howard (brother to the earl of Berkſhire) enclos'd a fair new houſe within a park, and laid out and planted the fields paſtures, and arables about it in ſuch order and ſo great improvements, as make it vye with the moſt conſiderable dry-ſeats in this county. There was to near it, formerly, a mean decay'd farm-houſe; yet for the wholeſome air breathing from the hills, it was often reſorted to by Thomas earl of Arundel and Surrey, of whoſe grandſon ſir Robert purchas'd it.

Upon the Thames, next to the mouth of the Vandal (where is a little town call'd from it Wandleſworth,) ſtands the ſmall village Bateſey, in an old Saxon *Patrykr-ea*, and in Latin *Patricii inſula*, i. e. Patrick's iſle; which gives the title of baron to Henry St. John (created alſo at the ſame time viſcount St. John) who hath his ſeat here. Not far from which lies Dullwich; where William Allen (ſometime a famous Comedian) did in the reign of king James I. erect and endow a pretty college and a fair chapel, for ſix poor men, and as many poor women; with a ſchool for the education of twelve children.

children. Here are alſo Medicinal Springs call'd Sidnam wells, as there are likewiſe at Streetham; both frequented in their proper ſeaſons. Near theſe, was the Royal ſeat call'd Kennington, whither the kings of England us'd to retire: the diſcovery of which it is in vain to aim at or endeavour, there appearing neither name nor ruins to direct us. Next is Lamb'th or Lome-hith, that is, a dirty ſtation or harbour; formerly made famous by the death of Canutus the valiant king of England, who there breath'd-out his laſt, in the middle of his Cups. For he, giving himſelf over to eating and drinking, *order'd* (as Henry of Huntingdon has it) *that a Royal meal ſhould be ſerv'd up to his whole Court four times a day, chuſing rather that diſhes ſhould be ſent off his Table untouch'd by thoſe whom he had invited, than that other diſhes ſhould be called-for by thoſe who came unInvited.* But now it is more famous for the Palace of the archbiſhops of Canterbury. For about the year of Chriſt 1183, Baldwin archbiſhop of Canterbury, by exchange with the church of Rocheſter, became poſſeſs'd of a manour in this place, where-on he began a palace for him and his ſucceſſors; and this, by little and little, was enlarged by them. But when the archbiſhops began to have thoughts of building a ſmall collegiate church here; good God! what numbers of Appeals were pack'd to Rome by the monks of Canterbury? and what thunderings, threatnings, and cenſures, were levell'd by the pope againſt the archbiſhops? For the monks were jealous, that this might prove an encroachment upon their Privileges, and deprive them of their right to elect the archbiſhop. Nor could theſe diſturbances be quieted, till the little Church which they had begun, was, at the inſtance of the monks, laid level with the ground. Near this (over the fields call'd St. George's fields, in which a Roman high-way is ſtill viſible,) is the moſt famous mart-town of all the County, call'd at this day the Burrough of South-wark, that is a work or building to the South, ſituated ſo to the ſouth over-againſt London, as that it ſeems to be a ſort of ſuburbs to it; but is ſo large and populous, that it may vie with moſt cities in England, being as it were a diſtinct Corporation of it ſelf. For within the memory of our Fathers, it had it's own Bailiffs, but in the reign of Edward VI, it was reſtor'd to the city of London, and is at this day reckon'd a Member of it. For which reaſon we will defer the Account of this place, till we come to London. Only, one thing we will take notice of here, which bears no relation to the ſaid city; viz. the Grant of St. Mary Overey's church to the Church-wardens and their Succeſſors for ever, together with the Tithes, to provide two chaplains at their pleaſure, who are neither preſented nor endowed; and thus it differs from all other churches in England. In this church, lie bury'd the learn'd biſhop Andrews, and our famous Engliſh poet

Gower. But a very ample and ancient palace, with fair gardens, belonging to the biſhops of Wincheſter, is now converted into Tenements.

Beneath this, the Thames leaves Surrey; the eaſt-bound whereof runs in a direct line to the ſouth, near Lagham, which in the reign of Edward I, had its parliamentary barons, call'd S. John de Lagham, whoſe eſtate came at laſt by a daughter and heir to J. Leodiard. Somewhat lower, almoſt in the very corner where it borders both upon Suſſex and Kent, is Sterborrow-caſtle, formerly the ſeat of the lords de Cobham who from this place were nam'd de Sterborrow; and being deſcended from John de Cobham lord of Cobham and Couling, and from the daughter of Hugh Nevil, flouriſh'd for a long time in great ſpendour and reputation. For Reginald, in the reign of Edward III, was made knight of the garter, and admiral of the coaſt from the Thames-mouth weſtward. But Thomas the laſt of them, marrying Anne daughter of the duke of Buckingham, had by her one only daughter Anne, marry'd to Edward Burgh, deſcended from the Percies and earls of [illegible]. His ſon Thomas was created baron Burgh by king Henry VIII, and his ſon William, father to Thomas, who was a great encourager of learning, and governour of Briel, and was made by queen Elizabeth knight of the garter and lord deputy of Ireland, where he dy'd (in defence of his country). As to the account of Eleanor Cobham of this family, wife to Humphrey duke of Glocester, whoſe reputation was ſomewhat tainted; I refer you to the Engliſh hiſtories. Here in the cloſe, we muſt not omit the memory of one, who was a general Benefactor to the whole County. His name was Smith, once a ſilver-ſmith in London; but did not follow that trade long. He afterwards went a begging for many years, and was commonly call'd Dog-ſmith, becauſe he had a Dog which always follow'd him. When he dy'd he left a very great Eſtate in the hands of Truſtees upon a general account of charity, and more particularly for Surrey. *(a)* But this charity was not limited to Surrey, but left to the Truſtees to extend to other places of the kingdom, as they found occaſion; and ſo, the revenue is greater out of this county, than what is paid in it.

We muſt now reckon up the earls. William Rufus, king of England, made William de Warren governour of Surrey, under the title or earl; whoſe arms were *Checky, Or an azure.* For in his Foundation-charter of the

(*a*) After the Truſtees had made a conſiderable improvement of the eſtate, and purchaſed ſeveral Farms, they ſettled Fifty Pounds *per ann.* or thereabouts upon every market-town in Surrey, or gave one Thouſand Pounds in money. Upon every Pariſh, except one or two, they ſettled a yearly revenue: upon ſome ſix Pounds, other eight Pounds, and upon the reſt more or leſs, as they thought convenient.

of Lewis, we read thus: *I have given, &c. for the good of my master king* William, *who brought me over into* England, *and for the good of my lady queen* Maud, *my wife's mother, and for the good of my master king* William *his son, after whose coming into* England *I made this charter, and who created me earl* of Surrey, *&c.* To him succeeded his son and his grandchild by him, of the same name. But this last had only a daughter, who brought the same title, by marriage, first to William, son of king Stephen, and afterwards to Hamelin base son of Geoffry Plantagenet, earl of Anjou. But the first husband dying without issue, Hamelin had by her William earl of Surrey; whose posterity, taking the name of Warrens, bore the same title. This William marry'd the eldest daughter and coheir of William Marshal earl Pembroke, widow of Hugh Bigod; and had by her, John; and John, by Alice daughter of Hugh le Brune, sister by the mother's side to king Henry III, had William, who dy'd before his father, and had by Joanna Vere, daughter of the earl of Oxford, John, who was born after the death of his father, and was the last earl of this family. He was (as I learn'd from his seal) earl of Warren, Surrey, and Strahern in Scotland; lord of Bromfield and Yale, and count Palatine. But he dying without lawful issue in the 21st of Edward III, his sister and heir Alice was marry'd to Edmund earl of Arundel, and by that marriage brought this honour to the family of the Arundels; from which it came at last by the Mobrays to the Howards. For Thomas Mowbray married the eldest sister and coheir of Thomas Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel and Surrey. In the mean time, Richard II. conferr'd the title of duke of Surrey on Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, who did not enjoy that honour long, for while he was secretly endeavouring to rescue the same Richard then in prisoner, and to restore him to his Crown, his plot was discover'd, himself, making his escape, was seiz'd by the town of Cirencester, and beheaded. Next, Thomas de Beaufort, who was the king's chancellor, possess'd of this honour; if we may believe Thomas Walsingham: For he tells us, that in the year 1410, *The lord Thomas Beaufort earl of Surrey, dy'd.* But let Walsingham make good his assertion; for no such thing appears in Records; but only that Thomas de Beaufort was about the same time made chancellor. It is evident however from the publick Records of the kingdom, that king Henry VI. in the 29th year of his reign, restored John Mowbray, son of John duke of Norfolk, earl of Warren and Surrey; and at length, king Richard III. after he had villainously usurp'd himself of the crown, did, in order to win the family of the Howards (descended from the Mowbrays) to his own party, create one of the same John baron Howard, duke of Norfolk, and Thomas his son, earl of Surrey, in whose posterity this honour continu'd, and doth still remain. For

from this Thomas, whom Richard III. made earl of Surrey, three of the same name and family succeſſively enjoy'd the honour; the laſt whereof dying 1646, was ſucceeded by Henry his ſon, and Henry by his ſon Thomas, who dying without iſſue, the title deſcended to Henry his brother, who was ſucceeded by a ſon of the ſame name: but he leaving no iſſue, was ſucceeded by Thomas the preſent earl, ſon of Thomas lord Howard, his younger brother.

This County hath 140 *Pariſhes-Churches.*

More rare Plants growing wild in Surrey.

ARia Theophraſti *Ger*, *See the Synonymes in Somerſetſhire. The white Beam-tree, or mountain Service-tree. About Croyden.* Park. 1421. Common in the Copſes near the Downs.

Acorus verus ſive Calamus Officinarum *Park.* Verus ſive Calamus aromaticus Officinarum *C. B.* Verus, Officinis falſo Calamus *Ger.* Calamus aromaticus vulgaris, multis Acorum *J. B. The ſweet-ſmelling Flag or Calamus. Found by Dr. Brown of Magdalen Coll. Oxon. about Hedley in this County.*

Buxus arbor. *The Box-tree. On Box-hill near Darking, thence denominated, plentifully.*

Dentaria major Matthiolo *Ger.* Orobanche radice dentata major *C. B.* radice dentata, ſeu Dentaria major Matthiolo *Park.* Anblatum Coronopi Aphyllon *J. B. The greater Toothwort. Thomas Williſell ſhew'd it a ſhady lane not far from Darking in this County growing plentifully.*

Rapunculus corniculatus montanus. *See the Synonymes in* Hampſhire. *Horned mountain-Rampion with a round head of flowers. On many places the Downs.*

Vicia Lathyroipee noſtras, ſeu Lathyrus Vicia Lathroides noſtras. Lathyrus Viciæformis, *Chilchling Vetch. Found by Thomas Williſell in Farthing-field on the back of Southwark, in a ſqualid watery place.*

SUT

SUTH-SEX.

NEXT to Suth-rey, lies Suth-sex, in a long tract on the south side of that County. It was anciently the seat of the *Regni*, and call'd in Saxon *Suſ-rex*, as much as to say, *the Country of the South-Saxons*. A word, compounded of the Southerly situation, who, in the Heptarchy, plac'd the second kingdom e. It lies all to the south, upon the britiſh Ocean, with a ſtreight ſhore, in an oblong figure: but it has but a few (good) Ports, the ſea being dangerous by reaſon of Shelves and Sands, which make it rough; and Shore alſo is full of Rocks. The ſea-coaſt of this County, about the dle, has very high green hills, call'd the Downs, which, conſiſting of t chalky ſoil, are very fruitful. The middle part, checquer'd with mea-s, paſtures, cornfields, and groves, makes a very fine ſhow. The hi-moſt and north-ſide, is ſhaded pleaſantly with woods, as anciently the whole ntry was, which made it unpaſſable. For the wood *Andreaſwald*, in-th *Coid Adred*, ſo nam'd from *Anderida* an adjoining city and now commonly d the *Weald* or *Wild*, took up in theſe parts 120 miles in length, and 30 in dth. (memorable for the death of Sigebert king of the Weſt-Saxons; being depos'd, was (in a place call'd *Pryſeles-ſtodan*, ſtabb'd to death by ne-herd.) By conſequence, Andreſwald muſt, in its way to *Hampſhire*, up a conſiderab e tract of this Shire; from whence we may infer, that inhabitants (as to that part) were very few, and thin-plac'd, for a long

time

time. Which is plain from the two Kentish Antiquaries; affirming, for a great while, the whole *Weald* was scarce any thing else but a great and vast wilderness; not planted with towns, nor peopled with men, but stuff'd with herds of deer, and droves of hogs only. For no part of the *Weald* appears by the Grants to have been let-out by the kings (the lord and proprietor of it) in Manours, but in so many Dens, which is properly a woody place yielding covert and feeding for cattle; and there is no other use of them express'd, but only *Panage for hogs*; by one of the Forests whereof, Sigebert (as we just now observed) was slain.

This County has many little rivers; but those that come from the north side, presently bend their coast to the sea, and so do not carry vessels of burden. It is full of Iron-mines all over; for the casting of which there are Furnaces up and down the Country, and abundance of wood is spent; many streams are drawn into one channel, and a great deal of meadow-ground is turned into Ponds and Pools, for the driving of Mills for the flashes; which, beating with hammers upon the iron, fill the neighbourhood round about, night and day, with continual noise. But the iron work here, is not every where of the same goodness, yet generally more soft than the Spanish; whether it be from it's nature, or tincture and temper. Nevertheless, the Proprietors of the mines, by casting of Cannon and other things, make them turn to good account. But whether the nation is any way advantag'd by them, is a doubt which the next age will be better able to resolve. Neither did this County want Glass-houses; but the glass (for reason of the matter, or making, I know not which) was not so clear and transparent; and therefore was only us'd by the ordinary sort of people. So that now (whether it was, that it turn'd to little account, or that they found themselves outvy'd by other places) there are no Glass-houses in the whole County. At present (as formerly,) they continue most famous for the Iron-works, which are still in several places of the County; some where have both a Furnace and Forge, others a Forge only, and others only a Furnace. Near Hastings are two powder-mills, where is made very good Gun-powder; and in that end of the County, where the iron-works are, namely the east, Char-coal is made in great abundance.

This whole County, as to it's civil Partition, is divided into six parts which by a peculiar term they call Rapes, that is, of Chichester, Arundel, Bramber, Lewes, Pevensey, and Hastings: every one of which, besides many hundreds, has a castle, river, and forest of it's own. But because I have little knowledge of the several limits, I design to steer my course along the shore, from west to east: for the inner parts have only a village here and there, and scarce any thing worth the mentioning.

In the very confines of Hampſhire and this county, ſtands Boſenham, commonly call'd Boſeham, inviron'd with woods and the ſea together, where, as Bede ſaith, *Dicul a Scotch monk had a very ſmall Cell, and five or ſix Brothers, living poorly, and ſerving God*; which was, a long time after, converted into a private retreat of king Harold. From which place, as he once in a little Pinnace made to ſea for his pleaſure, he was by a ſudden turn of the wind driven upon the coaſt of France, and there detain'd, till he had upon oath aſſur'd the kingdom of England to William of Normandy after the death of king Edward the Confeſſor: by which means he drew upon himſelf his own ruin, and the kingdom's overthrow. But how by ſubtility and double-dealing that cunning catcher of ſyllables, Godwin earl of Kent, and father of Harold, got this place, and deluded the archbiſhop by a captious change of letters, Walter Mapes, who liv'd not many years after, ſhall inform you in his own words, out of his book *de Nugis Curialium*. *This* Boſeham *near Chicheſter* (ſays he) *Godwin ſaw, and had a mind to; and being accompanied with a great train of Lords, came ſmiling and jeſting to the archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *whoſe town it then was; My lord*, ſays he, *give me* Boſeham. *The archbiſhop wondering what he deſir'd by that Requeſt, I give it you*, ſays he, Boſeham. *He preſently, with his company of knights and ſoldiers, fell down (as he had before deſign'd) at his feet, and kiſſing them, with a world of thanks, retired to* Boſeham. *and by force of arms kept poſſeſſion as Lord of it; having his followers as witneſſes to back him, gave the archbiſhop in the preſence a great many commendations as the Donor; and ſo held it peaceably.* Afterwards, as we read in *Teſta de Nevil* (which was an Inquiſition of lands taken in king John's time) *king* William *who conquer'd* England, *gave to this* William *Fitz-Alucher and his heirs, in fee-farm, paying out of it yearly into the Exchequer forty pounds of ſilver try'd and weigh'd; and afterwards* William *ſhall hold it as his Inheritance.*

Chicheſter, in britiſh *Caercei*, in ſaxon *Cirrancearrer*, in latin *Ciceſteria*, lies in a Plain farther inwards, near the ſame arm of the ſea with *Boſcham*; a very large city, and wall'd about. It was built by Ciſſa the Saxon, the third king of this province, and took its name from him. For Ciſſan-ceaſter is nothing elſe but the city of Ciſſa; whoſe father Ella was the firſt Saxon that erected a kingdom here. Yet, before the Norman conqueſt it was of ſmall reputation; noted only for St. Peter's Monaſtery, and a little Nunnery. But in the reign of William I. (as appears by domeſday-book) *there was in it an hundred houſes, and it was in the hands of earl Roger; and there in the ſaid place ſixty houſes more than there were before: It paid fifty pounds to the king, and ten to the earl.* Afterwards, when in the reign of William I, it was ordain'd that biſhops ſees ſhould be tranſlated out of little

towns,

towns, to places of greater note and resort, and this city was [illegible] with the bishop's residence (which was before at Selsey) it began to flourish. Not many years after, bishop Ralph built a cathedral church, which, which (before it was fully finish'd) was by a casual fire [illegible] down. Notwithstanding, by his endeavours, and king Henry the 1st's liberality, it was rais'd-up again; and now besides the bishop has a dean, a chaunter, a chancellor, a treasurer, two archdeacons, and thirty prebendaries. At the same time, the city also began to flourish; and had certainly flourish'd apace, had not the haven been a little too far off, and less commodious; but now the citizens are about making it more convenient by a new channel. It is wall'd about in circular form, and is watered on every side, except the north, by the little river *Lavant*: (the course of which stream is very unaccountable, being sometimes quite dry, but at other times (and that very often in the midst of Summer) so full, as to run with some violence.) It hath four gates opening to the four quarters of the world, from whence the streets lead directly, and so cross in the middle; where the market is kept, and where bishop Robert Read built a fine stone Piazza. As for the castle, which stood not far from the north gate, it was anciently the seat of the earls of Arundel, who from hence wrote themselves earls of Chichester; but it afterwards was converted to a convent of Franciscans. All the space between the west and south gates, is taken up with the cathedral church, bishop's palace, and the dean and prebendaries houses: which, about King Richard the 1st's time, were again burnt down; and Setfrid, second bishop of that name, re-edify'd them. The church it self is not great, but very neat with a high stone spire; and on part of the south-side of the church, the history of it's foundation is curiously painted, as also the pictures of the kings of England; on the other part are the pictures of all the bishops as well of Selsey, as of Chichester; all done at the charge of bishop *Robert Sherborn*, who beautify'd this church very much, and has his motto set up every where, *Credite operibus, & Dilexi decorem domus tuæ, Domine*. But that great tower which stands near the west-side of the church, was built by R. Read, and, as is reported (upon his being prohibited the building a castle at Aldingham hard by, where he liv'd) with those very stones which he provided for the castle. (Besides the cathedral, there are, within the walls of the city, five small churches. Chichester hath given the title of earl, to Francis *Leigh* lord Dunsmore, and after him to Charles Fitzroy natural son to King Charles II.

Near this place to the north, is St. Rook's-hill; and upon it is still to be seen an old camp, the diameter whereof is two furlongs, and being circular; from which it may be gather'd, that it is not Roman, but probably

probably Daniſh. The true name of it ſeems to be St. *Rock*'s hill; for he was patron of the pilgrims; and here was formerly a chapel, which might poſſibly be dedicated to him. A mile and a half from this place to the weſt, is a camp call'd Gonſhil, which being of a different form, muſt probably have been the work of ſome other people. The figure of it is of an oblong ſquare, which comes neareſt to the Roman way of encampings. Hard by Chicheſter to the weſt, there has been alſo another large Roman camp call'd the Bow, of an oblong form; four furlongs and two perches in length, and two furlongs in breadth. It lies in a flat low ground, with a great rampire and double graff, and in ſuch a place, as makes it probable enough that it was that Veſpaſian, after his landing. In the neighbourhood of Chicheſter, are alſo ſeveral houſes of the nobility, ſo advantageouſly ſituated, as to afford a moſt delightful and entertaining proſpect to the Sea: At ſome diſtance, Stanſted, the ſeat of the earl of Scarborough; and Up-park (ſo call'd from the high ground, and the park encloſing it) belonging lately to Ford lord Grey earl of Tankervil, and now, by marriage, to the preſent earl: And, nearer the city, Goodwood, the ſeat of his grace the duke of Richmond; and Halnaker, lately come to the earl of Derby, by marriage with the daughter and ſole heir of ſir William Morley.

Selſey before mention'd, in Saxon *Seals-ey*, that is, as Bede interprets it, the iſle of Sea-calves (which we in our language call Seals, a creature that always makes to iſlands and ſhores, to bring forth it's young) ſtands a little lower. It (as Bede ſays) *compaſs'd with the ſea, unleſs on the weſt-ſide, where it has an entry into of about a ſtone's-caſt-over.* The ſtreet of Selſey ſtands on a dry gravelly ſoil, and is not unhealthful to ſuch a degree, as places ſituated ſo low, and ſo near the ſea, uſually are. It is famous for it's excellent Cockles, and for producing the beſt Wheat. It contained eighty ſeven families, when Edilwalch king of this province, gave it to Wilfrid biſhop of York, then in exile; who firſt preach'd the Goſpel here, and, as he writes, *not only ſav'd from the bondage of the devil two hundred and fifty bondmen, by baptiſm; but alſo by giving freedom, deliver'd them from being ſlaves to men.* Afterwards, king Cedwalla, who conquer'd Edilwalch, founded a monaſtery here, and endow'd it with an epiſcopal See; which Stigand, the 22d biſhop, tranſlated to Chicheſter, where it now flouriſhes, and owns Cedwalla for it's Founder. In this iſle there are ſome obſcure remains of that ancient little city, in which thoſe biſhops reſided; cover'd at high water, but plainly viſible at low water. Beyond Selſey, the ſhore opens to make way for a river, that runs out of St. Leonard's Forelt; firſt by Amberley, where William Read biſhop of Chicheſter, in the reign of Edward III, built a caſtle for his ſucceſſors: and then by Arundel, ſeated on the ſide of a hill; a place of great name, but of it ſelf very conſiderable, nor very ancient; for I have not ſo much as read it's

name before king Alfred's time, who gave it in his Will to Athelm his brother's
ſon. Unleſs we ſhould believe *Portus Adurni* to be corruptly written, by
tranſpoſition of letters, for *Portus Arundi*. It is now a market-town and
a borough ſending two Burgeſſes to parliament; and is famous for the
beſt Mullets, which come up, in great plenty, into this river. The road
high-way, viz. Stanes-ſtreet cauſeway, which is in ſome places very
broad, but in moſt ſeven, comes to this town out of Surrey by Bet
It is a yard and a half deep in ſtones (which they diſcover by caſting
ſages to let in the water,) and runs in a ſtreight line; and is made of
pebbles, tho' no flints are found within ſeven miles of it. The etymology
Arundel, is neither from *Beveſius*'s romantick horſe, nor from *Cher*
promontory in Denmark, as Goropius Becanus dream'd; but from
lying along the river *Arun*; in caſe *Arun* be the name of the river, as
have told us, and upon that account have nam'd it *Arantina vallis*. How-
ever, there are thoſe, who on one hand contend for the Story of *Bevis*'s horſe;
and on the other hand, will by no means admit this derivation from *Arun*;
and they offer their reaſons for both. That *Bevis* was founder of the caſtle
(ſay they) is a current opinion handed down by tradition; and there is a
tower in it ſtill known by the name of *Bevis*'s *tower*, which they tell you was
his own apartment. Beſides, they think it natural enough to imagine that
the name of a horſe might be *Arundel*, from his ſwiftneſs; ſince that word
in French ſignifies a *Swallow*, and the preſent Arms of the town (which is
corporate by preſcription) are a *Swallow*. Now why (ſay they) might not
Bevis's *Arundel*, as well have the honour of naming a town wherein himſelf
after had a particular Intereſt; as Alexander's *Bucephalus* had, &c.
Then, againſt the derivation from *Arun*, they urge, that that river is call'd
High-ſtream, to diſtinguiſh it from the other ſmall rivulets or ſtreams, that
ſeems to have born the ſame name (as to the ſenſe at leaſt) all along. The
Norman Engliſh call'd it *Hault-rey*; and anſwerably, the middle-aged
writers, *Alta ripa* (or Rhie, a town in this county, is call'd in Latin *Ripa*,
and ſeveral branches breaking out of the High ſtream, are at this day call'd
Ripes or Rifes.) There was alſo an ancient family of Knights, owners of
much land in theſe parts (even in the boſom of this great river, to
wit of Hardham, otherwiſe Feringham) call'd from it *de Alta Ripa*;
their poſterity remains in theſe parts to this day, under the name of De
in latin *De alta Ripa*. Much leſs, add they, will the interpretation
tina vallis, ſuit either the name of the place, or the circumſtances.
For tho' it be written ſeveral ways, yet no one makes it end in *dale*
is a low tract of ground ever expreſs'd by that word in this county (as in
other parts of England,) but by a Level; as Pevenſey-Level, &c.

Brambre-Level, Arundel-Level, with many others. And the Commissioners of Sewers call the imposition laid upon Land for repair of publick banks and ...ices, a Level-tax. Of these Opinions, every one is at liberty to take which he pleases; and we will now return to the account of the Town ... All the fame whereof is owing to the Castle, which flourish'd ...der the Saxon government, and was, as we read, presently after the coming ... of the Normans, repair'd by Roger Montgomery, who was thereupon ...'d earl of Arundel. For, it is large, and well fortify'd with Works. But ... for Robert Belesme, who succeeded his brother Hugh, was outlaw'd by ... Henry I, and lost that and all his other honours. For breaking into ...ellion against the king, he chose this castle for the seat of war, and for- ...d it very strongly; but had no better success, than what generally attends ...ion: for the king's forces surrounding it, at length took it. Upon this ...bert's outlawry and banishment, the king gave the castle, and the rest ... his estate, to *Adeliza* daughter of Godfrey firnam'd *Barbatus*, of ...ine, and duke of Lorain and Brabant) his second queen, for her Dower. ... whose commendation a certain English-man wrote these verses, very in- ...ous for that unlearn'd age:

When *Adeliza*'s name should grace my song,
A sudden wonder stop's the Muses tongue.
Your Crown and Jewels, if compar'd to you,
How poor your Crown, how pale your jewels show!
Take off your robes, your rich attire remove;
Such pomps will load you, but can ne'er improve.
In vain your costly Ornaments are worn,
You they obscure, while others they adorn.
Ah! what new lustre can these trifles give,
Which all their beauty from your charms receive?
Thus I your lofty praise, your vast renown
In humble strains am not asham'd t'have shown:
Oh! be not you asham'd my services to own.

...after the king's death, match'd with William D'Aubeney, who taking part ... Maud the empress against king Stephen, and defending this castle; was ... said Maud lady of the English (for that was the title she us'd,) crea- ...d Arundel, in recompence for his good Services. And her son Henry II. ...the same William the whole *rape of* Arundel, *to hold of him by the ser- ...eighty four knights fees and an half*: and to his son *William*, king Rich- ...ard (in words to this effect) *Arundel* castle, *together with the whole honour*

honour of Arundel, *and the third penny of the Pleas out of* Suſſex, *ſo long as he is earl.* And when, after the fifth earl of this firname, the iſſue-male failed; one of the ſiſters and heirs of Hugh the fifth earl, was marry'd to John Fitz-alan lord of Clun, whoſe great grandſon Richard, *on account of his having ſeized of the caſtle, honour and lordſhip of* Arundel *in his own demeſne as Fee, and in regard of this his poſſeſſion of the ſame caſtle, honour and lordſhip without any other conſideration or creation, was earl of Arundel and Warren and honour of the earl of Arundel,* &c. *peaceably enjoy'd*; as appears by a judgment in Parliament in favour of John Fitz-allen, challenging the title of Arundel againſt John Mowbray, *duke of* Norfolk, *as next brother, in the neareſt degree.* From whence it is infer'd *That the name and dignity of earl, was annex'd to the caſtle, honour and lordſhip of* Arundel, which may be ſeen in the Parliament-rolls, An. 27 Hen. VI. out of which I copy'd theſe notes, word for word. Of theſe Fitz-alans, the eleventh earl liv'd in our time, and dying without iſſue-male, was ſucceeded by Philip Howard his grandſon by a daughter; who, not being able to elude the injuries and hard meaſure put upon him by the cunning of ſome courtiers, fell into the ſnare which they had laid for him; and being brought to the utmoſt danger of his life, dy'd. But his ſon Thomas, a most hopeful young gentleman, ennobled with an eager purſuit after virtue and learning by his great birth; and alſo of an affable obliging temper, was reſtored by king James the 1ſt, and had all his father's honours returned to him, by act of parliament. This Thomas dying An. 1646, was ſucceeded in his honours by his ſon Henry, who in the life-time of his father was reſtored by parliament by the titles of lord Mowbray and Maltravers. By which, An. 1652, this title came to Thomas his eldeſt ſon reſtored alſo, to the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by the eſtate. Thomas the laſt duke. By which means, the title of duke of Norfolk to Henry his brother, with the earldoms of Arundel and Surrey, which to Henry his ſon; who dying, without iſſue, in the year 1701, left all other high and honourable titles belonging to this noble family to Thomas, the preſent duke of Norfolk, ſon of Thomas younger brother of Henry the laſt duke.

Except the caſtle and it's earls, Arundel hath nothing remarkable the college founded there by the earls, having left it's Revenues ſunk. There are ſome monuments of the earls in the church; among them, one of Alabaſter more noble than the reſt; in which (in the quire) lie earl Thomas, and Beatrix his wife, daughter of Portugal. Neither muſt I paſs by a Latin inſcription, very [illegible] and ſet-up here, to the honour of Henry Fitz-alan the laſt earl, ſince ſome perſons will be pleas'd to ſee it: In Engliſh thus,

Sacred to Virtue and Honour.

'The valiant heroe, whose effiges you here see, and whose bones are buried underneath, was earl of this territory: he had his firname, from being the son of *Alan*; and moreover took the honourable titles of lord and baron of *Malravers, Clun*, and *Oswaldestre*: he was knight of the garter, and lived to be senior of that noble Order: only son to William earl of Arundel, and heir both of his estate and virtues. He was privy counsellor to Henry VIII, Edward VI, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, kings (and queens) of England; also governor of *Calais*; and, when (*Bologne* a town of the old *Morini*) was besieg'd by the same king Henry, he was general of the army. He was afterwards lord chamberlain to the said king, and at the coronation of his son Edward, executed the office of marshal of England; to which king he was lord chamberlain, as he had been to his Father. Upon queen Mary's coming to the crown, he was made high-constable of England for the coronation, afterwards steward of her household, and president of the council; which honour he had under queen Elizabeth, to whom he was likewise steward of the household.

'Thus, this person, noble by birth, by the honourable discharge of offices yet more noble, and most of all by his great Exploits at home and abroad; with his honour untainted, his body broken with labour, and worn out with age, in the sixty eighth year of his life dy'd in the Lord, devoutly and peaceably at London, on the 25th of February, in the year of our Lord 1579.

'John Lumley, baron of Lumley, his most dutiful and disconsolate son-in-law, and executor, with the utmost respect put up this statue with his armour (after he had been buried in great pomp) for the kindest of father-in-law and the best of patrons, as the last Office he was able to pay him: not to preserve his memory (for that his many Virtues had made him immortal) but his body, which was committed to the ground in hopes of a joyful Resurrection.

As for the river, which runs by this place, and has its spring in the north part of the county; it is enlarg'd by the influx of many rivulets on both sides: the most noted of which, washes Cowdrey, a noble seat of viscount Montacute; and has on it's other side Midhurst, proud of it's lords the Bohuns, who bear for their arms A Cross Azure in a Field or; and who from *Ingelrius de Bohun* under king Henry I, flourish'd till Henry the VII's days, who gave, the daughter and heir of John Bohun in marriage to Sir David Owen knight, natural son of Owen Theodore (or Tudor,) with a large inheritance. Thether (to note, by the way, the antiquity of a word now grown out of use;

were

were for ſome time the kings Spigurnels by inheritance, that is, the Search of his Writs; which office, together with the Serjeantry of the king's chapel, was reſign'd to king Edward I, by John de Bohun the ſon of Franco; as we read in the old charter concerning that particular matter.

Next we have a ſight of Petworth, which William D'Aubeney earl of Arundel gave, together with a large eſtate, to Joceline of Lovain (a Brabanter, queen Adeliza's brother, and a younger brother, ſon of Godfrey duke of Brabant, deſcended from the ſtock of Charlemain,) upon his marriage with Agnes the only daughter and heir of the Percies. Since which time the poſterity of that Joſceline (having aſſumed the name of Percy, as we ſhall elſewhere tell you) have held and enjoy'd it. A family, certainly very ancient and noble, which derive their deſcent from Charlemain, by a ſeries of ancestors much leſs interrupted, than either the dukes of Lorrain or Guiſe, who value themſelves ſo highly upon that account. This Joſceline, as I have ſeen in a donation of his, us'd the following title: *Joſceline of Louain, brother of queen Adeliza, Caſtellane of Arundel.* (But the title-role of that noble family failing in Joſcelin the eleventh and laſt earl of Northumberland, this together with other large eſtates in divers parts of England, came by marriage with Elizabeth ſole daughter and heir of the ſaid Joſcelin, to Charles duke of Somerſet, whoſe courage, and zeal for the proteſtant Religion, in refuſing to introduce the pope's Nuncio, will ever be recorded to his honour, in the hiſtories of the reign of king James the ſecond; under whom this ancient ſeat owes the noble improvements which it hath received, as well in the Buildings, as in other Ornaments and Accommodations ſuitable thereunto.

As the ſhore goes back from the mouth of Arun, near Ferring, lies Offerons, the ſeat of William Weſt baron De-la-Ware. This of the Weſts is a noble and ancient family, who having much advanced themſelves by matching the heirs of Cantelupe of Hempſton, and of Fitz-Reginald Fitz-Herbert, were adorn'd alſo with the title of baron, by the heir general of the lord De-la-ware. Hard by, is a military fort compaſs'd about with a bank ruſely caſt up, where the inhabitants believe that Cæſar intrench'd and fortify'd his camp. But Ciſsbury, the name of the place, plainly ſhows it was the work of Ciſſa; who was the ſecond king of this kingdom of the Saxon race, ſucceeding Ælla his father; and who, with his brother Cimen, and a conſiderable body of Saxons, landed on this coaſt at Cimen-ſhore, ſo call'd from the name Cimen: a place, which now hath loſt its name; but that it was near Water-ſtone king Cedwalla's charter of donation made to the church of Selſey, is a convincing proof. There is another fort likewiſe, two miles from Ciſsbury, which they commonly call Chenkbury.

Thence, near the sea, lies Broodwater, the barony of the lords de Camois, who flourish'd from the time of Edward I, till our grandfathers remembrance, when by female-heirs the estate came to the Lewkenors and Radmilds. Of this family, John Camois son of lord Ralph Camois (a precedent not to be parallel'd in that, or our own age) *out of his own free will* (I speak from the parliament-rolls themselves) *gave and demised his own wife* Margaret, *daughter and heir of* John de Gaidesden, *to sir* William Painel, *knight; and to the same* (William) *voluntarily gave, granted, released, and quit-claimed all the goods and chattels which she had, or otherwise hereafter might have, and also whatever was in his hands of the aforesaid* Margaret's *goods and chattels with their appurtenances. So as neither himself, nor any other in his name, might for ever ought to claim or challenge any interest in the aforesaid* Margaret *henceforth, or in goods or chattels of the said* Margaret. Which is, what the ancients said in one word, *Ut comma sua secum haberet*, that she should take away with her all that was her's. By occasion of which grant, when she demanded her dower in the manour of Torpull, an estate of John Camois her late husband, there commenced a memorable suit. But she was cast in it, and sentence pass'd, *That she ought to have no dower from thence.* This I mention with indignation; but I perceive Pope Gregory might have good ground to write to archbishop Lanfrank, that he heard, there were some among the Scots who not only forsook their wives, but sold them too; since even in England they gave and demis'd them in this manner.

Upon the shore, a little lower, appears Shoreham, anciently *Schore-ham*, which by little and little has dwinled into a poor village, now call'd Old Shoreham; having given rise to another town of the same name, the greatest part whereof is also ruin'd and under water, and the advantage of it's port, by reason of the banks of sand cast-up at the mouth of the river, is wholly taken away: whereas in former ages it was wont to carry ships under sail as high as Bramber, a pretty good distance from the sea. This was formerly a castle of the Breroses; for king William I. gave it to William de Breose, from whom the Beroses, lords of Gower and Brechnock, are descended; and from him also are descended the knightly families of the Shirleys in this county and Leicestershire. But now instead of a castle, there is nothing but a heap of ruins; beneath which lies Stening, a well frequented market; and in Æthelwall, if I mistake not, it is call'd Stenyngham. Not far from Stening, Simonstone; within a mile of which is an ancient camp, about two miles distant from the sea. It is call'd Cæsar's-hill, because the people might imagine it was Cæsar's camp; and they pretend to shew the place where Cæsar was. Notwithstanding which, the form of it shows that opinion ill-grounded; for, being *roundish*, it seems rather to have been a Britannic. Farther eastward, also, near Lewes, is an other camp.

Thus

That ancient port, call'd *Portus Adurni*, is, as it ſhould ſeem, ſcarce three miles from the mouth of this river; where, when the Saxons firſt invaded our ſeas, the band of *Exploratores* under the Roman emperors had their ſtation; but it is now choaked up with heaps of ſand driven in. Its ancient name, ſtill remaining almoſt entire, and alſo ſome adjacent places called Portſlade, that is, the way to the port, perſuade us to think, that this was Ederington, a little village which the ſaid Athelred granted to the [illegible] not to obſerve, how eaſily they might land here, the ſhore being [illegible] plain. And for that very reaſon, our men, in the reign of Henry VIII, [illegible] reckon'd upon the French Gallies landing here, and waited their coming, while they hover'd upon our coaſts, and ſet one or two cottages on fire by ſurpriſe, at Brighthelmſted, which our anceſtors term'd *Brighthelmſton*, the very next ſtation to it.

Some few miles from hence, a certain anonymous river diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, which riſes out of St. Leonards foreſt near Slugham, the ſeat of the Coverts; who in king Henry the III's time flouriſh'd in this tract, and the honour of knighthood.

In theſe parts, but at ſome diſtance from the ſea, ſtands Lewes, upon a riſing ground (taking its name perhaps from Paſtures, call'd by the Saxons *Lerpa*,) which is, for largeneſs and populouſneſs, one of the chief towns of the County. In the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, 'It paid ſix pennies and four ſhillings for Tax and Toll. The king had there one hundred and ſeven Burgeſſes. It was their cuſtom, if the king had a mind to ſend ſoldiers to ſea without them; that of all of them, whoſeever there were, there ſhould be collected twenty ſhillings, and they had it who went in the ſhips. Whoſo ſells an horſe within the Borough, gives the king one penny, and the buyer gives another; for an ox or cow, a half penny; for a man four pence; whereſoever within the Rape he buys. He that ſheds blood pays ſeven ſhillings. He that commits Adultery or a Rape, forty ſhillings and four pence, and the woman as much. The king hath the latter, and the archbiſhop the woman. When the money is new made, every Mint-maſter gives twenty ſhillings. Of all theſe payments, two went to the king, and a third to the earl. William de Warren, the firſt earl of Surrey built a caſtle here, at the foot whereof he dedicated a church to St. Pancraſe, and fill'd it with Cluniack monks, *in regard of the [illegible] religion, and charity, which he found in the monaſtery of Cluny in [illegible]* (I cite this out of the original Inſtrument of Foundation,) which [illegible] pilgrimage, together with his wife, he lodg'd there. But this was [illegible] into a houſe of the earls of Dorſet. Yet there are ſix churches ſtanding in the town, of which, not far from the caſtle, and [illegible]

ands a little one, desolate, and over-grown with brambles; in the walls where- t are engraven, arch-wise, certain rude verses in an obselete character; which mply, that one Magnus, descended of the blood Royal of the Danes, and evoted to a solitary life, was buried there. But here, take the verses themelves, tho' imperfect and gaping, if I may so say, by reason of the stones *ing disjointed:*

Which perhaps are to be read thus:

Clauditur hic miles Danorum regia proles,
Magnus *nomen ei, magnæ nota progeniei,*
Deponens magnum, *prudentior induit agnum:*
Præpete pro vita sit parvulus Anachorita.

Here lies a knight of Denmark's royal blood,
Magnus his name, whence his great race is show'd.
Resigning all his grandeur he became.
Hermit from soldier, and from wolf a lamb.

During the reign of the Saxons, upon Æthelstan's making a law that no oney should be coin'd but in Towns only; he appointed two Minters here. t afterwards, in the time of the Normans, it became famous for a bloody ttle between king Henry III, and the barons; in which the hopeful on-set the king's party at first, prov'd their overthrow at last. For while prince ward the king's son, breaking thro' some of the barons troops, carelessly purd the enemy too far, as making sure of the victory; the barons rallying ir forces, gave a fresh charge, and so routed the king's army, that, they mpell'd him to offer conditions of peace which were very unreasonable, d to deliver his son prince Edward, with others, into their hands. (Not far n this place, is Laughton, where, the Pelhams have flourish'd for many s; of whom, Thomas, the late possessor, was created a baron of this Realm, the title of lord Pelham of Laughton, in the 5th year of queen Anne). rom Lewes, passing by a large lake well-stor'd with fish, near Furle, the of the Gages who, advancing their estate by marriage with one of the s of the house of St. Clare, became a Family of good note;) we come ucmar, a pretty good Harbour. Then, having pass'd the promontory, d from the Beach, Beachy; the next place that comes in our way is Pey, anciently *Peopenrea*, by the Normans Pevensel, commonly Pemley; tle, in former times belonging to Robert earl of Moreton, half brother (by mother's side) to William the Conqueror; and afterwards, to William

ſon of king Stephen, who ſurrendered it again to Henry II. (from whom he had receiv'd as a free gift,) together with the lands formerly belonging to *Richer de Aquila*, or, of the Eagle from whom they had the name of the Honour of the Eagle. It remain'd a long time in the Crown; till king Henry III. granted it to the earls of Richmond of Bretaine, from whom it paſſed to the Crown again. But now there are no remains of the caſtle, but the old walls. Some part of this Honour of the Eagle, Henry IV. gave afterwards to the family of the Pelhams, for their loyalty and valour. (This, Mr. Somner (diſallowing the common conjecture of Newenden in Kent,) was inclin'd to think the ancient *Anderida*, where was the band of the Abulæ; grounding upon Gilda's words, which expreſs the ſituation of theſe garriſons, *In littore Oceani ad meridiem*, on the ſea-ſhore to the ſouth; and alſo upon the deſign of them, which was to ken and ſpy-out the invading enemy; and laſtly, upon the antiquity of the place, which archbiſhop Uſher makes the old *Caer Penſavelcoit* of the Britains; the *coit*, i. e. wood, implying the ancient ſtate and condition of this Country.) Hard by, ſtands Hurſt, amongſt the woods, and has it's name from it's Woody ſituation; for the Saxons called a wood, *Hyrſt*. This immediately after the firſt coming-in of the Normans, was the ſeat of certain Gentlemen, whom from the place were for ſome time named De Herſt; till William ſon of *Walleran de Herſt* took the name of *Monceaux*. Perhaps from the place of his birth (a thing uſual in that age;) whereupon, that name was annex'd to the place, call'd ever ſince from its lord, Herſt Monceaux. From whoſe poſterity it deſcended hereditarily to the Fiennes. Theſe Fiennes, call'd likewiſe Fenis and Fienles, are deſcended from Ingelram de Fines, who marry'd the heir of Paramuſe of Boloigne; of whom king Henry VI. *accepted*, *declared*, and *reputed* Richard Fenis to be baron of Dacre. And king Edward IV. who was choſen honorary Arbitrator between him and *Humphrey Dacre*, *confirm'd it to the ſaid Richard Fenis, and to his heirs lawfully begotten*; becauſe he had married Joan *the Conſin and next heir* of Thomas baron Dacre; ſince which time his poſterity have flouriſh'd in the title of barons Dacre, till George Fiennes lord Dacre died without iſſue. Whoſe only ſiſter and heir, Margaret, was married to Samſon Lennard Eſq; a perſon of extraordinary virtue and civility, (and their deſcendants in right of the ſaid Margaret were lords Dacre, and afterwards advanced to the dignity of earls of Suſſex.)

But to return: at this Pevenſey (to give you a ſhort account, becauſe the place requires it, of that which I have related more fully elſewhere) William the Norman arriv'd with his whole navy upon the coaſt of Britain, and landed his army, and, having ſtrongly entrench'd his camp, ſet his ſhips on fire, that their only hope might lie in their courage, and their only ſafety

ctory. Quickly after, he march'd to a Plain near Haſtings, where the ſpute for the crown of England was finally determined, and the Saxon overnment came to an end. For there, our Harold, notwithſtanding his rces were much diminiſhed by a former fight with the Danes, and fatigued y a long march, gave him battle, in a place called Epiton, on the 14th of October, 1066. When the Normans had given the ſignal, the encounter egan with flights of arrows from both armies, which held for ſome time; hen, coming to a cloſe engagement, they maintained the battle a long hile: But when the Engliſh, with admirable courage and bravery, had ceiv'd the firſt attack, they were furiouſly charged by the Norman horſe. nd when theſe could not make their way, they, as they had before agreed, treated, but kept their ranks. The Engliſh, thinking they fled, broke eir ranks, and without any order purſued the enemy; who rallying their ces, charged afreſh on every ſide; and, encompaſſing them round, repuls'd em with a mighty ſlaughter: yet the Engliſh, having got the higher ground, od it out a long time, till Harold himſelf was ſhot through with an arrow, d fell down dead; upon which they preſently turned their backs, and took themſelves to flight.

The Norman, exalted with this victory, erected an abbey in memory of battle, and dedicated it to St. Martin, which he called Battle-Abbey. that very place where Harold, after many wounds, died in the midſt of enemies; that it might be an eternal monument of the Norman victory. out this abbey, there grew up afterwards a town of the ſame name; or, e the words of the private hiſtory, *As the abbey increas'd, there were t about it one hundred and fifteen houſes, of which the town of Battle ſiſted.* Wherein there is a place, called by a French name Sangue-lac, the blood there ſhed, which after a ſhower of rain, from the nature of ſoil, ſeems to look reddiſh; and thereupon Gulielmus Neubrigenſis e thus, but with little truth, 'The place in which there was a very eat ſlaughter of the Engliſh fighting for their country, if it happen to wet with a ſmall ſhower, ſweats out real, and as it were freſh blood; if intended for a teſtimony, that the voice of ſo much Chriſtian blood th ſtill cry from the earth to the Lord.' But William the Conqueror nted many and great privileges to this abbey. Amongſt others, to uſe very words of the charter, 'If any thief, or murderer, or perſon guilty other crime, fly for fear of death, and come to this church, let him e no harm; but be freely diſmiſſed. Be it lawful alſo for the abbot of ſame church to deliver from the gallows any thief or robber whereſoever, e chance to come by, at the execution.

Henry I. likewiſe (to give you the very words of his charter) 'granted 'a market to be kept there on the Lord's day, free from all duty whatſo- 'ever.' But Anthony viſcount Mountague, who †not long ſince built a beau- tiful houſe there, did lately, by authority of parliament, obtain to have the market chang'd to another day. And as for the privilege of ſanctuary for thoſe more heinous and grievous crimes, they are here, and every where elſe, aboliſh'd by act of parliament. For they found, that the fear of puniſhment being once removed, men grew bold and deſperate in wicked- neſs; and that the hope of impunity was the greateſt motive to it. Neither here, nor in the neighbourhood, ſaw I any thing worth the notice, but only Aſhburnham, which has given name to a family of as great antiquity as any in this tract. Of this place and family, John Aſhburnham built here a handſome church with three chancels; whoſe ſon of the ſame name was created baron Aſhburnham of Aſhburnham, in the year 1689. Here alſo is a noble houſe of the lord Aſhburnham, which, for ſtately buildings and con- venient gardens, is ſaid to be one of the beſt in this county. North-east from hence, lies Breede, the court whereof is a branch of that Battle, and hath the ſame privilege and proceſs. The lands in the manour of Breede tho' in Suſſex, deſcend according to the cuſtom of Gavel-kind. Here is a kind of court kept here every three weeks, where actions between man and man are try'd; and the officers are exempt from attending the aſſizes and ſeſſions.

Haſtings before mentioned, called in Saxon *Haſtinga-ceaſter*, lies ſome what higher, upon the ſame ſhore. Some there are who ridiculouſly derive it from *haſte*, in our tongue; becauſe, as Matthew Paris writes, 'At Haſtings 'William the Conqueror haſtily ſet up a fortreſs of timber.' But it rather ſeems to have taken this new name from Haſting the Daniſh pirate, who where he landed for booty, built ſometimes little fortreſſes; as we read in Aſſerius Menevenſis, of Beamflote-caſtle built by him in Eſſex, and of others at Apledore and Middleton in Kent. Here, in the reign of king Athelſtan was a mint. It is the chief of the Cinque-ports, which with its members Winchelſea, Rye, &c. was bound to find twenty-one ſhips for any naval expedition. If you have a mind to know in what form both this and the reſt were bound to ſerve the king in his wars at ſea, for thoſe ample immu- nities which they enjoy, take it in the very words wherein it was ancient- recorded in the king's exchequer. *Haſtings, with its members, ought to find twenty-one ſhips at the king's ſummons. And there ought to be*

† So ſaid, in the year 1607.

ship twenty-one men, able, fitly qualified, well armed, and well furnished for the king's service. Yet so, that the summons be made on the king's behalf forty days before. And when the aforesaid ships and men are come to the place whereunto they were summoned, they shall abide there in the king's service for fifteen days at their own proper costs and charges. And if the king shall have further need of their service after the fifteen days aforesaid, or will have them stay there any longer, those ships, with the men, while they remain there, shall be in the king's service, at the king's costs and charges, so long as the king pleases. The master of each ship shall have six pence a day, and the constable sixpence a day, and every one of the rest three pence a day.

The whole rape of Hastings, together with the honour, was held by the earls of Ew in Normandy (descended from a natural son of Richard I. duke of Normandy) till Henry III's time, when Ralph de Issodun, in France, married Alice, whose posterity lost a noble estate in England, because (as the lawyers then deliver'd it) they were under the king of France's allegiance. Furthermore, as there were certain gentlemen in this county, at the beginning of the Norman times, sirnam'd de Hastings, one of whom Matthew de Hastings held the manour of Grenocle, by this tenure, That he should find at this haven an oar, whenever the king would cross the seas; so the noble family of the Hastings, now earls of Huntingdon, do enjoy this title of Hastings. For king Edward IV. bestowed it, with certain royalties, upon William Hastings his chamberlain; who is commended by Cominæus, for that, having receiv'd a yearly pension from Lewis XI. the French king, he could not upon any terms be prevailed with, to give him an acquittance under his hand. 'I will in no case, said he, that my hand be seen among the accounts of the French king's treasury.' But this man, by sinking too deep into the friendship of kings, overwhelmed himself. For, whilst he delivered his mind too freely, in a private conference with the usurper Richard III. he was unexpectedly hurried away, and without trial beheaded immediately. He had, notwithstanding, an honourable burial in St. George's chapel at Windsor; leaving issue Edward lord Hastings, his son and heir. Nor must we forget to take notice, that king Henry VI. ennobled Thomas Hoo, a worthy person, whom he had made Knight of the Garter, with the title of baron Hoo and Hastings: whose daughters and heirs were married to Geoffrey Bullen, from whom by the mother's side Q. Elizabeth was descended, to Roger Copely, John Carew, and John Devenish.

Thence the shore retires, into a winding creek, within which stands Winchelsea, not called Windchelseum, as being exposed to the winds, according to Twine's opinion; but more truly interpreted by Mr. Somner, a waterish place seated in a corner; which exactly answers the situation of the place, lying

lying at the corner of Kent and Suſſex.) It was built in the time of king Edward I, when a more ancient town of the ſame name, in Saxon *Winchelr-ea*, was ſwallow'd-up by the ſea, in a terrible tempeſt, anno 1250. (at which time, the face of the earth both here, and in the adjoyning part of Kent, was much alter'd. It's ſituation I will ſet before you in the very words of Thomas Walſingham. *Situate it is upon a very hill, very ſteep on that ſide, which looks towards the ſea, or overlooks the Road where the Ships lie at anchor. Whence it is that the way leading from that part to the haven, goes not ſtreight forward, leſt it ſhould by a ſteep deſcent force thoſe that go down to fall head-long, or them that go up to creep on their hands, rather than walk; but lying ſide-ways, it winds with many crooked turnings, to one ſide and the other.* At firſt it was inclos'd with a rampart; and after, with a very ſtrong wall: but as it began to flouriſh, it was ſack'd by the French and Spaniards; and by the retirement of the ſea, fell to decay all on a ſudden. (The new town was endow'd with the ſame privileges that the old one had, namely, thoſe of the Cinqueports, to which it belongs *as one of the ancient towns*; but the ſea, which before had *ſwallow'd-up* the old Town, *left* the new, before it was quite finiſhed. It ſtill retains that of ſending two Burgeſſes to parliament, tho' the Electors re very few; the town being moſt miſerably decay'd by the loſs of it's marketa and trade. An argument whereof is, that the graſs grows in the very ſtreets (tho' they are all pav'd) to that degree, as makes the very herbage ſometimes conſiderable. The town abounded every where with fine ſtone-arch'd Vaults, for beſtowing of Merchants Goods, during its flouriſhing ſtate. It ſeems at firſt to have been built with admirable regularity, the ſtreets ſtanding all at right angles, and divided into thirty two ſquares, or quarters, as they are now call'd. The ſtone-work of the three gates, is yet ſtanding. There were anciently in it three Pariſh-churches, tho' now there is only the chancel of the largeſt remaining, which is the preſent Parish-church; and in which are the monuments of three Knights Templars (as it ſeems, by their lying croſs-legg'd in armour;) one of which appears, by the arms, to have been of the family of Oxenbridge, who were formerly of great note in theſe parts.

This place hath afforded the title of counteſs to Elizabeth wife to ſir Moyle Finch, and daughter and heir to ſir Thomas Henage, knight; who was before created viſcounteſs of Maidſtone by king James the firſt. Which titles have deſcended to her poſterity.

At ſome diſtance from Winchelſea is Selſcombe, where (as alſo in ſeveral places of this county) are mineral-waters of the ſame nature with thoſe at Tunbridge, and altogether as ſtrongly impregnated. By the aforeſaid accident at Winchelſea, and the benefit of the ſea, it's neighbour Rye began

began to flouriſh, or rather to reflouriſh; for that it flouriſh'd in ancient times, and that William of Ipres earl of Kent fortify'd it, Ipres tower and the immunities and privileges that it had in common with the Cinque ports, do ſufficently ſhew. But either by reaſon of the vicinity of Winchelſea, or the receſs of the ſea; it was inconſiderable for a long time. But when Winchelſea decay'd, and king Edward III. wall'd it about, it began to recover; and within the memory of the laſt age, the Ocean, to make full amends for the injury it had done (being ſwell'd with extraordinary tempeſt,) broke-in violently, and with ſuch advantage, that it made a very convenient port, which another tempeſt in our own age did not a little improve. Since when, it has greatly flouriſh'd, in Inhabitants, buildings, fiſhing and navigation; and is now the uſual paſſage from hence to Normandy. But as to it's name, whether it took it from *Rive*, a Norman word, which ſignifies a Bank, I cannot ſay. Yet ſince in the Records it is very often call'd in latin *Ripa*, and they who bring fiſh from thence are termed Ripers, I rather incline to this original, and ſhou'd incline yet more, if the French us'd this word for a *ſhore*, as Pliny does *Ripa*. Near Rye, in the pariſh of Eaſt-Guildford, (which is the utmoſt bounds of Suſſex eaſtward) is a peculiar way of Tithing their Fiſh-lands, whereby they pay only 3 d. per acre to the Rector, while in paſture, but if plough'd, 5 s.

Into Rye-haven, the river Rother or Rither empties it ſelf; which ſpringing at Ritherhamfield (for ſo the old Engliſh call the town, which we call Rotherfield,) runs by Burgheoſh formerly Burgwaſh, which had it's Lords of that ſirname, amongſt whom, was Bartholomew de Burgwaſh, a mighty man in his time, who having approv'd himſelf, in the moſt ſolemn Embaſſies, and in the wars of Aquitain, to be a perſon of great prudence and undaunted valour, was created Baron of England, and admitted into the Order of the garter at the very firſt inſtitution amongſt the Founders, and was made conſtable of Dover-caſtle and Warden of the Cinque-ports. And his ſon of the ſame chriſtian name, no way degenerating from his father's Virtues, liv'd in great ſplendor and honour, but had only one daughter, who was marry'd into the family of Le Deſpencer; from whom are deſcended many noble Families, which remain to this day. Echingham, next adjoyning, had alſo a baron in the time of king Edward II, namely, William de Echingham; whoſe anceſtors were Stewards of this Rape. But the Inheritance by heirs females came at laſt to the Barons of Dacre, and the Tirwitts. Then the Rother, dividing it's waters into ſeveral channels, paſſes under Robertsbridge, where in the reign of king Edward II, Alured de St. Martin founded a Monaſtery called St. Mary's of Robertsbridge, and of the Ciſtercian Order. That part of it which is now ſtanding, is a farm-houſe belonging to the earls of Leiceſter. And ſo the

Rother

Rother running by Bodiam, a caſtle belonging to the ancient and noted family of the Lewknors, and built by the Dalegrigs, falls into the ſea.

I have done with the ſea-coaſt of Suſſex. As for the inner-parts, there is nothing worth the notice, unleſs I ſhou'd reckon up the woods and forests ſpread far and near over this tract, being the remains of the famous wood Anderida. Among which, to begin at the weſt, the moſt noted are theſe; the foreſt of Arundel, St. Leonard's foreſt, (not far from whence, to the north, is Iſield, from which Denzil Holles, ſecond ſon of John earl of Clare, was created a baron of this Realm, by the title of lord Holles of Iſield) Worth foreſt, Aſhdown foreſt (under which lies Buckhurſt, the ſeat of the ancient family of the Sackvils; of which, queen Elizabeth advanced Thomas Sackvil, a gentleman of great wiſdom, to be baron of Buckhurſt, took him into her privy council and made him knight of the garter, and lord treaſurer of England; whom alſo king James (the I, created earl of Dorſet;) then Waſtdown-foreſt, and that of Dallington, which is the leaſt of all.

Suſſex had five earls of the family of D'Aubeney, who were likewiſe called earls of Arundel; the firſt of them was William D'Aubeney, ſon of William, Butler to king Henry I, and lord of Buckingham in Norfolk, who gave for his arms Gules, a Lion rampart, or, and was called ſometimes earl of Arundel, and ſometimes earl of Chicheſter, becauſe in thoſe places he kept his chief reſidence. He had by Adeliza (daughter of Godfrey Barbatus duke of Lorrain and Brabant, queen Dowager to king Henry I.) William the ſecond earl of Suſſex and Arundel, father of William the third earl, to whom Mabil, ſiſter and one of the heirs of the laſt Ranulph earl of Cheſter, bore William the fourth earl, and Hugh the fifth earl, who both dy'd without iſſue; and alſo two daughters, married to Robert lord of Tateſhall, John Fitz-Alan, Roger de Sutton, and Robert de Monhault. Afterwards, the title of Arundel was revived, as ſaid before, in the Fitz-Alans. But that of Suſſex lay, as it were forgotten and loſt, to our age; which hath ſeen five Ratcliffs, deſcended from the noble houſe of the Fitz-Walters (who derive their pedigree from the Conquest) bearing that honour; viz. Robert created earl of Suſſex by king Henry VII, who married Elizabeth daughter of Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, by whom he had Henry the ſecond earl, to whom Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk bore Thomas; who was lord chamberlain to queen Elizabeth, and dy'd without iſſue; a Heroe of great worth and honour, in whom were joyn'd the wiſdom of a Stateſman, and the courage of a Soldier, as both England and Ireland had reaſon to acknowledge. Henry his brother ſucceeded him; and after Henry, Robert his only ſon, an honourable young Gentleman; (who dying 5 Car. I. let the title of earl of Suſſex to his ſon Edward, but he having no iſſue, the family of the Ratcliffs earls of Suſſex ended in him.

d that title was conferr'd on the 25th of May 1644, upon Thomas Lord
vil of Pontfract, and was afterwards enjoy'd by James his ſon, who dy'd
thout iſſue. Upon which Thomas Leonard, lord Dacres of Gilliſland,
n. 1674, had this honour conferr'd upon him. By whoſe death the Honour
ng again extinct, hath been conferr'd by king George I. upon Talbot
lverton, who was before dignified with the honourable titles of Viſcount
ngueville, and baron Grey of Ruthen.)

This County contains 312 *Pariſhes.*

much for Suſſex; *which, together with* Surrey, *was the ſeat of the* Regni; *and*
fterwards, the kingdom of the South-Saxons, called in Saxon Suth-ſexan-ric,
ch in the 31 *years after the coming in of the Saxons, was begun by Ælla,*
according to Bede, '*Firſt among the kings of the Engliſh nation, ruled*
the ſouthern Provinces, which are ſever'd by the river Humber, and the
jacent limits.' *The firſt chriſtian king was* Edilwalch, *baptiz'd in the*
nce of Wulpher, *king of Mercia, his Godfather who gave him in token of a-*
on two Provinces, namely, the iſle of Wight, *and the Province of the* Meanvari.
in the 306th *year from the beginning of this kingdom, upon Aldimus the laſt*
's being ſlain by Ina, it came wholly under the Dominion of the Weſt-
ns.

More rare Plants growing wild in Suſſex.

Llyſſon Germanicum echioides Lob. Bugloſſum ſylveſtre caulibus pro-
cumbentibus *C. B.* Borago minor ſylveſtris *Park.* Cynogloſſa forte to-
Plinii & Echium lappulatum quibuſdam *J. B.* Aparine major Plinii
Small wild Bugloſs, by ſome great Gooſe-graſs and German Mudwort.
by Boxley in this County.

amædrys ſpuria foliis pediculis oblongis inſidentibus. An chamædryi
affinis rotundifolia ſcutellata *C. B.*? Alyſſon Dioſcoridis montanum.
ild or baſtard Germander with leaves ſtanding on long foot-ſtalks. In
woods and hedges. I obſerved it firſt at Cockfield in Suſſex.

x ſaxatilis ramoſa maritima noſtras. Filix ſaxtilis criſpa Parkinſoi *D.*
Pin. *Small-branched Stone-fern. I obſerved this firſt growing on the*
by the ſea-ſide in this County, where it was ſometimes daſhed with ſea-

Fœniculum

Fœniculum vulgare. *Common Fennel or Finckle. Observed by Mr. Thomas Williſel to grow plentifully at the weſt-end of Pemſey-marſh.*

Lathyri majoris ſpecies flores rubente & albido mixtos dumetorum Germanicus *J. B.* ſylveſtris *Dod.* anguſtifolius Claſii ex ſententia *J. B.* major *C. B.* ſylv. Dodonæi *Park. The other great wild Lathyrus or Pea everlaſting. I found this firſt near Poynings a village on the Downs of Suſſex. Since, Mr. Dale hath found it in Eſſex.*

Oenanthe Cicutæ facie Lobelii *Park.* Chærephylli foliis *C. B.* Succoſo, Cicutæ facie Lobelio *J. B.* Filipendula Cicutæ facie. *Ger. Hemlock Dropwort. Frequent in watery ditches and rivulets in his Country.*

Peucedanum *Ger.* vulgare *Park.* Germanicum *C. B.* Minus Germanicum *J. B. Hogs-Fennel, Sulphur-wort, Hare-ſtrong. In the marſh ditches at Shoreham.*

The End of the 1ſt VOLUME.